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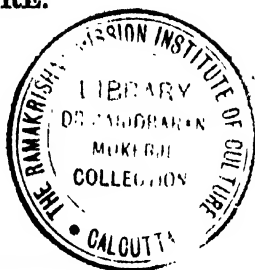




**THE**  
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**GENERAL LITERATURE.**

**VOL. XIII.**  
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# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. XL.

	Page.
1. On the Personal Existence of Homer . . . . .	1
2. The Caffr Frontier— . . . . .	9
3. The Eurasian Anthem . . . . .	17
4. On the Licensing System . . . . .	19
5. The Vision of Fancy . . . . .	23
6. On the Nobility of the Skin . . . . .	29
7. Burning of Hindoo and European Women . . . . .	37
8. The Caffr Commando . . . . .	39
9. Excursions on the Banks of the Nile . . . . .	41
10. The Good Missionary . . . . .	48
11. Want of Officers in the Indian Army . . . . .	49
12. On the Pernicious Consequences of the Laws of Quarantine . . . . .	51
13. Fire-flies <i>versus</i> Stars . . . . .	64
14. Reasons for Reducing the Military Force in India . . . . .	65
15. Lines, on reading 'The Bride of Abydos' . . . . .	66
16. Present State and Future Prospects of the Settlement at Port Elizabeth, in South Africa . . . . .	67
17. On the Education of Cadets for the Indian Army . . . . .	71
18. The Dream—A Fragment . . . . .	74
19. Review of Sketches in Persia . . . . .	77
20. Stanzas . . . . .	90
21. State of the Cape of Good Hope: By a Colonist . . . . .	97
22. Early Notice of the Camera Obscura . . . . .	102
23. Farewell . . . . .	103
24. Captain Grifflay's Indian Scenery . . . . .	104
25. Landing of Agrippina, with the Ashes of Germanicus . . . . .	105
26. Shipwreck of the Britannia . . . . .	108
27. Summary of the Latest Intelligence connected with the Eastern World . . . . .	112
28. Dr. Bryce and the Indian 'John Bull' . . . . .	118
29. Opinions in India on the late Committee of the House of Commons . . . . .	121
30. Admission of Natives to sit on Juries . . . . .	123
31. Notes on Dr. Gilchrist's Speech . . . . .	141
32. Debate at the East India House on the Bombay Marine . . . . .	143
33. Debate at the India House on the Press in India . . . . .	163
34. Debate at the House of Commons on the Barrackpore Mutiny . . . . .	177
35. Courts Martial in India . . . . .	197
36. Civil and Military Intelligence . . . . .	204
37. Births, Marriages, and Deaths . . . . .	205
38. Shipping Intelligence . . . . .	207

APRIL 1827.



# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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## ON THE PERSONAL EXISTENCE OF HOMER.

It is one characteristic of men possessing more learning than wisdom, to raise, from mere wantonness, controversies respecting matters admitting not of certainty. On such fields, contentious erudition may play the gladiator for ever, aiming and eluding blows, brandishing its unwieldy weapons, amazing the vulgar, entertaining the idle, and affording the witty a pretext for turning learning into ridicule. Whether the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' were the compositions of one man; whether Lyncurgus, or Pisis-tratus, or whoever was Homer's first editor in Greece, received those poems orally or in writing; when and how writing itself was first introduced into Greece, and numerous other questions of the same kind, appear to ordinary judgments matters of much less importance than learned scholars are willing to believe. Besides, the fact is, however such persons may desire to disguise it, there really are no grounds at all worth mentioning, upon which to reason about Homer's individuality as a question of learning. Viewed in another light, as an affair cognizable to reason and common sense, there are such arguments against the notion that those great poems were the work of different persons, as make it an undertaking of humility to contend against men who could overlook them, or not perceive their eogeneity.

The persons who, we suspect, are fondest of maintaining paradoxes on these debatable lands are those who feast most sparingly at the poetical board about which they wrangle. To them Homer is nothing, except as he is the apple of discord. They care nothing for his poetry. As such they never read it. All their investigations, all their thoughts have for object a very different species of enjoyment: and this, in plain language, is nothing more than the gratification of inordinate vanity. Understanding most precisely the words of the Greek language, but clearly unacquainted with



the nobler beauties of Grecian literature, which no verbal critic could possibly have the soul to comprehend, they exhaust their lives in nibbling upon the metres of a Greek play, or in collecting various readings, and disturbing the sense of some noble composition. This is the trifling which, with many, has brought ancient literature itself into disesteem. They witness the egregious folly of certain pompous scholars, excisemen who gauge the barrels of antiquity, but never taste the wine, and conclude, not, it must be confessed, without some appearance of reason, that that time must surely be wasted which is set apart for the acquirement of Greek.

The best view we have seen of this controversy is contained in the Appendix to Dr. Priestly's '*Lectures on Oratory and Criticism*,' No. iv., edited by Mr. J. T. Rutt. It is from the pen of Mr. Talfourd, and is extracted from an article first published in the '*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*.' As, in combating the sophistry of his antagonists, Mr. Talfourd would not, of course, be thought to contend with a shadow, he very politely allows that the hypothesis of MM. Heyne and Wolf, the chief of those who maintain that the '*Iliad*' and '*Odyssey*' were not composed by one individual, however startling it might have seemed formerly, is not *now* to be treated with neglect or disdain. If he comes to this conclusion from any consideration for the learning or acuteness of its supporters, though he afterwards proves that neither their acuteness nor their learning could preserve them from advocating the most outrageous absurdity, we confess our inability to imitate his example; for, in our estimation, the more ingenuity they display in defence of a ridiculous position, the more contemptible should they be considered.

The best confutation of this hypothesis is its own chronology. It was not thought of until more than a thousand years after Homer's time, when all the materials for establishing it were as scanty as they are now. Herodotus, who wrote the '*Life of Homer*'; Plato, who attempted at first to rival him; and Aristotle, who profoundly venerated his genius, and has left us the best commentary existing on his works; these, whose knowledge and capacity were as superior to Wolf's and Heyne's as the sun is to a rush-light, never once found room to doubt of Homer's individuality. Persons of sound and powerful intellect seldom descend, indeed, into inquiries of this kind, too hopelessly obscure to yield any satisfaction, and, if they were not obscure, much too insignificant to tempt any but mere scholars to pursue them.

It is, of course, easy enough to interweave, with a dissertation on such a subject, abundance of curious matter on the origin of alphabetical writing; on the manner in which the ancient rhapsodists passed their lives; on the Grecian character, as it was developed in the heroic ages; on antiquity in general; on poetry, and so on; and these things may be arranged and treated in a way which will

give the disquisition an air of novelty; but, then, what end will all this answer? Is the understanding of the reader enlightened by it? Is his imagination warmed? Is he taught to think? Is learning raised in his estimation? On the contrary, no one beyond the precincts of youth, who has in the least made antiquity his study, could possibly learn, from such inquiries, a single new truth, scarcely one historical fact, which he did not before know. The world is now delivered over to a plague more grievous than any in old times inflicted on the Egyptians,—the plague of book-making; but it never appears with more fearful symptoms than when it assumes the shape of classical book-making. Under the influence of this malady, men project eternal new editions of books already more numerous than their readers, and generally for no other reason than that they have, in running through a certain author, penned a few remarks upon the margin, which they do themselves the honour to think should not be lost. Heyne himself is not guilty of short annotations; his Commentary on Homer is nearly twenty times as voluminous as the work itself, and contains, we may suppose, the remnants of his common-place book for many years. Confiding in these phalanxes of notes, he imagines himself qualified to transform Homer into a phantom, just as he makes his text vanish among the multitude of his *Excursions* and *Annotations*.

Mr. Talfourd has condensed and arranged the arguments of these Zoiluses in a manner which does great credit to his ingenuity, but even in his synopsis they are much too prolix to be admitted here. We shall state them in very few words, and we grudge even those few to arguments so preposterous and sophistical in our estimation. Wolf and Heyne, then, contend that the ‘*Iliad*’ and ‘*Odyssey*’ are the productions of various rhapsodists, *first*, because it is extremely improbable that in those days any one man should have been found capable of giving birth to such poems; *second*, they dwell on the improbability that works of such length should have been preserved without writing, as the ‘*Iliad*’ and ‘*Odyssey*’ seem to have been up to the time of Lycurgus; for previously, at least in Homer’s time, it is not probable that writing was at all known in Greece; *thirdly*, they observe that the rhapsodists did not recite from any writings, but from memory; that the ‘*Iliad*’ and the ‘*Odyssey*’ were preserved by those rhapsodists; therefore, they were not preserved any where in writing; and, *fourthly*, that the poems have not that strict unity which they would exhibit were they the compositions of one man, and that the little now apparent in them is entirely owing to their Spartan or Athenian editor: but here the critics break off into little schisms, Heyne disputing the unity of some parts only, while he admits the general unity; and Wolf denying altogether the unity of the ‘*Iliad*,’ but allowing that of the ‘*Odyssey*’; *fifthly*, that even in the poems, as we now have them, many parts are spurious, which

shows the negligence of the Athenian editor, who, in collecting and arranging the rhapsodies, was not careful to exclude all corrupt passages.

We would very willingly, if our space admitted it, reply to these arguments in the forcible and convincing language of Mr. Talfourd, who displays, however, in his confutation, somewhat too much of the coldness of a professional advocate. Not that the expressions themselves are frigid or deficient in confidence, but that they are introduced with,—‘On the other side, the following arguments *may be adduced*,’ &c., which is a very poor exordium to a thing intended to be strongly persuasive.

In endeavouring to show the futility of the critical scepticism which pretends to doubt of the personal existence of the great Greek poet, we, of course, lay no claim to the slightest originality, or even imagine ourselves capable of stating the usual arguments better than they have already been stated: we are satisfied with presenting them to our readers in much fewer words, and without that parade of learning which, to many, is mere mystery and oracle. To the first argument, therefore, we reply that, undoubtedly they who advance it appear to be little acquainted with the history of human nature. Poetry, which is the language of imagination and passion, has always in every country preceded all other kinds of composition, and where it has found a language adequate to its conceptions, has invariably risen to greatest sublimity during those periods in which society exhibits with least disguise the passions and energies which belong to man. Learned men, who consume their lives in their closets, observing the obscure movements of their own minds, or comparing the opinions and knowledge of other philosophers, are not the persons to paint manners and the signs and effects of passion, which to them are generally or wholly unknown, as the fury and tossing of the wintry deep to the inland peasant, who never approached the shore. To describe vividly and truly the vehement perturbation, the contentions, the menaces, the revenge, the fury, the desperate struggles, the rage, the changefulness, the fierce repentance, of barbarous warriors, would be impossible to a refined mind and accomplished scholar, unless he had likewise dwelt long among those tumultuous beings, both in war and peace, and there studied their language and their manners. Homer, according to ordinary belief, was one of those men whose profession it was to delight with the charms of music and verse, those heroic but unpolished soldiers whose virtues and vices he has described. His reception, wherever he travelled, must always have depended upon his capacity to administer pleasure to his auditors, and this being the sole occupation and study of his life, his patrimony, his bread, his only instrument for achieving fame, (which we may gather from his poems he vehemently coveted.) it is not at all unnatural nor unreasonable to conclude, that

no degree of excellence was beyond his reach, or unlikely to be attained by him.

But if it be unreasonable to believe that ages so barbarous and so ignorant, as we are fond of representing the heroic times, could produce a poet of genius so unrivalled as the author of the *Iliad* undoubtedly is, is it less unreasonable to imagine that those ages could give birth to twenty Homers of equal capacity? as they must imagine who maintain the new hypothesis, since that the poems were composed in those ages it is impossible to deny. Our critics, however, merely through a love of paradox and an affectation of singularity, exhibit a degree of perverseness and crookedness of intellect entirely inconceivable to an ingenuous mind. 'When they wish,' says Mr. Talfourd, 'to represent it as impossible that, in a rude age, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* should have been produced in a connected form, they enlarge on the art with which they are constructed: when they desire to take away the effect of the reasoning that their completeness shows them to have been the production of one mind, they deny that there is any art at all, and laboriously endeavour to show that they only relate events in a natural order, and are not modelled on any artificial rules.'

In answer to the argument founded on the supposition that when the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed, the use of letters was unknown in Greece, we reply,—prove that alphabetical writing was unknown at that period; for, until this be set clearly at rest, it is absurd to ground any objection at all upon it. For our part, in default of positive testimony, we are disposed to think that the very production of these perfect poems is a proof that, when and by whomsoever they were composed, they were produced in a language refined by writing, and therefore were themselves written. That we know little or nothing of those times, but what we learn from the very poems in question, ought, one would think, among modest and sincere inquirers after truth, to furnish a very powerful reason for abstaining from dogmatizing on the subject. The use of writing was undoubtedly well known to nations with whom the Greeks had had commercial relations long before the Trojan war; Minos, the great law-giver of Crete, who likewise flourished before that era, published his laws in writing; there were Cretans at the siege of Troy; the traditions of Greece ascribe the invention of three letters of the Greek alphabet to Palamedes, the Generalissimo of the army, before Agamemnon; Homer travelled in Asia, the country, in all probability, of his birth, and there is every thing, but positive demonstration, to prove that he was in Egypt: upon what evidence, therefore, do those learned Thebans, the Wolfs and the Heynes, assert, in the teeth of all these circumstances, that Homer was ignorant of the art of writing? If we are not entirely mistaken in this matter, this strolling old bard, this man who could neither write nor read, this rhapsodist who never

saw a *beta* or a *digamma*, might, nevertheless, have taught these learned gentlemen a great many secrets in the art of composition. But, letting this pass, who is it that has told them the heroic Greeks were ignorant how to write their names? What ancient historian has asserted it? Let the reader preserve his gravity, while we whisper to him the mighty authority of MM. Heyne and Wolf,—that authority, upon which Aristotle and Herodotus are to be convicted of ignorance and falsehood, upon which all antiquity is to be disbelieved, upon which history, and tradition, and reason and common sense are to be set at nought, was—a *Jew*! Nothing better. We know, very well, says Bishop Burnett, that in matters of *religion* and *prophecy* the Jews were so famous that it seemed as if those things were inherent in their soil; but as to learning or science, or philosophy, or art, no barbarians of the ancient world were more notoriously ignorant. So that the assertion of Apollonius, however bitter, must be nevertheless allowed to be true, that of all mankind the Jews were the most unintellectual, and the only nation upon earth which had made no discovery useful to humanity. They were surrounded by celebrated nations, the Egyptians, the Phenicians, the Persians, the Greeks, but always remained neglected and unknown, or known only to be carried into bondage and captivity. How, therefore, should the writers of such a nation, cut off from the world by their unsocial institutions, and more unsocial character, presume to decide with any face of authority upon the antiquities of a people like the Greeks, the most profoundly learned and philosophical that has ever yet existed? But, more than this, Josephus, the Jewish historian, besides having no means that we have not, of knowing any thing of those remote times, is a writer repeatedly convicted of falsehood and the most contemptible credulity; nay, in matters which we may suppose Moses to have actually witnessed himself, he positively contradicts that ancient lawgiver and historian. We may therefore easily perceive the value of conclusions founded on the testimony of such a writer, ignorant, in the first place, of the facts of which he has the arrogance to speak, and unworthy of credit, even had he possessed opportunities, which he did not, of thoroughly investigating the question.

But even should we grant, for the sake of argument, (that which in fact cannot be granted without flying in the face of all antiquity,) that the ‘*Iliad*’ and ‘*Odyssey*’ were preserved, not in writing, but in the memory of the rhapsodists or bards, with whom memory was an art and a profession; would it follow, that the poems could not have been the work of one man, or could not have been transmitted in their completeness and purity from one generation to the next? It is a fact which need not be insisted on, that men, when their lives and fortunes depend on any particular art or science, will apply more rigorously to that thing, and will make more progress in it, too, than other men, who only take it up, among other things, for

amusement, or for the gratification of curiosity or vanity. There have, however, been persons, who, besides knowing many various accomplishments, have been able to retain and repeat more verses than compose the *Iliad*, and this, without being urged to remember by the keen spur of necessity. Porson and Magliabecchi are notorious examples, in modern times; and Xenophon speaks of one Euthydemus a very young man, at first an occasional, and afterwards a constant hearer of Socrates, who could repeat the whole of Homer's verses.\* This is an example worthy to be urged very particularly. Euthydemus had no view in committing all Homer to memory, except that of acquiring wisdom, for which purpose, in addition to the '*Iliad*' and '*Odyssey*,' he learned innumerable passages from other poets and sophists; and although we cannot but join with Socrates in smiling at his notions of the way to wisdom, we must grant him the merit of great assiduity, and a most retentive memory. At the time he had made all these acquisitions, he was, it should be remembered, too young to be admitted into the popular assemblies, and, in consequence, was under the necessity of exhibiting his wisdom and memory in a harness-maker's shop, just outside of the forum. We learn from Lord Teignmouth, that, at the age of twelve, Sir William Jones could repeat the whole of the '*Tempest*,' at least, with sufficient accuracy to enable his school-fellows at Harrow to act the play from the copy made from his dictation. Should we then regard it as any thing very surprising or incredible that the ancient rhapsodists could repeat the whole of Homer, correctly and purely, considering that, from childhood upward, it was their daily task, by which they subsisted, and earned whatever of honour or veneration they enjoyed in society? Understanding as we do the nature of memory, the wonder would be if, with all these motives to acquire verses, and repeat them with precision, they should ever have been found deficient or inexact.

With respect to Homer's deficiency in *unity*, and the argument thence deduced in favour of the new hypothesis, we shall say but little, for the objection carries ridicule and absurdity upon the face of it. Who has decided, or shall decide, in what this same *unity* consists? Do these Zoiluses themselves take any thing like the same view of it? By no means. One, as we before observed, finds unity where the other discovers confusion, and *vice versa*. What then? Must a poet be quibbled into a shadow because critics cannot concur about something he never thought of? But, supposing the '*Iliad*' and the '*Odyssey*' should be found not to exhibit as much unity as other epic poems, a supposition, however, which we are far from making, no proof, we imagine, could be extracted from that, to invalidate the claims of those poems to be regarded as the composition of one extraordinary genius. Not one of Shakespeare's tragedies exhibits this unintelligible unity contended for by these critics; but we do not, on that account, deny that Shak-

\* See Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, l. iv. c. 2 and 10.

speare wrote those tragedies, and argue that they must have been produced by some Joint-Stock Company. Not at all. We allow this defect, if it be such, in our poet, and very willingly yield to any German commentator the honour of discovering it; but we shall not part so easily with the individuality of Shakspeare. Let no man, unless he should desire to be thought a candidate for St. Luke's, attempt to persuade the English, that Hamlet and Macbeth were vamped up by certain nameless players, whose reputations were devoured in embryo by that of Shakspeare. But this is exactly what Heyne and Wolf endeavoured to perpetrate against Homer, and with as little ground to fix the batteries of their critical ordnance on. 'Indeed,' says Mr. Talfourd, 'Wolf himself candidly declares, that when he reads the work itself he finds such unity of design, such harmony of colouring, and such consistency of character, that he is ready to give up his theories, and to be angry with himself for doubting the common faith in the personality of Homer.'

Let this suffice. The 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' will always appear to all true lovers of poetry to be the productions of one man—the same genius is stamped upon the narratives, the epithets, the metaphors, the characters; and if, as all human productions are, they are in some portions less perfect and less pleasing than in others, this can never make men think that any age, from the beginning of the world until now, ever produced a Company of poets, of genius so exalted as those which, according to our German antagonists, must have concurred in the composition of these epics. The fluctuations of taste may now and then in the course of eternity narrow the stream of Homer's readers and admirers, which must nearly always be the same; but, unless mankind shall sink back into utter barbarism, through the efforts of despotism and priestcraft, Homer, we apprehend, will never be removed from his position upon the summit of literature, where he has hitherto sat alone, and braved the vicissitudes of three thousand years. These discussions, indeed, only widen his influence, for, he is a bale of perfume of everlasting fragrance, that only sheds more delicious odours the more it is disturbed and agitated.

What we have said will, we hope, be considered satisfactory; though every argument might undoubtedly be made more pointed and powerful, and might be urged with far more force; but we cannot persuade ourselves that the reasonings of our adversaries are of a nature to demand more close and earnest contention. They seem to us mere sophisms, constructed with some ingenuity, but destitute of every feature of naked truth. Of course we may be very erroneous in this opinion; but, notwithstanding, we are quite earnest in the belief of it at present, and shall be ready to push the controversy still further should it hereafter be found that we have overlooked any material objection, or suffered any powerful argument to elude our notice.

## THE CAFFER FRONTIER.

### No. III.

IN the pacification made with the Caffers in 1819, after their country had been ravaged by the 'Great Commando,' and the kraals of the hostile chiefs had been plundered of about 50,000 head of cattle, it was prescribed, as one of the conditions of peace, that they should evacuate the whole tract of country lying west of the Keiskamma River, and the Chumie, one of its chief branches. This tract extends to upwards of 2,000,000 of acres, and contains many fertile and well watered vallies, much prized by the Caffers both for pasturage and cultivation, and supporting, while in their possession, a very dense population. A great part of this territory belonged to Gaika, in support of whom solely (as it was alleged) the war had been engaged in by the Colonial Government, and whose forcible establishment as King, or paramount chief of the frontier tribes, was its ostensible object. But on the reduction of the insurgents our swarthy ally was told that the whole of this frontier tract must be evacuated, and allowed to remain neutral ground, in order to protect the colony from Caffer depredations. Gaika complained to the Government agent, on this occasion, that, though grateful for the support he had received from the colony, and sensible that he owed his existence as a chief to it, yet, when he saw this fine country wrested from him and his people, he felt that he was somewhat 'oppressed by his benefactors.' There was, however, no alternative left him; and the cession was formally made to Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire, in 1819, agreeably to the terms prescribed by Lord Charles Somerset. It was expressly stipulated that the territory thus ceded should remain, in future, entirely unoccupied either by Caffers or colonists, or, as it was expressed by the Landdrost Stockenstrom (who assisted at this convention), in translating it into the metaphorical style of the natives, 'that the waters of the Koumap, the Kat, and the Keiskamma, should henceforth flow undisturbed into the ocean.' A proviso was made, reserving a right to the Colonial Government to establish one or two military posts in this 'neutral ground;' and to reconcile Gaika to the measure, he was assured that they were principally intended for *his* protection.

Such was the state of affairs when Lord Charles Somerset left the colony in 1820. A few months afterwards the Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, visited the Caffer frontier, and (as has been already stated) entered into a new convention with Gaika, by which the occupation of the Neutral Territory by *British settlers* was agreed to, with the express stipulation that no Dutch-African



boors, the hereditary foes of the Caffers, should be allowed to settle there. Whether either of these conventions, made exclusively with Gaika, could justly be considered binding upon the other frontier chiefs who did not acknowledge his authority, may well be questioned; but the Colonial Government which prescribed the terms—which secured Gaika's acceptance of them (partly bribed by presents, partly overawed by threats),—and which constrained the reluctant concurrence of his opponents,—the Colonial Government, at all events, was solemnly pledged to a strict adherence to the conditions of its own treaty. Let us now see what has been its actual conduct.

The surveying of the Kat river for the location of British emigrants, and the establishment of the Beka Settlement,\* by the Acting Governor, were strictly accordant with the stipulations of the second convention. When, however, Lord Charles Somerset returned in 1821, he denied the validity of Sir Rufane's treaty; he broke up the Beka Settlement, not by an express mandate of authority, but by refusing it that protection and support which had been guaranteed by Government, and without which it was obvious no frontier settlement could be established. But as this strange policy was pursued, partly from a professed regard to the terms of his own treaty, in declaring the country wrested from the Caffers to be 'Neutral Ground,' and which he alleged Sir Rufane had infringed without cause, and without authority, it might be presumed that Lord Charles would be careful to adhere to those terms himself. By no means: it was quite a different thing to allow a rival to interfere with his frontier arrangements, however much for the public advantage, from modifying or setting aside by his own fiat, what part of them he chose, when it served his own purposes, or suited his own pleasure.

The manoeuvres practised in 1824 and 1825 to get up laudatory addresses in favour of Lord Charles Somerset, and his son, the Commandant, have been already alluded to. It is not a little singular that the first rumours of his Excellency's intention to distribute the country formerly termed the 'Neutral,' now the 'Ceded' territory among the frontier boors, began to prevail about the same time. Frequent and mysterious conferences were also observed to take place between Major Somerset and Landdrost Mackay, and divers of the Heemraden and Veld-Cornets of the Somerset district. At length it became distinctly known that the Governor had determined to apportion out this much coveted tract of country among the Dutch-African boors, and *not* among British settlers; and thus to abrogate entirely, and without ceremony, both his own and Sir Rufane's treaty with the natives.

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\* See p. 17, Vol. XII.

Numerous memorials praying for grants of land were immediately poured in from the frontier colonists. These were remitted to the Landdrost to be reported upon, according to the usual routine; and, in the meanwhile, the applicants were permitted to go over the Great Fish River (our South African Jordan) with their flocks and herds, and possess themselves of this 'Promised Land.'

About the same period, in the beginning of 1825, Lord Charles Somerset visited the frontier, and after a hasty tour of courtesy and conciliation through Albany (purposely undertaken to sooth the exasperated feelings produced by three years of insolent oppression,) his Lordship honoured with his presence the Caha Post, and the new Drostdy of Somerset, and received the homage of the 'gallant burghers,' who crowded to meet him. His Lordship was followed by Sir Richard Plasket, the new Colonial Secretary, who also inspected the 'Ceded' Territory, and gave instruction for its official survey, and division into farm allotments.

After this, the process of inspecting, surveying, and allotting out the lands, proceeded with great rapidity. In a few months upwards of one hundred farms, comprising an extent of about 300,000 acres, were inspected and reported upon by the Landdrost and Heemraden, surveyed by the land measurers, and put into the possession of the boors; the several local functionaries taking due care to secure for themselves or their families the choicest and largest portions. I shall now, in order to throw a stronger light on the subject, mention a few of the favoured grantees in detail.

No. 1. Cornelis F. Van der Nest, Veld-Cornet of Bavian's River. This man's general character and recent conduct have been already mentioned. In 1815, he was one of the rebel boors in arms against the British Government. In 1824, he was one of Lord Charles Somerset's ultra 'loyal' partizans on the eastern frontier ---and high in favour with Major Somerset and Landdrost Mackay. In September 1824, he appears at the head of those 'gentlemen' boors whom the Governor addressed so condescendingly---whose 'good opinion,' in regard to the conduct of his son, afforded his Excellency such 'very great satisfaction,'---and whose 'opinions and wishes' he promised so graciously to give 'all that weight with his Majesty's Government in England, which his situation enabled him to do.' Six weeks afterwards, this C. F. Van der Nest, and his associates, 'the respective burghers of the Bavian's River,' evinced pretty plainly the true character of those whom his Majesty's representative had thus delighted to honour, by murdering the Caffre envoys in the mode I have related. And his Excellency Lord Charles Somerset manifested the sentiments which he entertained towards the perpetrators of such atrocities, by not only continuing Van der Nest in office, but by granting him and his condjutors the choicest portions of the 'Ceded Territory'

Nos. 2, 3, 4. Willem, Gideon, and Hendrick Van der Nest, brothers of the Veld-Cornet---all rebels in 1815---all ultra loyal partizans of Lord Charles, and signers of laudatory addresses in 1824 and 1825---all Caffer slayers---and all sharers of the Ceded Territory.

No. 6. Piet Erasmus. This man headed the rebel boors in 1815, and had then the audacity to insult and threaten the late Colonel Fraser, when, under the protection of a flag of truce, he was admitted to a conference at Van Aard's Post. In 1824, he was a Somerset loyalist, in high favour with Colonel Somerset, on terms of great intimacy with Landdrost Mackay, and distinguished for his active zeal in procuring signatures to the laudatory addresses. He is now Veld-Cornet of the Ceded Territory, and of course a special sharer in the recent grants. For the rest, he is one of the most noted shots upon the eastern frontier, in hunting down Caffers and Bushmen. He was not present when his brother-in-law, Van der Nest, slaughtered Makomo's messengers: but he expressed his opinion of that transaction to a friend of mine, by exclaiming with an oath, that if *he* had been there the *third* Caffer should not have escaped alive to tell the story.

Nos. 6, 7, 8. Jacobus Kloppe, a rebel in 1815; Stophel Kloppe, his brother, and brother-in-law to the Van der Nests; and Theunis Botha, another brother-in-law of the same clan; all signers of addresses, Somerset loyalists, and grantees of Ceded Territory in 1825.

No. 9. Humphries, an Englishman (a discharged soldier of the 72d regiment), married to a sister of the Van der Nests, among whom he is settled. He was active in promoting the addresses; and he assisted in shooting the Caffer envoys in 1824. This man readily obtained Landdrost Mackay's recommendation for a grant in the Ceded Territory---while such gentlemen as Major Pigot, Lieutenant White, and other 'Albany Radicals' (*i. e.* persons obnoxious to Lord Charles Somerset, or his son, the Commandant), had all their applications treated with neglect, or contemptuously rejected by the Governor and his minions.

Nos. 10, 11. Haas and Louw Botman. These men have been already mentioned, and some specimens given of their peculiar merits. They are both special favourites of the Commandant, and of course prominent among the class of 'gentlemen' whom the Governor selected to possess the Ceded Territory. Haas Botman had a principal hand in getting up the address for Major Somerset. According to his own account, the Major promised him a high bred English horse for his zealous exertions on that occasion, but afterwards, in lieu of the horse, rewarded him with his interest in obtaining a choice share of the Ceded Territory; nor had Haas any cause to complain, for the place allotted to him (Commando Fontein) is reputed to contain about 8000 acres of valuable land---

exclusive of 2000 acres additional bestowed upon one of his sons, a striping of thirteen years of age. His brother Louw also obtained a valuable grant.

No. 12. Willem Prinsloe, commonly called *Groot Willem* (being a corpulent man, about six feet and a half high), one of the ringleaders of the rebellion of 1815. He and his three sons signed the laudatory addresses in 1824, and obtained the grant of 6000 acres in 1825, upon the spot where the Caffer chief, Jalusa, formerly resided—a choice and fertile spot, which had been previously but vainly applied for by Major Pigot.

Such is a brief sketch of a dozen of the border boers, who have recently distinguished themselves by their 'loyalty' to Lord Charles Somerset, and who were selected by his Lordship, in direct infringement of his own treaty, to possess the territory wrested from the Caffers, after a war of unjust aggression on the part of the Colonial Government. It would have been easy to have enlarged the list to 100, in place of a dozen\*; but the latter number is sufficient to manifest the character of the persons and of the transactions I have now brought under review. No unfairness can be complained of in the selection of the individuals, for they are the identical persons to whom his Excellency's letter of September 24, 1824, is specially addressed; and I now leave the reader to form his own opinion on this part of the subject, without further comment.

I must now revert to the situation of military affairs on the frontier, from the time of the plundering of Makomo, in consequence of the loss of Louw Botman's calves. For a period of about twelve months after that transaction, no commandoes of any consequence were undertaken against the Caffers. The dashing Commandant (who had now attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel) had gone down to Cape Town, expecting to be superseded in the command on the frontier by Colonel Hutchinson; and the acting officer, Major Forbes, a humane and sensible man, by re-establishing a friendly understanding with the principal Caffer chiefs, kept the frontier tolerably quiet, and generally succeeded in obtaining restitution of any stolen cattle, by fair and amicable means.

A regular market had also been now opened on the banks of the Kieskamma for ivory, hides, gum, and other native productions, in exchange chiefly for beads and buttons, which form the

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\* The profuse grants of lands in the Ceded Territory to the Somerset Hemraaden and others, have been mentioned by another correspondent—the 'Cape Colonist,' in a former Number of the 'Oriental Herald.' *Vide* Number for December 1826, page 605.

principal ornaments, and the circulating medium of the Caffre tribes. This barter had previously existed to a trifling extent; but, in the usual selfish and illiberal spirit of the Colonial Government, had been restricted, as I have already noticed, exclusively to the military officers and the local functionaries. At the instance of the Commissioners of Inquiry this miserable monopoly had at length been given up, and the Caffre trade put upon a more rational and equitable footing. In the course of about twelve months it had already greatly extended itself; and not to speak of its growing consequence as a branch of colonial commerce, its influence as a means of promoting the civilization of the natives, was becoming every day more obvious and important.\*

What, then, must be thought of an administration, which, at such a crisis, sent back a rash uninformed young man, like Colonel Somerset, to assume the *management* of the frontier? He returned to take the command in October 1825; and speedily evinced that he was still actuated by the same spirit, and invested by his father with the same dangerous discretion. In December following he made another *dash* into Caffreland, to plunder certain kraals, where, as it was alleged, some horses stolen from the colony, were detained by a Caffre female of rank, an aunt of King Gaika's, and the eldest of the blood royal.

This Commando, composed of Hottentot cavalry and armed boors, from Bruintjes-hoogte and Bavia's River, marched off so secretly and suddenly, that neither their route nor their object were made known to Major Dundas, the Landdrost of Albany, (a man of honourable and independent sentiments,) so that he was not enabled to adopt any precautions to protect the traders at the Keiskamma Fair from the dangerous resentment of the natives.

The Commandant and his troop, in the meanwhile, about 300 strong, entered Caffreland; and, with a view of taking by surprise the kraals they proposed to despoil, proceeded forward by night. So ill-informed, however, or so unlucky were their leaders, that the Commando fell first by mistake upon the kraal of Botma, a chief distinguished for his quiet conduct and friendship to the colony. Before the blunder was discovered, several women and children had been cruelly shot,—the inhabitants being wantonly fired upon by the boors, as they fled in unresisting confusion from their huts. Botma was, however, at length recognised, and the cattle seized in his kraals having been restored, and the firing 'apologized for,' the Commando proceeded towards the residence

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\* The Caffers are now supplied not with *red clay*, nor merely with beads and buttons, but also with iron pots, clothing, and other articles of real utility, for which the demand is gradually increasing.

of the Chief Neuka, and his liege-lady, the aged matron Iehusa. This high-born dame and her followers had by this time taken the alarm, and fled into the woods with most of their cattle, so that little plunder was found on *their* premises. Not to make altogether an unprofitable excursion, however, the Commando carried off the cattle from some kraals belonging to Gaika's adherents; and with these, amounting to about 2000 head, endeavoured to make good their retreat. But the country was now thoroughly roused, and the exasperated natives hung upon their rear in such force, and manifested so determined a spirit of resistance, that it was found expedient to give back quietly about three-fourths of the captured cattle before re-crossing the Keiskamma. With the residue of the spoil (about 600 head) they returned into the colony, having lost two men (Europeans), who had straggled from the main body, and were cut off by the enraged enemy. The captured cattle were, of course, distributed principally among the frontier boers who assisted in the expedition,—the favourite Veld Cornets, Van der Nest and Erasmus, among the rest.

Of this expedition a flashy and fullacious account appeared, as usual, in the 'Cape Government Gazette.' The above are the actual facts derived from more authentic sources.

Another Commando, a week or two subsequent to this, was sent against the unfortunate Makomo. But the cattle then taken from him have, I understand, been since restored; and from the more liberal and humane sentiments of General Bourke, (the new Lieutenant Governor, who has recently succeeded Lord Charles Somerset in the Government of the Colony,) it is presumed that the barbarous commando system is at length likely to be finally abandoned.

The limits of a paper in a periodical work have necessarily forced me to confine myself, in the preceding cursory sketch, to a few of the more recent and notorious instances of the system that has been pursued towards the Caffer people since they came into collision with British power and policy. But let any man of candid mind or Christian feelings look merely at the little I have told, (and it is not a twentieth part of the wrong and injustice that has been inflicted,) and say whether it be not disgraceful to our country that such a system should have been so long suffered to prevail, and whether it be not requisite that some security should be obtained against its recurrence. So long as the Cape was considered a Dutch settlement, or while the wrongs endured by the Aborigines could be ascribed exclusively to the old corrupt and imbecile Dutch Government, or to the brutality of the Dutch-African boers, the Hottentots, Bushmen, and Caffers found able advocates among Englishmen high in office and influence. How comes it that those eloquent defenders are now silent? Has the

avarice, the arrogance, or the rapacity of the white intruder ceased since the time of Barrow? Have the infamous oppressions perpetrated by the colonists in his time, and so indignantly exposed by that writer, been redressed, or put a stop to, by the influence of a better Government; and the agency of better laws and magistrates? Or, is it not a humiliating fact, that the enthrallment of the Hottentot race has been completed under the British Government, and has even been, in some respects, accelerated by the enactments of British Governors? Is it not a fact, that the hunting down of the miserable Bushmen (or wild Hottentots) has gone on ever since the days of Barrow, and that it still goes on, at this moment, in the same cruel and revolting fashion as he has described it? And, as for the Caffers,—that mild and manly race—whom Barrow thought so superior to the ‘Christian’ savages who harassed and oppressed them, is it not a fact, that after being expelled by us from the Zuurveld, a district which they first purchased from the original possessors, the Gonaquas, and afterwards from the intruding boors,—they have been unjustly invaded by British troops, plundered of an immense quantity of cattle, their chief means of subsistence, and when driven to despair and goaded to retaliation,—their favourite leaders ‘outlawed’ and hunted down, and an extensive tract of valuable country violently wrested from them, and (in defiance of solemn stipulations) allotted to their cruel and hereditary oppressors? What, in fine, has been the recent ‘policy,’ if policy it can be termed, on the eastern frontier? A wretched series of paltry manœuvring for the promotion of the seas of the Governor, at the sacrifice of our colonial security, of the civilization of the natives, and of the character of our country!

Could an accurate statement be procured of the quantity of cattle taken from the Caffer people during the last ten years, and the number of men, women and children destroyed by us in our incursions, and this account compared with the amount of bloodshed and rapine, committed by the Caffers in the colony during the same period, the balance I am convinced would weigh fearfully against the humanity of the ‘Christians,’ and would furnish but indifferent cause to boast of the ‘mild policy of Britain,’ as contrasted with the proverbial ‘barbarity of the Dutch.’

Since the preceding pages were written, I have ascertained, that, in consequence of some of the proceedings above detailed being reported to the Home Government by the Commissioners of Inquiry, the whole of the grants in the Ceded Territory allotted by Lord Charles Somerset to his friends, the frontier boors, have been revoked, and the boors dispossessed by an express order from Earl Bathurst,—with instructions to the Lieutenant-Governor to remunerate such as had expended labour or capital in building or other improvements. This is so far well and praiseworthy; and if Lord

Bathurst follows up this righteous measure, by making the expense of this remuneration fall not upon the public, but upon the individuals by whose shameful abuse of power and patronage the charge was occasioned ; and above all, if he takes good care to prevent in future, by proper constitutional checks in the colony itself, either those or any other persons whatever, from having it in their *power* to perpetrate such abuses, I shall then join as cordially in praising his justice and humanity, as I now deplore the tardiness of his investigation into the iniquities of the Caffer frontier.

APER.

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THE EURASIAN ANTHEM.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,—In requesting the insertion of the enclosed lines, which are dedicated to the British Nation, I beg to inform you that they are the production of an Eurasian,\* a young man, who has been perfectly blind since he was ten years of age.

A SUBSCRIBER.

Madras, 10th October 1826.

*To the British Nation, but to the Imperial Parliament in particular, the following lines are humbly dedicated by their depressed Descendants in the East Indies.*

WHEN Britain, from the azure sea  
First rose, the Land of Liberty,  
'This was her great commission :  
'Go forth to India's distant strand,  
Subdue and civilize the land,  
And better her condition.

And when thou art established there,  
Grant her thy laws, dispense them fair,  
And bless the sable nation ;  
To all and each extend thy grace,  
But chiefly to an unborn race,  
That shall be called Eurasian.

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\* This is one of the most popular terms by which the mixed race, descended from European and Asiatic parents, are distinguished.



*The Eurasian Anthem.*

Allied to both the black and white,  
 They shall both interests unite,  
 And form the central props  
 Of all thy future ample sway  
 O'er this bright region of the day,  
 This land of golden crops.

With haughty hearts, and souls of fire,  
 To equal rights they shall aspire,  
 And equal honours too ;  
 Nor should'st thou disallow their claim.  
 For, recollecting whence they came,  
 They shall demand their due !'

Such was the great commission given  
 To Britain, by the voice of heaven ;  
 Bear witness, church and state !  
 Let her fulfil the high decree,  
 Writ in the book of destiny,  
 Th' unerring page of fate.

Nor let her more affect to scorn,  
 But play us fair in India born,  
 Nor the great work delay ;  
 For since we are her flesh and bone,  
 Now let her make us all her own,  
 And join us in her sway

Thus let her prove that she is just,  
 A faithful guardian to *her* trust,  
 While every true Eurasian,  
 Obligated by more than filial ties,  
 The bulwark of her power shall raise  
 Against each hostile nation.

All hail to Britain and her laws !  
 Heaven prosper India and her cause,  
 All hail to both the nations !  
 As Britain, so let India be,  
 A land of equal liberty,  
 To Britons and Eurasians.

## ON THE LICENSING SYSTEM.

## No. 1.

‘The system of licensing pervades almost every department of life—bar-  
risters, attorneys, clergymen, trades in corporation towns, are all under the  
influence of this system. It cannot be said, therefore, that the new regu-  
lation (for subjecting all newspapers to a license revocable at the pleasure  
of the Government in India) is repugnant to the laws of England, since (in  
that country) its principle enters into almost every situation in life.’—*Speech*  
*of Sir Francis Macnaghten, in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, March 31,*  
*1823.\**

A legal friend having had his attention drawn to the principle as  
well as operation of the licensing system here spoken of, the pre-  
valence of which, in England, is quoted as a reason for its general  
adoption in her distant dependencies, has projected a series of arti-  
cles on the several pursuits and professions subject to this res-  
trictive course of legislation, beginning with the most obvious of  
those in England,—the taverns and theatres, the great marts of  
physical refreshment and intellectual pleasure provided for the  
accommodation of the community,—and passing onward to other  
establishments and occupations, as unjustly subjected to restraints  
which ought not in principle to exist, and which utterly fail, in  
practice, to attain the end desired. We promise our readers much  
information and pleasure from this series of papers, and enter at  
once on the author’s development of his views.

## PUBLIC HOUSES.

We will preface our observations on the laws for the licensing of  
taverns, by a short history of the origin and growth of this legis-  
lative interference, extracted from the first Report of the Committee  
on the State of the Police of the Metropolis, dated May 1817.

‘It appears, that prior to the reign of Edward the VI., ale or  
tippling houses, or houses of public refreshment, were set up at the  
free will and pleasure of any person who thought fit to vest his  
property in that manner. In the old law books it is held ‘that be-  
fore that period, it was lawful for any one to keep an alehouse with-  
out licence, for it was a means of livelihood which any one was free  
to follow; but if it was disorderly kept, it was indictable as a com-  
mon nuisance.’ Parliament, however, taking into consideration the  
evil attendant on the abuse of this liberty, as affecting the morals  
and manners of the people at large, gave by statute, in the reign of  
Henry VII., a power to justices of the peace to suppress useless

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\* See the *Oriental Herald*, Vol. i. p. 139.

houses. The evil not being diminished by this law, by the 5th and 6th Edward VI., justices were empowered to *put away* common ale or tippling houses, as they thought meet and convenient; and none were to keep such houses in future, but such as should be allowed in open session, or else by two justices of the peace, who are thereby directed to take bond and surety by recognizance of the alehouse keepers, or keepers of tippling houses, for preserving good rule and order therein.

'In the first year of James I., c. 9, an Act was passed, which sets forth in the preamble 'that whereas the antient, true and principal use of inns, alehouses and victualling houses, was for the resort, relief and lodging of wayfaring people, travelling from place to place, and for such supply of the wants of such people as are not able by greater quantities to make provision of victual, and not meant for entertainment and harbouring of lewd idle people, to spend and consume their money and their time in lewd and drunken manner;' it then proceeds to subject to penalties the keepers of alehouses, who suffer people to tipple in their houses. The 7th of James I., c. 10, disables an alehouse keeper convicted in the above penalty, from keeping an alehouse for three years; the 21st of James I. perpetuated the former statute, and rendered one witness sufficient to fine the tippling, whereas two were required before.

'Your Committee remark, that from the period of Edward VI. to the reign of George II., the legislature in imposing the necessity of a licence had solely in view the question of police; all their regulations were principally directed to the good and orderly management of public houses, as connected with the preservation of the public morals and peace. Early, however, in William and Mary, an Act was passed which produced the most important effects: it was for the avowed purpose of encouraging the distillation of British spirits; and by this Act, *all persons*, whether *licensed* or *not*, were authorized to *distil* and *sell* British spirits by retail, provided only the duties were paid.

'This law gave such an encouragement to the manufacture and consumption of spirits, that it was found necessary to check their sale. By the 12th and 13th William III., c. 11, sec. 18, all persons were prevented from selling brandy or other distilled liquors by retail, to be drank in their houses, but such as should be licensed in the same manner as common alehouses, and the Justices were invested with the same power over the one as over the other.

'At this period spirits were retailed by tradesmen who dealt in other commodities; for, by the 1st Anne, c. 14, all distillers and all shopkeepers, whose principal dealings were *more* in other goods than in brandy and strong waters, and who did not permit tippling in their houses, were allowed to sell spirits by retail without licence.

'This trade increased to such an extent, that by the 2d George

II., c. 17, a duty of 20*l.* was imposed on the retailing licence to sell spirits, which, for the first time, was directed to be *renewed yearly*, and a penalty of 10*l.* was inflicted on persons who should sell brandy without licence. By the 11th section of that statute, from the 24th of June 1729, no licence shall be granted to any person to keep an inn or alehouse, or to retail brandy or strong waters, but at a general meeting of the Justices of the Peace, to be holden for that purpose on the 1st day of September yearly, or within twenty-one days afterwards. This statute is the origin of the present system of licensing public-houses at a general annual meeting; and the object of which enactment is clearly set forth in the 11th section,—namely, that the Justices may be truly informed as to the occasion or want of such inns or alehouses, and the character of persons applying for licences for the same. The statute of 6th George II., c. 17, repeals the 20*l.* duty on the licence, as the same had been productive of injury to the revenue, and affixes a penalty of 10*l.* on all who should sell, or expose to sale, spirits in stables, sheds, or wheelbarrows, or in any other places than in dwelling-houses, living in the same.

‘This latter enactment clearly explains the effect of the law, which operated to drive, by the cost of the licence, the spirits from the dwelling-house, and to encourage the sale of them in an illicit manner.

‘That this last law did not succeed in remedying any of the evils which it proposed to cure, is apparent: for by the 9th George II., c. 23, called the Gin Act, ‘No person was permitted to vend spirituous liquors in any manner in a less quantity than two gallons, without first taking out a licence, for which he should pay down annually to the Excise the sum of 50*l.*: the penalty of selling without such licence being 100*l.*’; and by the same statute, 20*l.* a gallon was laid on British spirits: it is also enacted, sec. 10, that after the 24th of September 1736, ‘no licence should be granted to any person whatsoever, for selling by retail any spirituous liquours, or strong waters, except to such persons only who should keep public victualling houses, inns, coffee-houses, ale-houses, or brandy-shops, and use and exercise no other trade whatsoever.’

‘Your Committee wish here to observe, that it is evident the Legislature had two objects in view not easily reconcilable: first, to promote the distillation and sale of spirits as a profitable source of revenue, as well as an encouragement to the agriculture of the kingdom: and, secondly, to prevent abuses in the consumption of the spirits, arising from the cheapness and the manner in which they were vended. The plan adopted then was to prevent all private sale, to make the vent of spirits public, and to take the trade out of the hands of hucksters, barrow-women and itinerant salesmen, and place it in those of reputable and responsible housekeepers.

That these were the intentions of Parliament no one can deny ; that they were entirely frustrated is also beyond doubt ; for the heavy expense of the licence, and the duties on the spirits, gave such a bounty on illicit distillation and illegal sale, as produced consequences the very opposite to those which the Legislature contemplated ; the revenue was injured, and the trade thrown into the hands of those who took out no licence, and who paid no duty. The testimony of contemporary writers, and the authority of Parliamentary debates, show the horrid excesses which those ill-advised laws and regulations produced ; when at last, after a trial of seven years, in the 16th year of George II., an act was passed by which the duty of 50*l.* on the licence was taken off, and one of 20*s.* imposed in its place ; and the duty on spirits from malt and corn was lowered from 20*s.* to 3*d.* per gallon ; and by the 10th section it is enacted, that after the 25th of March 1743, no licence shall be granted to any person or persons whatsoever, selling by retail any spirituous liquors, except to such persons only who shall keep taverns, victualling-houses, inns, coffee-houses, or ale-houses ; with a proviso, that nothing in this act shall be construed to enable any one to sell spirituous liquors by retail, unless such person shall be first licensed to sell ale or other spirituous liquors.

‘ In the next year an explanatory or supplementary Act was passed, 17th George II. c. 17, in order to provide against a practice which had grown up, namely, of persons who came under the operation of the law authorizing them to hold licences, yet who separated the spirit house from the alehouse, and opened and kept a shop for spirits in other situations. By the sections 18 and 21 of this Act, the practice is declared illegal, and 10*l.* penalty affixed to the offence.

‘ By the 24th of George II. c. 40 sec. 8, no person within the limits of the head office of Excise shall be licensed to retail spirituous liquors, unless he shall occupy, as tenant, a tenement of the yearly value of 10*l.* or upwards, or in any other part of the kingdom, unless he pays to church and poor.

‘ The 26th George II., c. 31, sets forth in its preamble, that the laws concerning alehouses, inns, and victualling-houses, and the licensing of them, are defective and insufficient for correcting and suppressing the abuses and disorders frequently done and committed therein. It then proceeds to enact, that the Justices shall bind the parties over who received the licence in a personal recognizance of 10*l.* with two sureties in 5*l.* each, or one in 10*l.* ; and in order that the person so applying for a licence should be of *good fame, and sober life* and conversation, prior to the granting of such licence, a certificate is directed to be produced to the Justices, under the hands of the clergyman and the major part of the churchwardens or overseers, or else of three or four reputable and substantial householders and inhabitants of the parish or place where

such alehouse is to be, and that such certificate of character should be mentioned in the licence, and without it, it should be null and void. It further enacts, section 7, that upon any complaint being made before any Justice of the Peace of any county or place wherein such licence shall be granted, that the licensed person has to the judgment of the Justices broke his recognizance with condition thereof, the Justice shall have power to bind the parties complaining over to appear at the next general quarter sessions, where the matter at issue shall be tried by a jury; and if a verdict is found against the defendant, his recognizance shall be forfeited, and he himself disabled from having a licence to sell ale or spirituous liquors for three years.

‘By the 30th George II. c. 24, sec. 14, publicans permitting journeymen, labourers, servants, or apprentices, to game in their houses, and shall be convicted on oath before any justice of peace, shall forfeit the sum of forty shillings; and upon a subsequent committal of the offence, shall pay the sum of 10*l*.

‘Act 32d George III. c. 59, regulates the transfer of licenses at petty sessions to be held by the justices.

‘The 48th George III. c. 143, merely provides that the licenses to sell ale and beer by retail shall be taken out at the Excise Office, instead of being issued by the justices; but that such licence shall not be granted, unless the person applying shall first produce an authority granted to him by two justices of the peace, to keep a common inn, alehouse or victualling house; which licence shall be in the form prescribed by the law.’

The minutes of evidence, on which this Report was grounded, are extremely curious: they show that the law, as it then stood, had produced or brought into exercise the grossest corruption in the magistracy, both in granting and withholding licenses: had given occasion to a monopoly on the part of the brewers and distillers, highly prejudicial to the quality of the liquor sold, and had held out an encouragement to disorder, by giving opulent individuals a strong interest in continuing certain houses open, whatever might be the conduct of the publican or his customers; in short, it appears clearly from these minutes, and is confirmed to a considerable degree by the Committee's own Report, that every object of the legislature has not only been completely frustrated by the operation of the licensing laws, but that the system has materially aggravated every evil which it was intended to redress.

The Committee recommended, among some minor alterations of the existing laws, that no license should be refused without an open trial before the justices, and that no license should be withdrawn without the verdict of a jury.

Parliament having taking six years for reflection, at length passed

an act adopting one or two of the minor suggestions of the Committee, but leaving the arbitrary power of the justices untouched.

During the last session, Mr. Estcourt brought in a bill to continue this act (3 Geo. IV.) with some slight alterations. There seems to have been no petition against the principle of the bill, and no one spoke against it but Mr. Hume, who argued, that a license to keep a public house ought to be claimed as a matter of right, and not granted or withheld at discretion.

The present state of the law, therefore, and that in which it is proposed to be continued, is, that a license may be granted, refused, or withdrawn, at the pleasure of such magistrates as happen to be present at the meeting appointed by the act;—that these magistrates are not bound to hear either the applicant, or the parties objecting to the license; that they may proceed without evidence, and decide without assigning any reasons; and that, whether they act wisely or unwisely, honestly or corruptly, there is no appeal from their decision. It is true, if the justices should be so weak as to furnish legal evidence of a corrupt motive, they lay themselves open to a criminal information or an indictment, if any person should be found sufficiently rich and foolish to prosecute, that is, to bring them to trial before a special jury principally composed of other magistrates; but even a conviction, of which we believe there is *one* precedent to be found, would not revoke the unjust decision.

It is clear, that as the system of discretionary licences implies restriction, the burden of proof must lie upon those who support it. Experience is at present on the other side: compared with other places resorted to by the same classes, who frequent ale-houses, they are by no means more free from disorder. Coffee-shops, eating-houses, oyster-rooms, &c., however ill they may frequently be conducted, are not at all so ill regulated as many public houses in various parts of the metropolis, which have been licensed year after year, in spite of constant and numerous complaints from the neighbouring inhabitants.

It must, however, be confessed, that it is difficult to distinguish between the defects of the general plan of discretionary licences, and those of the legal machinery by which the plan has been carried into operation. Laws which give absolute power to any single tribunal would be sufficiently bad, but when the tribunal is such as we have described, no terms of contempt and abhorrence would be too strong to apply to them.

Many of the evils of discretionary licenses might, doubtless, be avoided, by a few obvious modifications of the present system. Many would require startling innovations in the jurisprudence of the country, and some, we fear, would remain after every improvement. The grant of a discretionary license is a gift, or, at least, a

transfer of property; and so long as that is the case, grantors will be exposed to the temptation of acting for the private benefit of either themselves or others, instead of looking with a single eye to the public interest. The regulation of supply and demand is so perfectly adjusted in the natural course of things, that it is impossible any artificial method should ever equal it. It would require perfect intelligence, added to perfect justice, to adapt the public houses of the neighbourhood so exactly to its wants as would be done if legislative restraints were taken away.

The interference with the principle of competition not only affects the supply, as regards the number of houses, or their appropriation to the different wants of different places, but it materially affects the price and quality of the liquor. There is a natural temptation in the grantors to limit the number below the demand: it increases the value of their patronage; it also falls in with the popular notion that the morals of the lower classes are in somewhat of an inverse ratio to the number of ale houses.

The minutes of the Committee however clearly show, first, that the liquor is deteriorated by the monopoly; and second, that when the ale is bad, the customers, instead of refraining altogether as they ought to do, according to the hypothesis, become addicted to the use of ardent spirits.

It is, then, material to consider whether public order may not be preserved without such an interference with the principles of free trade as that of arbitrary licenses. The professed object of the system is, to prevent the public house getting into the hands of a disreputable person. It is curious to remark how the plan, in its present state, is worse than nugatory. By making the license matter of property, the interest was, in truth, transferred into the hands of men of property: thus, a class with which the magistrates can closely sympathise, even in those cases with which they themselves have no connexion, was brought into activity to protect the license; and hence has grown up the practice of looking at the license and the person licensed with very different eyes: frequently being satisfied, even in very flagrant instances of misconduct, with a change of publicans, (that is to say, a change of servants,) instead of shutting up the house. Many of the witnesses examined by the Committee were of opinion, that the evil would be remedied by making the license personal; but we are convinced, that as long as it continues to be a valuable property, (and it was in some instances stated to be worth upwards of two thousand pounds,) it would be impossible to prevent the capitalist from laying his hands upon it in some shape or other: and, therefore, that a great reform in the tribunal would, at least, be necessary, if any means would be sufficient entirely to remove the evil.

We should then propose, that any person might claim as of right



permission to open a public house who gave security, to pay the fines to which he might render himself liable by the misconduct of himself or his guests; we would require the sureties to be numerous, that none but persons of known character should enter into the trade. After the first offence, a deposit to meet fines might be demanded, increasing in a rapid progression, but to be returned after a given time of good behaviour. We would make him answerable for the decorum of his guests, investing him with the power of a constable as respects them, and giving him a right to refuse admittance to any person who would not deposit a sum equal to any fine to which he might expose the publican by his misconduct. These regulations, enforced by a summary process of law, would, we think, preserve a reasonable degree of order among the frequenters of public houses.

We have made no provision for absolutely driving away persons of bad character. The indignation of the Committee seems to have been very much excited against what are termed 'flash houses,' that is to say, ale houses frequented by thieves, prostitutes, &c. Now, if, by preventing a thief from entering into a public house, you at the same time prevented him from entering into existence, or, if, in driving him out of one, you could drive him out of his bad habits, the case would be altered; but as he must be somewhere, we do not see why he may not as well be in a public house as any where else; at least, as well as in any other place in which he is likely to be found. The police officers gave in evidence, that the 'flash houses' furnished them with the means of watching the proceedings of thieves; knowing a man's haunt, and knowing he was absent at a particular time when the robbery had been committed, directed their suspicions to him, and enabled them often to convict him; and again, they said, that when they had obtained evidence against a thief, they knew much better where to find him, than if he was prevented from coming to a place to which they had right of access. This appears to us a positive advantage. The Committee thought, that it encouraged the officers in habits of friendship with the thieves, which might prevent them from doing their duty. The connection between thieves and thief-takers, has always been pretty close, in habits as well as in morals, and it is not very likely to be dissolved by any regulations about flash houses. We have no fear but that the professional feeling will be strong enough to overcome any sentiments of private friendship, in which a police officer is likely to indulge; and as to bribery, unless the public in some way or other outbribes the thief, no regulations will prevent the thief-taker from finding out the best paymaster. If the public pays best, the officer and the thief will consider themselves like chess players, both very good friends, but each determined to win the game.

Upon the principle of classification, we think there ought to be

flash houses. Thieves, like other classes of men, will naturally consort together if they are permitted: when they get into gaol, the improvers of prison discipline force them into this classification; we do not see that they should be driven out of it in other places, merely because they adopt it for themselves.

It is too much the fashion to treat bad people as an active house-maid treats the dust upon her furniture, flouncing it from one table only to let it settle quietly upon another. So we have heard a chairman at the Quarter Sessions say to a thief, that he has no business to be exercising his calling in *that* county. The parish officers, following the example of their betters, think the *gravamen* of every offence consists in its having been committed 'on their side the brook.' Great merit was taken to himself, by one of the witnesses before the Committee, for nightly clearing the bulks and sheds of Covent Garden of the houseless wretches who had crept there for shelter. He said, they were very bad people,—and so, very likely, they were,—but they were not bad because they sheltered in Covent Garden market, and they did not, like Sir Peter in the play, 'leave their character behind them' when they were forced out. It is not well to drive any man to desperation. It may turn thieves into robbers, and robbers into murderers; but will seldom restore them to habits of virtue. On the other hand, something would be done towards tempering their ferocity, by letting them partake of such social pleasures as are compatible with the strict decorum for which we hope we have provided.

Such is the change we propose in the system of licensing, and we think, that, although a more complete remedy, it may be effected with less alteration of what now exists, than could be done (retaining the plan of discretionary licenses) by any change in the tribunal, or in the laws by which the plan is carried into operation. And this, we think, will appear by a short detail of the reforms which would be necessary to ensure any thing like justice and wisdom, in the granting or withdrawing of discretionary licenses. In the first place, there ought to be an open trial; but any trial, where the parties cannot reduce the matters to be determined into definite questions, is, at best, a very unsatisfactory proceeding. Then there ought to be an appeal. It seldom happens, that a case is determined upon its true merits the first time it is tried; parties cannot come prepared to meet facts and arguments which they cannot perfectly anticipate, and this is rarely to be done, even when the questions at issue are few and precise: but in matters of discretion, anticipation would be impossible. With respect to the tribunal, the judges ought to be reduced to one, that the responsibility might be undivided. He should have a large district under his jurisdiction, that his time might be so occupied in matters of this kind, as to give him the requisite knowledge: and he should give his reasons

for his decisions, that his errors may be clearly appreciated and exposed.

Such appear to us the safe-guards required for the due exercise of discretionary power. How far, in the present state of things, they are to be procured, our readers will easily judge. Such a machinery as we have described, would, of necessity, be expensive both to the public and to individuals. It is a good thing to abolish taxes on law proceedings, but let it not be done with a hope of making them unexpensive: as long as the attendance of witnesses is required, as long as judges and advocates must be men of character, talent, and acquirement, so long jurisprudence will be essentially expensive; and, therefore, the public have a right to require the necessity for judicial interference to be well proved in every case in which it is imposed upon them.

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THE VISION OF FANCY.

Oh, the days are no more, when my heart's dearest treasure,  
My fair one, at eve, to her fond lover flew;  
The winter of Fate, the bright blossom of pleasure,  
Hath blighted, and left me its sweetness to rue.

Yet still, when the moon her pure lustre is lending,  
Alloat in the firmament cloudless and bright;  
From on high, like a seraph, kind Fancy descending,  
Renews the soft scenes of departed delight.

Again, the false doubt of impatience upbraiding,  
Hope cheeringly whispers my true love is near;  
Again, as the last shade of twilight is fading,  
With quick-throbbing heart, her light footstep I hear.

Again, as her cheek on my breast is reclining,  
The moon, looking down from the star-spangled sky,  
Beholds her fair image, resplendently shining,  
Within the blue depth of that love-beaming eye.

Oh, Fancy! thus nurtured in lonely seclusion,  
Thy visions are lovely, but quickly decay;  
The dawn hath dispell'd the entrancing illusion,—  
With night, the fair phantom hath faded away.

But long shall I cherish each dear recollection,  
Till laid, all unconscious, the cold turf beneath;  
Still her heart is the same, and that soothing reflection  
Shall cheer me in anguish, console me in death.

Bechamper.

## ON THE NOBILITY OF THE SKIN.

A LADY of brilliant talents and enlarged benevolence has recently translated from the French a small pamphlet, entitled, 'An Essay on the Nobility of the Skin, or the Prejudice of White Persons against the colour of Africans and their Progeny, black and of mixed blood;' which has been first printed in Paris, but of which we have reason to believe few copies have yet found their way here, and not one, most probably, to India. As, however, the same objectionable prejudices exist throughout all our Eastern possessions, (though certainly not to the same extent as in the colonies of the West,) we have taken upon ourselves the duty of promoting the great object of the original author and translator, by diffusing their reasons and sentiments on this subject as widely as possible in India, as well as in England, concurring with both in the ardent desire to see those barriers effectually removed.

## CHAP. I.

*On Prejudices in general—Origin of that which concerns the Colour of Africans and their Descendants.*

The term prejudice, taken in its most extended signification, signifies an opinion adopted upon hearsay, or without examination: it may prove to be just; but in the common acceptation of the word, a prejudice means an erroneous opinion. Ignorance, indolence, a passive deference to authority, interest and pride, are the most ordinary sources of prejudice. In the interior of Africa, black nations have been found who suppose the devil to be white, and who, having seen but few Europeans, imagine the pale or white hue of their skin to be a symptom of weakness occasioned by some malady.

In every nation, the force of the laws or of opinion distinguishes the different ranks, and fixes each individual in his own. When the laws are in opposition to public opinion, which is not unfrequent, as, for example, in Europe concerning duelling, the weight of opinion prevails over the force of the laws; but when these two agents are in unison, their simultaneous influence gives stability to custom.

The fundamental principle of political society, is to render physical power subordinate to moral, by entrusting to the latter the direction of the former towards whatever is useful, that is to say, just.

Were this rule to be always observed, the result would be a government perfectly equitable, the empire of wise and good men, a

real aristocracy, and the only one to be desired; such is the definition which the etymology of the latter term suggests; but the wicked, by means of audacity, having associated to themselves the cowardly and the weak, who in almost every state form the great majority, have, by dint of numbers, overborne the good. Thus it has happened that Folly and Crime have so long, with very few exceptions, held the reins of empire and command.

The powers who rule the earth have always had a great propensity to believe, and above all, a great interest in making others believe, that the eminence of their merit is to be estimated by the elevation of their rank; and that the distance by which they surpass others in authority, determines the height by which they exceed them in virtue and ability. Deceived or intimidated, the people have frequently been imposed upon so as to receive as a truth so gross an error. 393.

Already poverty and weakness had become subordinate, the one to riches, and the other to power. Thus were power and riches enabled to grasp all offices of dignity and social importance. By a natural consequence, real merit, if accompanied by the disabilities of indigence, modesty, and timidity, became the object of contempt or the victim of ignominy. Those who regulated the public opinion, distributing blame and approbation according to their choice, calling forth some to notice and applause, and throwing back others to contempt and obscurity, gave their favour to parasites and flatterers, and degraded the useful industry of agriculture and the other arts essential to life.

Thence arose the formation of castes. India fixed irrevocably the existence of her *bramins*, the elect of society, her *sanskara-varnah*, or persons of mixed blood, and her *parias*, who are rejected by each of the four principal castes.

Greece and Rome had their freemen and their slaves. From either side of the Pyrenees, was driven forth with ignominy, without any apparent reason, an obscure race called *cagots* and *agots*. In Spain there has been established an odious distinction between *Christianos viejos*, (old Christians,) and *Christianos nuevos*, (new Christians,) although the greater part of the nobility of Spain may be traced to a Moorish or Jewish origin. This latter prejudice is becoming extinct; but in Valencia, at Majorca, there exist millions of individuals set apart for reprobation, and known by the term *xouettas*.

In the middle ages, the feudal system, that most remarkable aberration of the public mind, established an enormous distance between the nobles and the *villains*, that is to say, between a few thousands of useless individuals decorated with titles, and many millions of laborious men.

Linschott the traveller was surprised to see that on the coast of

Malabar, the *Nairs*, or masters, by which term are meant the warriors of rank, let their nails grow as a mark of distinction, in order to show that they were not obliged to work at any manual art.\* The same custom is observed in China, and in several other countries. These details appear ridiculous to Europeans, who are influenced to other observances by precisely the same motives. So lately as till the year 1789, what was the meaning of the term used in the common law of France, *vivre noblement* (to live nobly)? Does it not literally imply *fainéanter* (to live in idleness)?

The nobles would have held it a degradation to employ themselves in manual labour, so unjustly termed a *servile* occupation even by the ecclesiastics of the time; and do we not see, even now, the partisans of the feudal system endeavour to cast opprobrium upon men of mechanical industry, by affecting to place them in contra-distinction to men of piety?

Among every people the possessors of constituted authority are distinguished by some exterior mark, which shows at first sight that they hold offices of public trust; but personal favour, and, above all, vanity, have introduced in many countries, other distinctions individual or hereditary, which exalt those who bear them upon pedestals, whence they look down upon the other classes of society. In this passion for distinction, or, as it is termed, nobility, we may trace many manifestations of pride: the nobility of long nails, of nails dyed of a red colour, of very small and distorted feet, of voluminous and pendant ears, the nobility of nose-jewels, the nobility of tattooing, among the Moslemites the nobility of the green turban, in China the yellow robe and the staff of age, the white cap in the country of Congo, the nobility of parchments, the nobility of the skin, &c.

Among the ancients, slaves were sometimes treated with severity: but when freed, their position differed but little from that of other citizens. Nevertheless, among the Romans, the freed man belonged to an intermediate class between the slave and the citizen; but the son of a freed man rose to an equal estimation, and was always termed *ingénu*. Neither Horace nor Epictetus was deprived by unjust prejudices of the favour of those who were termed the great *magnates*, nor did any sense of indignity disturb their peaceable slumbers under the laurels which shaded a freed man, and the son of a freed man.

The Greeks and the Romans had also some black slaves, especially for the service of the baths,† and it does not appear that their colour exposed them to additional contempt.

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\* See Linschott, in fol., Amsterdam, 1688, p. 1.

† See the *Muste Pio-Clementino*, by Visconti, vol. iii. p. 4, and pl. 36 and Caylus. *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. v. p. 247; and vol. v. p. 265, &c.

Parchment-nobility had already attained to all its lustre, when colonial avarice established the *nobility of the skin*; for this last has the merit of being a modern invention. So, to the crime of having dragged the Africans from their native soil, covered them with stripes, and loaded them with chains, has been added that of endeavouring to fix an interminable curse upon the colour. The establishment of this prejudice appeared, to the whites, an admirable invention for rendering permanent their sway. They pronounced, that an African skin was an exclusion from all the benefits of society. How much cunning and ingenuity have been employed to enforce this doctrine? Have they not a hundred times applied to the negro race, the malediction pronounced upon the children of Cain? By turns they have been found invoking the Bible, and perverting the sense of its holy records, in order to trace slavery to divine institution, and then affirming in contradiction to the biblical account of the origin of the human race from one common stock, in order to assert, that the blacks are a distinct race, degraded by their original position, to a class of inferior beings created for the service of the whites.\*

*Divide et impera* has ever been, and will ever be, the favourite maxim of all despots, whether priestly, political, or domestic. The slave proprietors next endeavoured, and unhappily succeeded, to excite aversion between the blacks and those of a mixed race, technically called *persons of colour*. This method of assuring solidity and permanency to slavery, ought to be a warning to the Africans of all shades, not to confirm the *dicta* of their enemies by absurd distinctions among themselves.

The reigning authority and its agents failed not to use every effort to rivet the chains which avarice had forged. In 1770, a magistrate of *Port-au-Prince*, who ought to have held it his duty to protect the unfortunate, expressed himself in these words concerning the Africans:—‘It is necessary to keep this class of men in that state of humiliation and opprobrium which their birth has allotted to them, and it is only by repressing and keeping them under, that any good can be made of them.’† What morality! Is it then by *repressing* and *keeping down* the aspirations of an immortal soul for freedom and happiness, that *any good* is to be made of it? The folly is equal to the ferocity of the maxim.

In 1767, a letter from the minister of marine affairs, traces the line of demarcation between the Negroes and the Indians; the latter, placed on the same level with the French inhabitants, are eligible to all the offices and dignities from which all the blacks are

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\* See *Examen de l'Esclavage en général, et particulièrement de l'Esclavage des Nègres dans les Colonies*, par. V. D. C., ancien colon, 2 vols. in 8vo., Paris, 1802 et 1803.

† See *Les affiches Americaines de 1770*.

excluded.\* In order to overcome this barrier, several persons of colour solicited as a favour to be called Indians. Then came a ministerial letter to deny this petition.—‘ This demand, if complied with, would destroy the prejudice that establishes a boundary, which *persons of colour and their descendants* are never to pass. It is indispensable to the order of society, that no measure should be allowed of a tendency to weaken the humiliation attached to the race in whatever degree of descent.’†

In 1761, the council of *Port-au-Prince* enjoined all notaries and curates, to insert in their acts the specific qualities of negroes, mulattoes and quadroons.‡

In 1773, the blacks and persons of colour were forbidden to assume ‘ the names of their reputed fathers, although of white blood. A name of African origin must be added to the Christian name, in order to keep up that insurmountable barrier, which public opinion has established, and the wisdom of the government maintains.’§

In 1779, persons of colour were forbidden, by an edict, to clothe and dress themselves in the same manner as the whites: they are enjoined to wear the characteristic marks which distinguish them.

In 1717, a decree of the council of the Cape had granted to the hangman, as an especial favour, permission to take to wife, a negress condemned to be hanged;|| but all inter-marriages between whites and negroes were severely prohibited,¶ under penalty of punishment and arbitrary fines.

A negro having been convicted of a criminal intercourse with a white married woman, was condemned to do penance, a cord about his neck, then to have his hand cut off, and to be hung; but the superior tribunal, in mitigation of the sentence, caused his ears to be cut off, his cheeks to be branded with a fleur de lis, and a flagellation to be inflicted by the hangman. The woman was sent back to France and shut up in a convent.\*\* The penalty to be inflicted upon white men, convicted of a commerce with African women, was appointed to consist of a fine of two thousand pounds of sugar; but this fine was never paid, for the criminal was never pursued or punished.

Such was the prejudice against mixed marriages, that one of the burgesses of Cayes de Jacmel having married an estimable quat-

\* See *Lois et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises*, by Moreau de Saint-Méry, in 4to., Paris, vol. iii. p. 80, and the following.

† Idem. ‡ Vol. iv. p. 412. § Vol. v. p. 448, and the following.

|| Vol. ii. p. 508.

¶ Vol. iii. p. 88, and the following, and p. 382; vol. v. p. 891.

\*\* Vol. ii. p. 114, and the following.

*Orientai Herald, Vol. 13.*



roon lady, a sentence was put in force to oblige him to quit the bench of burgesses, and by a strange contradiction, a Jew, known to be such, named de Pas, was at that time one of the burgesses of the parish of Aquinas.

#### CHAP. II.

##### *Effects resulting from the Prejudice in favour of the Nobility of the Skin.*

Public contempt has a certain tendency to debase the character of its victim, such is the principle upon which despotism acts in Europe, even to this day: a principle which is so far from being an effect of genius, that it attests the stupidity of those who act on it. A secret instinct, and that traditionary craft by which tyranny perpetuates its power, warn the oppressors of their species that the means to crush them depend on the ignorance and imbecility in which they are kept. Away from their councils, that class of thinking men, who willingly bend to the yoke of the laws, but whose obedience is the result of reason; who readily bring to the public treasury the portion due from them, but at the same time require to be informed of the purpose to which their earnings by the sweat of their brow are to be applied; men whose eyes are always fixed upon the measures of administration, who detect and pursue machievellism through all its pretences and disguises, whose sagacity in discovering the secrets of government is equal to the knavery which would conceal them, and who hold it to be their duty to proclaim them to the public, are very troublesome and inconvenient persons to ministers and their agents. Hence that hatred to the diffusion of useful learning among the lower classes; hence the tribe of hired pamphleteers who inveigh against the national schools; hence the obstinate maintenance of a custom which deserves to become obsolete: I speak of assembling together crowds of the human *biped*, on occasions of public rejoicing, in places of public resort, to receive food which is thrown at them, as if dogs, and not men, were to be fed. Those who assemble at such a graceless invitation are the very lowest and most degraded of their class. But how shall we qualify those who direct, and those who execute such an outrage to decency?

These dispiriting considerations bring us back to investigate the system of degradation in force against the blacks. If these unfortunate beings had any idea of the dignity of human nature; if they were admitted to the participations of a divine religion, which, by enlightening the mind, and rendering pure the affections, affords consolation under every affliction; if they were conscious that vice alone can actually degrade and render infamous; they would turn their view to heaven, and feel confident in the power to assert their claims. But what can be expected from men in whom every

moral sentiment has been extinguished, who are for ever exposed to the example and temptations of the most unbounded libertinism, and who, treated no better than the beasts of the field, become, like them, insensible to any impulse but that of force and blows, and know no other sentiment than a desire for vengeance and a sullen hate against their oppressors!

These dispositions, somewhat modified by circumstances, but not unfrequently more bitter, exist among the majority of free Africans,—the victims of a prejudice established by cupidity, accepted by ignorance, sanctioned by government, and fortified by habit, being themselves by nature irascible, they feel indignant at being the objects of reprobation, merely because the dark hue of their skin is reputed among the whites to be worse than a cutaneous disease, and their habitations avoided as the dwelling of a leper. The most brilliant talents have not been able to raise several blacks and half-castes above the state of humiliation which colonial prejudice had assigned to them.

A recent publication reveals to us the curious fact, that, in the early times of the French revolution, the French Creoles of the Cape excluded from their councils, as being a man of colour, M. Lainé, now cabinet-minister and a peer of France; the same who, in 1819, displayed the fury of a mad enthusiast against a deputy from the Isère. But, without a needless recurrence to a period already distant, it is now sufficient to relate the iniquities and vexations practised in 1823 against the coloured population of Martinique.

The natural result of the prejudice against the blacks, was a jealous anxiety on the part of the Creoles to repel any suspicion of being contaminated by a single drop of African blood. Even quartroons have applied to a court of justice to ascertain their rank in society; while in France, men, weakly emulous of a frivolous distinction, have surreptitiously assumed the envied *de* before their names, by which to claim affinity with the class of nobles; the contempt for the African colour was termed, to use the expression of the planter, the *colonial butwark*. To be white, where many were black, was in itself an honour; above all, to be of the order of the high whites (*grands blancs*), for even the low whites (*petits blancs*) were in some measure obnoxious to the disdain of colonial pride.

We may recollect the instructions given by Malouet, Minister for Marine affairs, to the persons sent to negotiate with the President Pétion. It was proposed to confer on him and on some other personages the ineffable favour of a grant to repute them to be white (*des lettres de blanc*).

It is the maxim of government never to allow that it has been guilty of a fault, or even led into a folly: therefore, according to

the usages of European diplomacy, their offer was afterwards disowned as a ministerial blunder. Let us not despair of hearing, on some future day, that the kings of Africa have sent to offer Europeans a grant to enable them to call themselves BLACK (*des lettres de noir*).

Another evil resulting from the prejudice which we are considering, is the frightful corruption of morals. The female slaves being devoted to the lust of the white inhabitants, the preference given by a libertine master became the highest distinction among them.

The mulatto women did not escape the contagion of profligacy, since, flattered by the admiration of white men, they found in these guilty connexions a compensation for the contempt which their colour brought upon them in society. Hence the hideous concubinage which has always infected the colonies, and which the force of inveterate habit perpetuates in those countries where slavery has been suppressed.

Before the revolution, it was sometimes the fortune of the inferior classes of society, the *roturiers*, to be joined to the nobility by marriage. Needy noblemen, even courtiers, condescended so far as to choose their wives among the daughters of rich financiers and opulent planters. In the insolent language of the times, such a measure was called dunging their lands (*prendre du fumier pour engraisser leurs terres*). Mixed marriages, that is, between persons of different colours, have always been much more rare than those between the nobility and the trading class. The reprobation in which such alliances were held, arose to such a pitch, that a white man married to a mulatto woman was excluded from white society, into which, of course, his wife was inadmissible. It was not, however, considered by any means disgraceful for a white man to keep a mulatto mistress; but if he married her, he became dishonoured. Can the subversion of all moral principle be carried further?

One consequence of this disorder was, the inhumanity of the white men towards their children born of African women, and whom these really barbarous fathers disowned. We, the philanthropists, in the Constituent Assembly, in the National Convention, and by the efforts of our pen, have been the defenders of their progeny. It is then proved, that cupidity and pride extinguish pity and stifle the most sacred inspirations of Nature among men who, in order to maintain a fantastical pre-eminence of colour, have established, as a principle, a barbarous contempt for one part of the great family of man. Accumulated facts clearly attest, that slavery and the prejudice concerning the nobility of the skin, corrupt, in an equal degree, masters, slaves, and freed men.

## BURNING OF HINDOO AND EUROPEAN WOMEN.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

Banks of the Ganges, July 12, 1826.

It appears utterly hopeless to argue against female immolation any further; since it has pleased God to visit this country with a Government, upon whom reasoning and experience are equally thrown away. I quite agree with those who maintain, that an absence of all interference on our part would be infinitely better than the present system. But as this does not appear to suit the taste of the day, let us consider dispassionately whether some further improvements could not be adopted.

Now the proposal I have chiefly at heart is, instead of burning Native women only, to give Europeans the benefit of the same custom. If it be true, that such joys await the Native suttee in this world, I see no reason to doubt that our countrywomen might reasonably have a share in them. Consider the temptations. There is perpetual youth and beauty, on which all ladies set the highest value. There is a protracted union with their late earthly partners: I would not lay much stress upon that. And there is a promised change of sex, which may enable them to repay such oppression as they may fancy they have suffered upon earth. Now reflect on the present condition of our widows. They are not only obliged to live, but many of them so far sacrifice their feelings to the public good, as to rush again into voluntary slavery. From this state of corroding sorrow, or double sacrifice, my plan would wholly relieve them. As few wives too behave particularly well to their husbands during their lives, how cruel to deprive them of this last opportunity of retrieving their reputation by a brilliant exit.

By this enactment, we shall avoid a great deal of obvious inconsistency, and convince the people still more how much we venerate their ancient superstitions.

But I confess the advantages I have chiefly in view are the following. Under this regulation, it can hardly be doubted, women would be more careful of the health and comfort of their husbands. With what eager anxiety would they watch over the bed of sickness! with what affectionate assiduity would they 'rock the cradle of reposing age,' when they considered that their own fate was involved in that of its tenant! And again, when death had claimed his victim, how sincerely would they mourn over an event, which had such consequences attached to it! The tears of widows, and the 'mockery of woe' with which they bedizen themselves,

would no longer be a standing jest to the scorner. It is said of Herod, that, finding his dissolution near, he imprisoned many of his principal subjects, with orders that they should be beheaded at the moment of his death, that some natural tears might be dropt at his departure. What a clumsy mode of attaining his object, compared with mine ! but *his* wife had been previously disposed of. Think what a consolation it must be to a man on his death-bed, instead of leaving his helpmate to all the chances of an unprotected state, to reflect that she is amply provided for, and will soon be beyond the reach of sorrow and privation. Think, too, what a consolation to the heir, to be relieved from yearly paying an enormous jointure, and only to see his mother consumed, instead of his estate.

As to any particular rules it would be necessary to frame for the occasion, I leave them to such as are more conversant with the details of legislation than myself. Some few remarks, however, I will offer on the subject.

I would have the pile built so as to prevent the possibility of a lady's retracting when the flames had reached her ; partly because it is now the universal custom in Native suttees, owing I suppose to its illegality, which always gives a peculiar zest to anything ; and partly because it would preclude any violation of modesty, which is a point of great consequence with me, or any appearance of timidity, which might disgrace the European character in the eyes of those we are said to rule only by opinion.

We might adhere to the practice of having the eldest son to set fire to the pile. It would teach boys early to subdue their feelings, when the public interest required it ; and who, I pray you, are so well fitted to pay the last act of duty to those who have watched over the helplessness of their infancy ? There would be the usual agreement, of course, on stamped paper, for the provision of the family.

I would on no account permit any intoxicating drug to be given to my countrywomen, though I confess the habit has become common in Native suttees. It can produce only what is commonly called Dutch courage, which it would be degrading to our ladies to suppose them in need of : and it might lead to some breach of decorum during the ceremony, that would ill accord with the solemnity of the occasion. Nor can I approve of the well-known rule of making a woman hold her finger in the fire till the sinews burst, to prove she has resolution enough to face the tortures that await her. This I object to, because I never could meet with any one who had seen the fingers of a suttee so burnt, and because it must evidently spoil the beauty of a fair hand, and those who would not ' look frightful when they're dead ' would hardly consent to such disfigurement during life. Besides, I confess there appears to me

something approaching to cruelty in the custom, which is an objection I never could get over.

The pile should be built in some conspicuous place, to gratify that innocent love of display so natural to the sex. The best material for lighting it would be the 'John Bull' newspaper, which has already been the cause of so much heart-burning in the societies of Calcutta; and, as its circulation is now supposed to be very low, this would be a favourable mode of augmenting it. At the same time, its 'Reverend' editor might officiate as a clergyman on the occasion, having always employed such abilities as he possessed to defend the practice of burning women. Government would no doubt allow him a liberal salary to console him for the loss of the clerkship of stationery, which he magnanimously resigned, when he had been twice turned out of it by his employers.

By these means, female immolation would have a fair trial amongst those who must be supposed better judges than the poor ignorant Natives. If the practice were found disagreeable, our wives would have influence enough to have it abolished altogether, for the sympathy of a certain noble lord with all old women is too notorious to leave a doubt that he would do anything to please them. But if, as I believe, the custom became popular, we should throw a greater air of impartiality over our proceedings, and introduce a valuable custom among European subjects.

I cannot think of any more improvements at present, but many would doubtless present themselves in time. Perhaps after roasting our mothers, we might learn, when the first prejudices were worn off, to eat them also. But I would not much insist on that at present, not conceiving society to be in a sufficiently advanced state of civilization to admit the project.—I am, &c.

PHILIP.

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THE CAFFER COMMANDO.\*

HARK!—heard ye the signals of triumph afar?  
'Tis our Caffer Commando returning from war:  
The voice of their laughter comes loud on the wind,  
Nor heed they the curses that follow behind.

For who cares for him, the poor Caffer, that wails  
Where the smoke rises dim from yon desolate vales—  
That wails for his little ones killed in the fray,  
And his herds by the Christian carried away?

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\* *Commando*, an armed expedition of troops or burgher militia.

*The Caffer Commando.*

Or who cares for him, that once cultured this spot,  
Where his tribe is extinct and their story forgot?\*

As many another, ere twenty years pass,  
Will only be known by their bones in the grass!

Who, then, is the bandit?—the Heathen—or he,  
With his “Christian burghers and Cape chivalry,”  
Who, marking his track with fire, rapine, and blood,  
Has left half a nation dispoil’d of their food?

“But they are but *savages*—not worth a thought—  
Who thus must be taught to behave as they ought;  
And six thousand cattle will make a good show  
In print—and in paying some pledges we owe;  
Promotion will follow—and, as for the rest,  
‘Tis *powder and ball* suits these savages best:  
You may cant about Missions and Civilization—  
My plan is to shoot or enslave the whole nation.”

Thus spoke the gay Chief, in his arrogant mood—  
And his words are now writing in African blood!

Dark Keisi,‡ howl!—From thy mountains fall  
The lengthening shades,—and the shrill Jackall  
Shrieks forth his hymn to the horned moon,  
And says that his Master will follow soon:  
And the Wolf replies from his bone-strew’d brake,  
And tells that the Tiger is also awake;  
And the Lynx and the Panther join the train,  
All hymning to Hecate a joyful strain;  
For the rout is pass’d and the slaughter ceas’d,  
And the Vulture hath bidden them all to the feast!

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\* The *Gonaqua* tribe is mentioned by Sparrman, Vaillant, and other travellers, as being in former times a numerous race, rich in herds and flocks, and inhabiting the country between the Camtoos and Great Fish Rivers. After being long oppressed and plundered by the frontier Boors, in 1811, the residue of the tribe were driven by the British troops across the Fish River, and settled on the Kat River, among the Caffers. In 1819, this territory also was wrested from the natives, and the Gonaquas were again dispossessed. Some of them retired with the Caffers farther into the interior; others were inveigled into the colony by one Viljoen, a Veld-Cornet of Brintjes-boogte, to engage in the service of the colonists. In 1820, by an order of the Colonial Government, the whole of them were collected and sent down to Ultenhage, where the men (without a crime or accusation) were separated from their wives and children, and sent to work with the convicts on Robben Island; and the women and children were put “under contract,” as it is termed—in reality consigned to *bondage*—among the Boors of the George and Ultenhage districts. Such was the mode in which the mild and pastoral race of Gonaquas was extirpated under the beneficent sway of Britain!

‡ *Keisi* or *Keishamma* river—now the Colonial boundary.

## EXCURSIONS ON THE BANKS OF THE NILE.

## No. II.

*Visit to Boolak—the Port of Cairo—Turkish Camp—Citadel of  
Cairo—Processions of Marriage and Circumcision—  
Voyage to the Pyramids.*

ON the very day after my arrival in the great metropolis of Egypt, I was invited to share in the festivities prepared for the baptism of a first child, in a Frank family of respectability. Soon after mid-day the visitors began to assemble, and when I entered the drawing-room, there were at least fifty persons of both sexes, chiefly Franks, including the principal members of the European society of Cairo. The parents of the infant being both Protestants (of which church there is no minister here), had chosen to have the baptismal ceremony performed by Greek priests, rather than by Catholics, from an imagined nearer affinity between the Greek and the Protestant, than between the Protestant and the Catholic religions. The priests of the Greek church (one an Arab, of Egyptian birth, and the other a native of the Archipelago), arrived about two o'clock; and the ceremony lasted from that time until past four, during which tedious period all the company stood, each holding a lighted wax candle in his hands, while a silver censer of incense was kept burning before the font, which was formed by a large copper kettle on a wooden stand. The priests were differently arrayed, and read the service in their respective languages; but it would be impossible to say which excelled the other in the number or absurdity of his grotesque genuflections. Long before the ceremony was over, the standing light-bearers grew tired; the united heat of the censers, candles, and company was insufferable; the infant fainted, the mother cried, the visitors were agitated, the priests continued to stun them with their harsh vociferations, and the whole formed one of the most singular scenes of confusion I had ever before witnessed.

Order, however, was at length happily restored, and to this chaos of discord, succeeded peace and harmony. French and Italian were the languages of conversation; and the period succeeding the baptism was most agreeably occupied by Canzonettas and Cavatinas, sung with great taste, and accompanied on the guitar, which some of the Frank ladies played with considerable skill. Refreshments followed à l'orientale, and dancing commenced at eight o'clock, with all that spirit which, even in the warmest climates, this agreeable exercise inspires. It was past midnight



when we sat down to supper, and nearly four in the morning when the company dispersed.

The amiable family, whose guest I had become, having already adopted me, to use their own expressions, as '*un enfant de la maison*,' I joined them in their round of morning visits, and after passing some very agreeable interviews with several individuals, who were of the baptismal party on the preceding evening, we were detained at one of the houses, where a lady, with whom I had danced on that occasion, was confined. While the wife of my host personally assisted at the accouchement, her husband and myself waited in the drawing-room, feeling an unusual interest in the happy issue of the event, for independently of the lady being, as she was, engaging and beautiful, she was not yet quite twelve years old! I was weak enough to expose my ignorance of those matters, by making her youth an excuse for expressing anxiety to the parent, but was not a little surprised to hear her mother reply:—'*Au contraire, Monsieur, tant mieux pour elle*,' and proving her assertion, by a familiar disquisition on the superior flexibility of tender youth. But this was not all; for, in consequence of my patient attention to her lecture on this matronly subject, I was sufficiently in favour to be admitted, with my host, into the bedroom of the new mother, not an hour after her offspring had seen the light! She appeared to me even more lovely than before, and was in as high spirits as during the dance of the evening preceding. We had all the honour to kiss her hand on the occasion; and after an hour's agreeable conversation and refreshments, with a succession of visitors of both sexes, we retired about sun-set to our home.

Taking an early breakfast, on the following morning, October 5, we rode to Boulak, the port of Cairo, on the banks of the Nile, and visited the Austrian Consul, at his country house there. We were received with great politeness by his lady, and introduced to the Consul himself, in his divan—his extreme age preventing his rising without assistance. Early as the hour was, we found here a number of ladies, all habited in the dress of the country, which, though not calculated to display the finer parts of the human figure, is nevertheless rich and attractive in the extreme.

On leaving them, we made a little tour around Boulak, with the situation of which I was much pleased. Ranged along the eastern edge of the Nile, the waters of which afford a constant variety of moving scenery, and the verdure of whose banks is perpetual, the rich residents of the city breathe in their country houses here a purer atmosphere than at Cairo, and enjoy the delicious freshness of the river breeze. Boulak is the port at which all merchandize, to and from every part of Egypt, is shipped and discharged, and is consequently a scene of perpetual activity and bustle.

Returning by a different route from that by which we had come

from the city, we met a grand cavalcade of Turkish officers, parading in all the magnificence of eastern pomp, which, it must be admitted, displays military grandeur to the highest advantage, and produces a most imposing effect.

On the morning of the 7th, I made an excursion to Masr Fostat, or, as it is more generally termed, Old Cairo. It is about an hour's ride from the city, through a road in which heaps of ruins are seen at every step. On our approach to it, and opposite to a pile of new barracks built by the Pasha, we passed through a Turkish camp, which was seen in all the perfection of undisciplined disorder: tents of every size, shape, and colour, placed in every possible direction, neither sentinels, standards, nor entrenchments, scarcely any two horses or men accoutred uniformly, and every one employing himself as best suited his individual fancy. It was in the very midst of this camp, however, that, occupied as I was with the study of living pictures, I remembered the description of El-macin, relative to the foundation of this city, where he says:— 'On the twentieth year of the Hejira, Amrou, son of Elaas, built Masr Fostat, on the very spot where his camp was formed before he went to besiege Alexandria. The general, on returning from his conquest, laid there the foundations of the city, to which he gave the name of Fostat, signifying in Arabic, a tent.' As the names of the people change so little in this country, I had now before me, perhaps, a correct picture of Amrou's camp itself. While I loitered among the tents to indulge a more perfect view of the whole encampment, I was saluted by an unveiled woman, and, looking round, found myself among a crowd of huts, at the doors of which were sitting several Egyptian females, decked with a profusion of trinkets, and inviting the passenger to their apartments. I learnt, on inquiry, that these were licensed prostitutes, who, in consideration of a handsome yearly tax to the Pasha, were permitted to display the charms of their painted eyebrows, blue lips, and pendant bosoms, in perfect publicity. No adage is more true than that which expresses the undefined and undefinable nature of taste. They might have been angels to an Egyptian eye; but for myself, I had not lost my English prejudices in favour of cleanliness and simplicity at least; and could not therefore admire their dirty and gaudy charms. My companion informed me, that though these public ladies were obliged to encamp without the walls of the holy city, yet private courtezans were equally tolerated within; and the religious scruples of the Muftis were soothed by an advantageous regulation, which permitted their participation of a tax on them also. In this case, however, it was not the women themselves who were tributary to the public funds; but every suitor they received, being certain of being discovered, was compelled to purchase his release from the punishment due to the violation of the law, by the payment of a sum equal to the tax of a public prostitute

a whole year ! What an admirable religion and sage government ! which, at the moment of their denouncing the very shadow of crime, find means to indulge the enjoyment of the substance, and make public and private prostitution alike profitable ; exacting equally from libertines and pilgrims the price of their respective pleasures. This contrast is, however, in perfect keeping with the manners of the people, who cover their faces with the most scrupulous regard to modesty, yet expose other parts of their person without reserve.

We had scarcely passed those ladies, before we met a procession, the principal personage of which was a married girl, of from ten to twelve years of age, covered from head to foot with a pink robe of transparent muslin spangled with gold, and walking beneath a silken canopy, supported by male attendants, accompanied by her female relatives, and a large crowd of followers. The music, consisting of a dull drum beaten by the singers, tinkling cymbals and harsh and discordant pipes, was apparently enchanting to every ear but my own. The procession moved on with great apparent consciousness of dignity and importance, while, for myself, I hardly knew whether I was most amused or offended with this mixture of pomp and misery, dirt and finery, ancient splendour and modern degradation.

At length, through a crowd of varied objects, which on every side arrested the attention, we entered the town of Old Cairo, by the hexagonal building described by Savary, from which an aqueduct conveys the water to the citadel. This is not, however, a work of great beauty, though composed of more than three hundred arches ; yet its utility renders it deserving of being classed among the rarities of modern Egypt. The object of our visit here was to find a certain Reis, or Captain, in order to engage a boat for an excursion by water to the Pyramids, to-morrow ; but, after an hour's search for his residence, we learnt that he was at Grand Cairo. The purport of our journey was not therefore accomplished, but we consoled ourselves with true Oriental resignation, and after taking coffee and a pipe at the coffee-house, mounted our animals to return.

Having, during this excursion, traversed the greater part of Old Cairo, I found the local descriptions of Savary more faithful than his pictures are in general, and could do little more than repeat them. We passed the canal which supplies the city with water from the Nile, met another procession celebrating marriage, and one accompanying an infant circumcision, so that, disappointed as I was in one respect, I had seen more objects than I could describe in a short space, and derived both pleasure and information from the journey.

In company with an American merchant, residing here, I rode,

on the morning of the 8th, to the citadel, which we reached about nine o'clock, amidst a crowd of Turkish horsemen, who were paying their last visit to the Pasha, in the hall of state, previous to his departure for Mecca. The fortress itself, if it may deserve that name, derives its only value from the steepness of its ascent and commanding situation; for, with respect to its walls and batteries, every where defective, and in many places fallen into ruins, nothing can be more inadequate to the purposes of defence, or more contemptible in the eye of an engineer. From the loftier summit of the Mount Mokattam, a few pieces of artillery would lay it in ashes, a circumstance that was not calculated on at the time of its foundation, as it was previous to the invention of gunpowder. With a view to render the citadel independent of the supplies from the Nile, in case of the aqueduct failing, or the citadel itself being besieged, an immense well was sunk through a solid rock, to the depth of two hundred and seventy feet, of which the Danish traveller, Norden, has given a very ample description.

We descended into this well by the winding stairs that surround it, cut also out of the rock, and partially lighted by irregular holes, looking out into the well; but the obscurity was so great as to oblige us to use tapers. When at the bottom of the first well, we came to a square platform, on which an ox turned a wheel that drew water from a second well, still deeper, descending to the level of the Nile, discharging it into this upper one as into a reservoir, from which it was again drawn to the top. The popular tradition of this being the work of Joseph, the servant of Potiphar, is still retained; and, at the bottom of the well, we were shown a hole in which it is pretended he concealed himself, as well as the grave of his confidential slave, over which a lamp is constantly burnt by the Turks, the oil for supplying it being purchased from the occasional donations of visitors. An opinion prevails, too, of a subterraneous communication existing between this and the Pyramids underneath the bed of the Nile; but on what foundation I could not learn. There is certainly no necessity for exaggeration to enhance the character of such wonderful labours, they are in themselves sufficient monuments of the skill and perseverance of those who executed them. There is no doubt, however, that both the well and the citadel should be attributed to the times of the Caliphs, and not to those of the Pharaohs, though popular tradition may delight in the more ancient version of the story.

The citadel itself is such a compound of strength and weakness, perfection and dilapidation, simplicity and intricacy, that it is difficult to give it any particular epithet as descriptive of its character: and its plan would tax the ingenuity of any engineer to trace. On entering the arsenal, we had on one side a ruined hall of state, the walls of which were once executed in a sort of Mosaic resembling tapestry, but now filled with heaps of broken and decayed gun-

carriages, of every size and shape ; on the other, was an open saloon, supported by granite pillars, the shafts taken from Egyptian ruins, and surmounted by Saracen capitals of the most clumsy kind, forming altogether the most inharmonious combination that could be imagined. In this were about half a dozen Turkish brass cannon, as many English iron ones, some Venetian pieces of small calibre, and about a thousand shot and shells of various sizes. The mounted artillery did not exceed fifty pieces throughout the garrison, from four to twenty-four pounders ; these were without aprons or tompons, choked with sand and dust, and fixed on carriages that would certainly fall to pieces upon the fourth or fifth round, if they did not upset at the first. Such is the fortress of Grand Cairo, which the Turks, nevertheless, hold to be invincible.

On ascending the highest eminence of the citadel, we enjoyed a most extensive and interesting view, combining every thing that could awaken powerful sensations by the force of contrast, and mingling with the bright associations of pleasure the gloom of melancholy recollections. Looking westward towards the Nile, we had the Pyramids of Gizeh, Abousir, Saccarah, and Darshour, all in sight ; the villages of Boulak and Fostat, on the right and left ; Mount Mokattam and the tombs of the Caliphs behind us ; and the wide spreading city of Cairo stretched at our feet. Notwithstanding the inferiority of the architecture, in many points of view, it must be confessed that the light Arabian style of the tombs and minarets give a great richness of effect to the picture, considered as a whole ; and this is heightened by the occasional interposition of broad lakes in different quarters of the city, now filled by the inundation of the Nile, and rendered agreeable by trees and verdure. It is only from such an elevated position as the present that a correct idea of the extent or form of Cairo can be obtained ; and it must have been from hence that its imposing aspect acquired it the character of ' the superb town, the holy city, the delight of the imagination, greatest among the great, whose splendour and opulence made the Prophet smile : ' for thus, says Denon, the eastern people describe it. I perfectly agree with him, however, that one may search in vain for those characteristics among the filth, the ruins, and the obscurity of its interior.

On leaving the citadel, we passed through a great crowd pressing to the hall of the Divan, where the massacres that have been committed would furnish a long and terrible history. From thence we descended by another route, passed through the principal bazars, and reached home soon after noon, pleased with the excursion ; for, independently of the pleasure of visiting the city itself, our necessary passage through the most bustling parts of the town, afforded me an excellent opportunity of observing the endless diversity of characters that fill them.

I had waited the expected arrival of two English travellers, and

postponed my visit to the Pyramids until the last hour, under the hope of their joining me; but learning from a person whom I had directed to make inquiries, that the water of the Nile was already fallen so much, that any delay would render it impossible to make the visit either by land or water, I prepared for the excursion, taking with me a Greek, an Arab interpreter, my own servant, and two janissaries, the only persons I could procure, as all our endeavours to form a party for the occasion had been ineffectual, and either company or an escort is absolutely necessary to protect the traveller against the robberies of the Arabs.

We left Cairo about three o'clock, and embarked at Masr Fostat soon afterwards, on board a canjee, with ten rowers, having provided ourselves with provisions for three days in case of accident, as well as arms and lights for the subterraneous visit. These boats, from their extreme length, shallow draught of water, and covered cabins, are well adapted for the navigation of the river; but the ignorance and unskilfulness of their crews counterbalance all this, and oppose a formidable obstacle both to safety and pleasure. When we launched off, upon a signal given by the Reis, on a dull hand-drum, one of the boatmen repeated a stanza, and the whole crew joined in the chorus, to which they kept time with their oars; but such strains, such discord, had never before pierced my ear, and yet it was to them a heavenly melody. I thought of Moore's excursion on the rapids of the St. Lawrence, and recalled the simple beauty of the poetry, and the exquisite harmony of the music, combined in the beautiful dactyl which that occasion drew from his brilliant imagination; but either the choruses of his boatmen must have been more pleasing, or the fervour of his imagination must surpass all conception, to have transformed it into any thing like music. How different, too, from the picture which the immortal genius of Shakspeare conjured up on these very waters, in his inimitable description of the luxuriant Cleopatra's sailing down the Nile, in her barge of burnished gold.

We passed round the southern part of the isle of Rhoda at which extremity the Nilometer is fixed, and gliding rapidly by Gizeh, with a strong current, entered a canal to the northward of it. Hitherto all had gone on smoothly, the canal was wide and deep, and the towering pyramids before us as a guide: but about sunset, as we approached toward the interior, the water branching off into a thousand ramifications, so baffled the sagacity of our Arabian navigators, that though the captain consulted the crew, the crew the passing villagers, and those in their turn their more experienced neighbours, not an individual among them could tell the other more than he already knew. The canjee grounded, was got off again, advanced, retreated, backed and filled occasionally, for there was neither room to tack or veer, wheeled to the right,

again to the left, and performed more evolutions in her own length than a fleet in action. Serious as were all these impediments against our progress, and, perhaps, against our reaching the Pyramids at all, I could not be otherwise than diverted and amused. The *Reis* vociferated, the crew disputed, my servant advised, and the janissaries and passengers alternately threatened and expostulated, but all was to no purpose; so that after having made no progress for nearly two hours, they expressed themselves persuaded of its being our destiny *not* to proceed, and accordingly sought their way back, notwithstanding I threatened to withhold the payment agreed on; they felt more satisfied to lose this, than to war against providence. Their return presented new difficulties however, to remove which the same kind fate that had created them threw a pilot in our way. I thought with the rest that all was now safe, but the same scene was again renewed, amidst the confusion of which I lay down to sleep, having at length resigned myself to whatever course those who were awake might think proper to pursue.

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SONNET.—THE GOOD MISSIONARY.

He left his Christian friends and native strand,  
 By pity for benighted men constrained;  
 His heart was fraught with charity unfeign'd;  
 His life was strict, his manners meek and bland:  
 Long dwelt he lonely in a heathen land,  
 In want and weariness—yet ne'er complained;  
 But labour'd that the lost sheep might be gain'd,  
 Not seeking recompense from human hand.  
 The credit of the arduous works he wrought  
 Was reap'd by other men who came behind:  
 The world gave him no honour—none he sought,  
 But cherish'd Christ's example in his mind:  
 To one great aim his heart and hopes were given—  
 To serve his God, and gather souls to heaven.

Cafferland, 1825.

P.

WANT OF OFFICERS IN THE COMPANY'S ARMY, AND STATE OF  
THE KING'S REGIMENTS IN INDIA.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

Arcot, 7th September 1826.

I see you frequently allude to the great want of officers in the battalions of Native Infantry. It is now very apparent throughout the Coast Army. I enclose you a statement of one regiment of Native Cavalry, and three of Native Infantry, from which you will see the state of such corps; and these are a specimen of the whole Army. The formation of a Staff Corps, or some other remedy, is very much wanted.

A MADRAS OFFICER.

4TH REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY.		33D REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY.	
Names and Rank.	Remarks.	Names and Rank	Remarks.
<i>Colonel.</i> H. Scott, C.B.	Europe on Furlough.	<i>Colonel.</i> H. Webber,	Europe on Furlough.
<i>Lieut.-Col.</i> Alex. Grant,	Assistant-Comm.-Gen.	<i>Lieut.-Col.</i> James Wahab,	
<i>Major.</i> W. Jolly,	Europe on Furlough.	<i>Major.</i> John Lamb,	
<i>Captains.</i> B. Baker,	Paymaster at Bellary.	<i>Captains.</i> C. Drew,	Europe on Furlough.
J. Dalziel,	Cadet Officer at Madras.	E. Cadogan,	Commanding Pioneers.
R. Hunter,	Paym., Masulipatam.	J. Glass,	On duty at Hyderabad.
H. S. Hall,	Paymaster, Vellore.	J. Tod,	Paymaster at Rangoon.
T. Walker,		J. Kerr,	Asst.-Adj.-Gen. in Ava.
<i>Lieutenants.</i> T. Watson,	Paymaster at Madras.	<i>Lieutenants.</i> G. Brady,	Brig.-Maj. Masulipatam
C. Grant,	On duty at Hyderabad.	J. Campbell,	Adjutant.
J. Metcalfe,	Fort Adj. at Bellary.	R. F. Eames,	In Ava, with 28th N. I.
A. B. Dyce,	Brig. Major, Bangalore.	T. B. Chalon,	Paymr. Recruit. Depart.
J. D. Stokes,	On duty at Hyderabad.	J. Black,	Europe on Furlough.
R. Campbell,	Adjutant.	J. Hutchings,	Pioneers.
H. R. Kirby,	Qr.-Master and Interp.	T. McClellan,	Qrm., Int., & Paymr.
E. Haldane,	Rifle Corps.	A. Alexander,	Rifle Corps.
C. Church,	Europe on Furlough.	T. R. Smith,	Europe on Furlough.
J. H. Cramer,		<i>Ensigns.</i> H. P. Clay,	
<i>Ensigns.</i> W. A. Miller,	Rifle Corps.	H. Marshall,	
W. Chinnery,		A. Brady,	
T. J. Fisher,	Rifle Corps.		
J. Rattany,			
<i>Present with this Regiment.</i> One Captain. One Lieutenant. Two Ensigns. One Quarter-Master. One Adjutant.		<i>Present with this Regiment</i> One Lieut.-Colonel. One Major. Three Ensigns. One Quarter-Master. One Adjutant.	

*Oriental Herald, Vol 13.*

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46TH REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY.		3D REGT. MADRAS LIGHT CAVALRY.	
Names and Rank.	Remarks.	Names and Rank.	Remarks.
<i>Colonel.</i> J. Marshall.	Europe on Furlough.	<i>Colonel.</i> T. Nuthall.	Europe on Furlough.
<i>Lieut.-Col.</i> F. P. Stewart.	Act. Judge-Adv.-Gen.	<i>Lieut.-Col.</i> J. Collette.	
<i>Major.</i> P. Henderson		<i>Major.</i> R. Parker,	Europe on Furlough.
<i>Captains.</i> R. Crew,	Europe on Furlough.	<i>Captains.</i> J. K. Clibbey,	Penang, Sick Certificate
W. Murray,	Gr.-Mr.-Gen.'s Depart.	F. L. Doveton,	Judge Advocate Dep.
W. O'Reilly,	Europe on Furlough.	T. K. Lamond,	Acting as Engineer.
W. T. Slade,	Ditto ditto.	H. P. Keighly,	Assist.-Adj.-General.
J. Wallace,	Post-Master, Dooab.	H. B. Williams,	Europe on Furlough.
<i>Lieutenants.</i> J. Low,	On duty at Penang.	<i>Lieutenants.</i> S. Bullock,	Grm., Int. & Paym.
A. Pinson,	Adjutant.	W. Hyslop,	Europe on Furlough.
E. Dyer,	Asst.-Adj.-General.	J. McDonald,	
C. Keating,	Europe on Furlough.	H. F. de Mont-	Quarter-Master-Gener-
R. Codrington,	Gr.-Mr., Int. & Paym.	morency,	al's Department.
W. Powell,	Assistant-Commissary.	G. A. Brodie,	Brigade Major.
J. Henderson,	Europe on Furlough.	E. A. Langley,	Adjutant.
W. Lewis,	Gr.-Mr., 2d Extra Regt.	J. Laing,	Europe on Furlough.
F. C. Mayo,	Europe on Furlough.	E. B. Gould,	Ditto ditto.
J. A. Sheman,		G. Arbutnot,	Ditto ditto.
<i>Ensigns.</i> C. Yates.		C. A. Kerr,	
C. Rowlandson.		<i>Cornets.</i> W. Huntington,	On duty at Hyderabad.
		A. W. Gregory,	
		C. B. Landsay,	Europe on Furlough.
		John Rose,	
<i>Present with this Regiment.</i>		<i>Present with this Regiment.</i>	
One Major.		One Lieut.-Colonel.	
One Lieutenant.		Two Lieutenants.	
Three Ensigns.		Two Cornets.	
One Quarter-Master		One Quarter-Master.	
One Adjutant.		One Adjutant.	

P.S. I send you the result of three courts-martial, recently held in one of his Majesty's regiments on this establishment, which will give you some insight into the state in which this corps is; and when I tell you that it has remained stationed for seven years at Bangalore, one of the finest situations in India, you will, I am sure, regard the life led by his Majesty's dragoons here as one of little hardship.\*

\* We have placed these Courts-Martial with the rest of the Military Intelligence received from India generally.

FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS AND PERNICIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE  
LAWS OF QUARANTINE.

No. II

ALMOST two months having elapsed from the date of his last letter to the Board of Trade, without his receiving a reply, Dr. Maclean again addressed that body on the 3d of December 1817, requesting information respecting the measures which they intended to pursue, stating the fatal effects of the Sanitary laws, the uncertain nature of the medical evidence usually resorted to in the schools, and his conviction, that, if even the most transcendent abilities were opposed to him, his conclusions, being logically deduced from undeniable premises, would be found incapable of refutation. On the 12th of January 1818, in consequence of this representation, Mr. Robinson, President of the Board of Trade, made an appointment with Dr. Maclean to call upon him at the office; and in the course of the interview, which took place upon that occasion, the expediency was suggested of throwing the principal propositions of the first volume of his work (which had been already forwarded to the offices of Government) into the form of a summary, for the purpose of being conveniently submitted to whatever tribunal their Lordships might think proper to refer them. In a letter, dated the 20th January 1818, accompanying this summary, he expressed an opinion, that although, '*prima facie*, medical men might be supposed the least unbiassed judges of questions of medical *faith*, the College of Physicians might notwithstanding 'be regarded as the most fit, or perhaps the only appropriate tribunal, *in the first instance*, for the reference contemplated.' He could not bring himself to entertain a doubt, he added, that, '*under the responsibility of an official decision, upon questions of such extraordinary importance, in which the eyes of Europe, Asia, and America, would be fixed upon their proceedings, the opinions emanating, after due deliberation, from that body, would, both from a just regard to the magnitude of the interests at issue, and to their own permanent reputation, be formed with more than common care, and more than ordinary exactitude.*' He was also led to conclude that 'it was the received practice, if not a positive law, to require the opinion of the College upon all medical questions demanding the interposition of Government, from having observed that they were called upon, in the course of (*one month*) November 1815, to make *two Reports* on the unfounded assumptions of Dr. Pym, that the yellow fever of Gibraltar, which he had ridiculously chosen to denominate the *Bulam* fever, is incapable of affecting the same person more than

once.' It may be observed as a remarkable coincidence, that this great eagerness to multiply reports *in favour* of the doctrine of pestilential contagion, was manifested at the very moment in which Dr. Maclean was on his return from Constantinople, with results of an opposite nature, deduced from actual experiments, which had already attracted the attention of Europe.

' SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL PROPOSITIONS, RELATING TO THE CAUSE OF EPIDEMIC DISEASES, CONTAINED IN DR. MACLEAN'S WORK UPON THAT SUBJECT; AND OF THE QUESTIONS OF POLICY WHICH ARISE FROM THEM.\*'

I. That, in the whole circle of human opinions, there is not, perhaps, another individual error to be found, that is productive of so much complicated mischief to mankind, as the doctrine which teaches that contagion is the cause of epidemic diseases.

II. That, in a view of sickness and mortality, the belief in this error has been the cause, in Christian communities, of multiplying the calamities of pestilence many fold. Mankind have been computed to consist of one thousand millions (p. 3.): of whom it may be presumed that about three in the hundred, or thirty millions, die annually of all diseases. Supposing one-third of that number, or ten millions, to die of epidemic maladies; and that one-half of that mortality, or five millions, belong to Christian communities; it follows, —according to the computation that three-fourths is the proportion that perishes from the consequences of the belief in contagion among Christians—that three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand lives are annually sacrificed to this unfounded belief.

III. That the consequences of this error injures, to a degree of which it is difficult to form any adequate conception, morals, science, commerce, navigation, the intercourse of nations, individual freedom, military operations, the general consumer, and the public revenue. (Chap. XIX. p. 447—492.)

IV. That they occasion a large expenditure by all the nations of Christendom, and that of a sum probably exceeding two hundred thousand pounds annually by this country alone, in maintaining quarantine and other establishments of police, which are not only wholly inefficient for their intended object, but constitute a permanent grievance, with a view to obviate the ideal cause of an evil of but rare occurrence; which, in times of actual pestilence, would essentially contribute to the increase of sickness and mortality; and, if the doctrines which gave rise to them were correct, would be still more destructive in their operation. (Chap. XVIII. and XIX. p. 423—492.)

V. That the opinion that epidemic diseases depend upon contagion had not been entertained by any physician, or even by the vulgar of any community, previous to the sixteenth century; as is proved by there being no mention of such a doctrine in books, upon this subject, *printed previous to 1546*; or of such means of precaution as have since been adopted, and would then

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\* These are the propositions referred to in Lord Chetwynd's Letter to the College of Physicians, which will afterwards appear. The pages and chapters refer to 'Results of an Investigation' respecting epidemic and pestilential diseases, 8vo, vol. 1st.

necessarily have been resorted to, had such a belief been entertained. (Chap. III. p. 164—168.)

VI. That the origin of it, at that period, has been distinctly traced to a political stratagem of the head of the Christian Church; that it has, accordingly, exclusively prevailed in Christian communities; and that the doctrine was not, at once, applied to epidemic diseases generally; but has been successively extended, under different names, to those produced by the noxious air of different situations and countries. If this hypothesis be denied to have originated, at the time, and in the manner here set forth, it will be reasonable to require that it should be stated, when, where, and with whom it did originate. (Chap. I. p. 181—202.)

VII. That it spread, and has continued to prevail, from the period of the translation of the Council of Trent at Bologna to the present time, solely by the influence of faith, and the delusive evidence of tradition and ignorant or interested testimony. (Chap. V. p. 203—213.)

VIII. That no proof, worthy of being received in science, has ever, in a single instance, been adduced, of an epidemic disease having been propagated by means of a specific contagion: and that, as the existence of such a cause is now proved, upon general grounds, to be impossible, it would be supererogatory to enter into a refutation, if it were in such a case practicable, of the traditional or testimonial evidence, that may have been brought forward, in particular alleged instances, in its favour.

IX. That, as the circumstances of such a doctrine not having been entertained previous to 1546, would, of itself, have been no sufficient proof of its erroneousness; so, if it had been entertained by every individual who has ever existed, this would not, of itself, deserve to be considered as any proof of its correctness. The specification of the date, and circumstances of this error, is, however, of considerable importance, as it thus becomes at once divested of the reputation for high antiquity, groundlessly assumed for it by its advocates; and the fraudulent nature of its origin is completely unveiled.

X. That contagion cannot possibly be the cause of epidemic diseases is proved in the following manner:

A. By the difference of the phenomena which distinguish diseases, that are undoubtedly contagious, from those that are epidemic. (Chap. II. p. 154—163, and chap. IV. p. 238—246.)

a. A general disease, depending upon contagion, is incapable of affecting the same person more than once. Were it otherwise, it would never cease where no precautions are employed, as amongst every people not Christian, until communities were extinguished: and, under such circumstances, no possible precautions would be efficient.

As this is an acknowledged law of all the contagious general diseases that are known to us, we infer it to be equally a law of those, if any such there be, that are unknown. The existence of a general disease, at once contagious, and capable of affecting the same person repeatedly, would lead directly to the extinction of mankind. A contagious general disease, capable of affecting the same person repeatedly, or an epidemic disease, capable of being propagated by contagion, and human communities, could not long co-exist. That such diseases have never yet existed in nature is certain, because their inevitable consequences, in the annihilation of the human race, have not fol-

lowed. The stories of the recurrence of small-pox repeatedly in the same person, must therefore be deemed utterly unworthy of credit, as well as deserving of reprobation. They are, in effect, nothing more than the unphilosophical effusions of 'tradition's volubly transmitting tongue;' and ought to be now laid for ever along with their equally crazy companions, which relate to the apparition of ghosts.

Upon a late occasion, the mere circumstance of a general disease not having been observed to affect the same person more than once, was erroneously considered a proof, that it is *incapable* of repeatedly recurring. The only proofs which can be obtained of the principle of incapability consist in the facts of the disease being known to be a general one, and to depend upon contagion. Excepting the contagion of a general disease, all other agents are capable of producing their appropriate maladies, in the same person, as often as they are applied. There cannot here be any fallacy. If it were even possible that a general disease, as an epidemic, depending upon other causes than contagion, should be found incapable of affecting the same person more than once, it would not fail to indicate, by other phenomena, to what class of maladies it belonged. But this is altogether impossible; both because there can be no other proof of the principle of incapability (the fact of non-recurrence cannot be so deemed) than contagion; and because contagious general diseases alone are subject to this law. These observations will satisfactorily explain the grounds of a delusion which has recently formed the subject of some official reports. Instead of first proving the existence of contagion, and from thence inferring the non-liability of recurrence, the non-liability was first assumed, and the existence of contagion inferred.

b. Epidemic diseases, as the plague, are capable of affecting the same person repeatedly. Hence, if they were also contagious, they would never cease, whilst an individual of mankind remained alive. No precaution could be of any avail. The existing police establishments would, in that case, only serve as so many depôts for preserving and propagating contagion. The disease would spread in a geometrical ratio, until the last of the human race perished. (Chap. VII. p. 219—227.)

c. Fortunately for mankind, none of these consequences happen. On the contrary, it is frequently when the greatest number of persons are affected, presenting a sanæ, sufficient, if the disease were contagious, to destroy a world, that it is found suddenly to decline and cease. This progress is not uniform, because the real cause of epidemic diseases does not always suddenly abate or cease. But, its happening once, and its capability of happening often, in any disease, is of itself quite sufficient to show that such disease cannot possibly depend upon contagion. It took place in the Plague of London, in 1665, and in that of Marseilles, in 1720. And it even frequently happens that pestilences cease, and re-appear repeatedly in the course of the same season. (Chap. XII. p. 311—312.)

d. The commencement, height, and cessation of epidemic diseases are usually periodical. The periods are different in different countries; but for the most part uniform in the same country, depending, other things being equal, upon the degrees of latitude in which these countries are situated respectively. But although this is their usual course, it must be obvious, from the nature of their cause, that these diseases will be liable to occur occasionally at every season of the year.—(Chap. VIII. p. 223—237).

*e.* Persons and countries vary in their liability to epidemic diseases, in a manner that could not take place, if they depended upon contagion.—(Chap. X. p. 247—273).

*f.* Diseases, which depend upon contagion, are never produced by any other cause; and diseases, which depend upon other causes, are never produced by contagion. It cannot be necessary to enter into any refutation of the nonsense maintained by Diemerbroeck, and others, of the capability of diseases at first occasioned by other causes, of becoming in their progress contagious, and *vice versa*.—(Chap. II. p. 157.)

*g.* It may be regarded as somewhat curious and extraordinary, but it is nevertheless true, that, of all the agents which are capable of acting upon the living body, that to which, for the last 270 years, epidemic diseases have been almost universally attributed, amongst Christian nations, should be the only one, which cannot possibly concur, either to produce or to aggravate a pestilence.—(Chap. I. p. 148—9).

XI. The principal causes of epidemic diseases may be resolved into noxious qualities of the air, and vicissitudes of temperature. The cause of any thing, or the principal cause, where there are various concurring ones, will be admitted to be, that, without which it cannot exist. That, without which epidemic diseases cannot exist, is a certain state, or certain vicissitudes of the atmosphere. The most zealous partisans of contagion are forced to admit, that, in pure air, epidemic diseases are not propagated; *i. e.* in other words, that they depend upon the air, and not upon contagion. Small-pox is equally propagated in the purest and the foulest atmosphere, although it will not be equally fatal.

In diseases really contagious, there is nothing equivocal. It did not require inoculation to ascertain that small-pox is of this description: But the immense variety of symptoms by which the epidemic diseases of various countries are distinguished, have bewildered the understandings of our nosologists; and, in order to bring nature within the trammels of their systems, they determined that the different degrees of affection, which these symptoms indicate, should be considered as diseases of a different kind, produced by different causes, and requiring a different treatment. But a yellow and a scarlet colour of the skin, or brown and livid spots, do not indicate maladies arising from different causes, any more than buboes and carbuncles. The great diversity of the symptoms of epidemic diseases, their Protean nature, as has been said of the plague, only show that they cannot be the effect of a power of equal and uniform operation, like a specific contagion, but of a power, capable of exhibiting, in its action, a vast variety of modifications and degrees, like the atmosphere.

XII. Much of the error, which has arisen upon this subject, has been occasioned by relying upon an improper kind of evidence. It is most surprising, and exceedingly to be deplored, that, in medicine, above all other branches of learning, the mode of investigation first taught by that great man

———Who from the gloom  
Of cloister'd monks, and jargon-teaching schools,  
Led forth the true philosophy———

should have been hitherto so seldom if at all employed. That, which has usually been resorted to in medicine, and more especially in respect to

epidemic diseases, has been the delusive evidence of tradition and testimony ; and we have even recently seen writers attempt, by this mode of proceeding, to show that one set of these diseases do, and that another do not, depend upon contagion. The endeavours, which thus continue to be made, to hold science

—————In the magic chain of words and forms,  
And definitions void—————

will, it is hoped, be soon banished from all human research. The proofs, which are of a proper kind, will apply equally to all epidemic maladies : and no arguments, or evidence, which do not embrace the whole, can produce conviction respecting any.

XIII. What ought perhaps to be the most powerful motive for an immediate examination into the grounds of the doctrines set forth is, the actual prevalence in this country of a pestilential constitution of air ; which, by the co-operation of scarcity of nourishment amongst the poor, with other concurring causes, both physical and moral, may, under a casual increase of the noxious qualities or vicissitudes of the atmosphere, produce a pestilence of more than common malignity in the course of the ensuing season. Nor could the calamities incidental to such a scourge, fail, in that case, to be multiplied many fold, if the belief in contagion, abetted by the medical faculty, were to continue to prevail in full force among the people, and to be generally acted upon by the Government and the municipal bodies of the kingdom.

XIV. With respect to any danger that may be alleged to attend an alteration of system, such as that to which these doctrines would lead, it is maintained, that in this country there would be no danger to be apprehended from such a change, even if the doctrine of contagion were true ; and that the evils of the restrictive measures which it is proposed to abolish, are much greater at all times than the occasional ones, against which they are intended to provide, could be at any time in the present state of society.

a. For, in respect to persons, Quarantine being sufficiently performed during the voyage from the Levant, America, or the West Indies, what possible reason can exist for the repetition of that ordeal, upon the arrival of a vessel from any of those countries, in England ?

b. And with respect to goods, as none of the partisans of contagion are able to agree upon the periods at which any article of merchandise ceases to be capable of propagating the contagion which they suppose it contains, it follows, according to their own doctrines, that no period of Quarantine could insure safety that was not interminable.\*

The questions which arise out of the consideration of the foregoing propositions, taken individually,† and in the aggregate, and of the facts and arguments by which they are supported, are these :

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\* These doctrines of the utility of Quarantine, &c. in this country, even upon the supposition of the existence of contagion in the plague of the Levant, are fully explained in 'Suggestions for the Prevention and Mitigation of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases,' &c. published in January 1817.

† There are some propositions, of which any one, taken individually, as the manner of ceasing of epidemics (X. b.) affords of itself sufficient proof that they do not depend upon contagion.

1. Whether it be sufficiently proved that epidemic diseases do not depend upon contagion, and consequently that Quarantine, and other regulations of plague police, are not only useless but pernicious?

2. If not, what additional proofs are considered necessary? or,

3. Whether the doctrine of contagion, as the cause of epidemic diseases, be still deemed to stand, in whole or in part, confirmed and unshaken; and all the establishments founded upon it worthy of being continued?

20th January, 1818.

CHARLES MACLEAN.

It has been clearly established that, on the continent of Europe, the Quarantine Laws are a most efficient engine of despotism, and the reason is obvious why they continue to be in high favour there, notwithstanding the notorious proofs which have been given that they have proved more destructive of human life, even in one epidemic, and in one season, than the hated tribunal of the Inquisition in all the countries in which it has prevailed, during the whole period of its existence! They were, at one time, not very remote, (we believe 1814,) the cause of a counter-revolution, favourable to slavery in Spain, by the necessity under which the Cortes conceived themselves of quitting Cadiz; and more recently (in 1821) they afforded to the French Government the pretext of establishing a military cordon on the frontiers, for the purpose of effecting a second counter-revolution, favourable to slavery, as well as the means of perpetrating the vile act of secretly examining all the papers of travellers in passing through the Lazaretto at Beoben, on the Bidassoa. Nor can any man be blind to the effects of these laws, in securing to our own Government a great and undefined authority over the affairs of commerce, and a proportionate influence over commercial men. Quarantine also supplies the means of multiplying places and pensions, and even fees to the clerks in the public offices, which operate as powerful motives with the persons benefited to endeavour to perpetuate delusion. The imposture of contagion besides forms a very convenient auxiliary to bad government, by bearing the blame of those diseases which are occasioned by deficiency of nourishment, depression of mind, and the absence of accustomed occupation among the laborious classes of the community,---calamities for the most part attributable to misrule. It has been also exceedingly convenient to place to the account of pestilential contagion other calamities of the same kind, as that of the army of Walcheren in 1809, the fever of the troops returning from Spain the same year, and all the fevers which have of late so frequently occurred among the inhabitants of the different portions of the United Kingdom. When these things are fully considered, the pertinacity with which the delusion, or rather the demonstrated imposture, of contagion has been maintained, during a siege of eleven years, although it cannot fail exceedingly to disgust, will no longer materially surprise us. Accordingly, whilst different bodies were successively endeavouring, by all the means in their power,



to frustrate the object of Dr. Maclean's inquiries, they were, with as much secrecy as the nature of their measures would allow, instituting plans of inquiry of their own, in order to nullify his proceedings, and to secure, for some time longer, their most useful and natural ally, pestilential contagion, on its tottering throne. It was at the very period that the College of Physicians, as will afterwards be related, were, under a reference from the Privy Council endeavouring to put the extinguisher of authority on Dr. Maclean's demonstrations, that two select Committees of the House of Commons were appointed, one for England, and the other for Ireland *not to inquire into, but to declare the validity* of the doctrine of pestilential contagion, and, in the latter case, for the purpose of enacting a new and extraordinary law for the sister kingdom founded on that belief. As these measures, and the ground of their adoption, cannot fail to prove, historically, both curious and instructive, it is fit that they should be recorded.

The Committee for Ireland had this extraordinary title: 'The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland, as to the prevalence of *contagious* fever in that part of the United Kingdom, and to *investigate the causes, temporary and permanent*, which have led to the increased progress of this destructive malady during the last and the present year, &c.' To frame such a title required a considerable confusion of ideas. Having set out by taking contagion for granted, it might be thought that, since diseases produced by known contagion, are never produced by any other cause, they would have deemed it superfluous 'to investigate the causes, temporary and permanent, which have led, &c.' However, these were the hopeful functions they were destined to perform! The English Committee was appointed to investigate the *contagious* fever of the metropolis. In January 1817, Dr. Maclean publicly predicted, upon rational principles, the increase of fever in the following seasons; and it was evidently the persevering nature of his proceedings, in this line of inquiry, which at last obtained for the subject the attention of the Legislature. In a letter to the Privy Council, he strongly protested against the measures which he understood to be in contemplation. He also thought it his duty to address letters, accompanied by copies of his works, upon epidemic diseases, to Sir John Newport, and the Honourable Mr. Bennet, the Chairmen of these Committees, explaining his doctrines, warning them against the effects of delusion, and indicating proper modes of proceeding. But such warnings were given in vain, to persons predetermined in favour of the venerable and costly doctrine of contagion, with all its direful appendages. It is curious, that, of the Irish Committee, the person should have been a member, who was the Marquis Wellesley's legal adviser when he thought proper to expel Dr. Maclean from India, in 1798, as constituting the only obstacle to his imposing a censor-

ship on the press of that country, Sir William Burroughs, the East India Company's then Advocate-General.

The direful result of the labours of the Irish Committee was a law, passed on the 30th of May 1818, entitled 'An Act to establish Fever Hospitals, and to make other regulations for *relief* of the suffering poor, and for *preventing the increase of infectious (contagious) fevers* in Ireland.' It ought rather to have been entitled 'An Act to establish a new, a more perfect, and an unheard-of system of despotism in Ireland; to place the lives, liberties, and properties of the whole nation at the mercy of Ministers; to organise permanent corporations throughout every county, city, and town in that kingdom, which, as so many cog-wheels, shall keep in perpetual arrest the great wheel of public prosperity; and, in certain cases, to increase many-fold the otherwise inevitable sickness, misery, and mortality, incidental to epidemic maladies.'

By this Act the whole population of Ireland, under pretence of guarding against the effects of what has been proved to be a non-entity, was at once placed at the entire disposal of corporations, composed of Archbishops, Bishops, Members of Parliament, and Justices of the Peace, having, for the most part, distinct interests and feelings from the body of the people! This precedent being established in Ireland, what should hinder its extension, in due time, to Scotland and England! It matters not to the public whether this measure was introduced by mistake or by design. Its effects are precisely the same. It established a regular and complete despotism. By virtue of this Act, any man in Ireland may be taken forcibly from his family and home, and immured in an hospital, under the pretence of preventing the propagation of a contagion which does not, and cannot possibly exist. Wherever a fever prevails, each man's house may be entered, and his property destroyed, according to the will and pleasure of the commissioners appointed under this Act: his goods and furniture, if they be *supposed* to be susceptible of contagion, may be burned, and he can have no redress. These commissioners are selected by the Lord Lieutenant from among the members of the newly formed corporations, or other bodies previously existing. Their offices commence and cease at his command. For whatever arbitrary acts they may commit, there is no redress. In defence, they have only to show the Act, and to plead the general issue. In short, it is an absolute power-of-imprisonment Act, only substituting the pretence of *contagion* for the pretence of *sedition*.

The funds required for the purposes of the Act are to be raised by subscription, donation, and by *presentments of Grand Juries*. For establishing dispensaries, Grand Juries may present sums *equal to the amount of subscriptions and private donations*. They may present *double* the amount of private subscriptions for the

*reception of fever patients. They may make presentments for fever hospitals, to be raised by instalments within six years: and money is directed to be advanced to the treasurer of the county, city, or town, for the purposes of such presentment, by order of the Lord Lieutenant, out of the consolidated fund. They are also empowered to present 500*l.* a year additional for support of houses of industry, established under the 11th and 12th of Geo. III. c. 30.*

This is, in effect, only an indirect method of imposing fresh taxes on the people. If the Grand Juries should consent to act upon them, they will be, in so far, concurring to give effect to the existing system of fiscal spoliation: and, if they do not, this part of the law will remain a dead letter.

In case of fever appearing in any town or district, the Lord Lieutenant may appoint a board of health, consisting of not more than thirteen commissioners, to be selected from among the members of the corporation, of any infirmary, fever hospital, or other hospital, &c., *to act in such manner, and under such regulations, as the Lord Lieutenant or his chief secretary shall, from time to time, direct.* (s. x.) Thus, it may depend upon the pleasure, or the caprice, or secret views of the Lord Lieutenant, or his chief secretary, what persons are to be incarcerated in pest-houses, and what persons are to have their goods and furniture burnt! Upon the mere prospect of this law, before its enactments were known, it was thus characterised, by anticipation, in Dr. Maclean's letter to the Privy Council, dated the 16th of May 1818, (the Act is dated the 30th of May 1818, fourteen days later:) 'I have heard, but am unable to give credit to the information, that a law is meditated *for compelling sick people to quit their families and their homes, in order to be immured in hospitals, under the unfounded pretence of obviating danger from contagion. This would be an enactment so horrid in a variety of views, that no possible combination of authorities could give it the semblance of justice, or of decency, or rescue it, upon experience of its effects, from the just execration of mankind.*' But the Act itself is infinitely worse than any thing that could have been reasonably anticipated. It is not only destitute of every principle which ought to characterise the laws of a free and enlightened nation; but it would reflect dishonour on a community of barbarians. It is such an Act as ought to be expunged, if possible, from the records of Parliament, as the only atonement that could be now made for having inflicted so indelible a disgrace upon our age and nation. It would have been unjustifiable, intolerable, and execrable, even if all the fooleries that were ever invented on the subject of contagion had been correct. Was there then no man of British head, or British heart, present, to raise his voice in opposition, when this abominable law was smuggled through the Houses of Parliament?—It was passed in silence!

The truth is, that these Quarantine Laws were, in their source and origin, essentially engines of despotic rule. This was their real object. In the 16th century, the oligarchs of Venice, dexterously availing themselves of the belief in contagion, in epidemic diseases, established boards of health, quarantines, lazarettos, and numerous minor regulations of plague police, in almost every town or village, along the shores of the Adriatic; having, doubtless, perceived that this ready and authorised method of dividing, separating, and secluding their subjects at pleasure, would form a most convenient and compendious method of controlling, or, what has been called, governing them. In the nineteenth century, the oligarchs of England have, with a happier address, availed themselves of the distress which their own measures have occasioned, to introduce, by bringing up the nonentity of contagion anew, a similar machinery for the benefit of the starving people of Ireland. Why, if good in Ireland, have they not introduced it into Scotland and England, where the epidemic, which has been made the pretext for its adoption, prevailed also, although not in so great a degree? If it were a good measure, would it not be an injustice not to let Scotland and England share in the benefit? But in Scotland or England they dared not yet to make the attempt!

The evidence on the contagious fever of Ireland was in a great measure suppressed: and that on the *contagious* fever of the metropolis, although not suppressed, was no less completely at variance with the tenor of the Report of the Committee. This has equally been the case, as will be afterwards shown, of the Reports of subsequent Committees upon the same subject. Between these Reports, and those of nearly the same date, of the Royal College of Physicians to the Privy Council, respecting Dr. Maclean's work, there is, as we shall presently see, a wonderful uniformity of inferences, in palpable opposition to, and almost in avowed defiance of facts; and as the Irish Committee are ashamed of their evidence, so are the Privy Council ashamed of the Reports of the College, and evade communicating them to Dr. Maclean. It was not until the appearance of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Contagion of Plague, in 1819, a year later, that these documents at length obtained publicity. The callosity to shame of official men is hardly credible. The reference from the Privy Council, and the Reports of the College, upon this occasion, were as follows:

*The Clerk to the Privy Council to the President of the College of Physicians.*

SIR,

Council Office, Whitehall, 16th February 1818.

I am directed by the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council to acquaint you that their attention has recently been called to a publication by Dr. Charles Maclean, which he has communicated to their Lordships

on the subject of epidemic and contagious diseases, and particularly with reference to the plague.

The subject is obviously of so much importance to the welfare of mankind in general, that the Lords of the Privy Council do not feel that they could pass by Dr. Maclean's communication without notice; and their Lordships naturally look to the enlightened Members of the Royal College of Physicians, as being eminently calculated to furnish them with the most valuable information, and to elucidate a subject which is no less interesting than difficult; under this impression their Lordships have directed me to transmit to you a copy of the printed volume, published by Dr. Maclean, together with a written summary of his argument, which the Doctor has prepared by their Lordships' direction; and to request that you will submit the same to the consideration of the Members of the Royal College of Physicians, in order that they may report, for the information of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, the view which the College take of this question, and more particularly their opinion on the following propositions, as stated by Dr. Maclean, viz.

1st. Whether it be sufficiently proved that epidemic diseases do not depend upon contagion, and that, consequently, Quarantine and other regulations of plague police are not only useless but pernicious?

2d. If not, what additional proofs are considered necessary?

3d. Whether the doctrine of contagion, as the cause of epidemic diseases, be still deemed to stand, in whole or in part, confirmed and unshaken, and all the establishments founded upon it worthy of being continued?

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JAS. BULLER.

*The Registrar to the College of Physicians to the Clerk of the Privy Council.*

SIR,

College of Physicians, March 31, 1818.

I have the honour to transmit to you, for the information of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, the following answers to the questions proposed by their Lordships to the Royal College of Physicians:

1st. We are of opinion, although some epidemic diseases are not propagated by contagion, that it is by no means proved that the plague is not contagious, or that the regulations of plague police are useless or pernicious. We are persuaded, on the contrary, from the consideration of the experience of all ages, and some of us from personal observation, that the disease is communicable from one individual to another.

2d. The additional proofs which would be required of the non-existence of contagion, must be such proofs as would be sufficient to counterbalance the general opinion of medical and philosophical authors and historians, from the times of Thucydides, Aristotle, and Galen, to the present day; so late as the year 1813, the contagious nature of plague was fully ascertained by the British medical officers in the Island of Malta.

3d. The doctrine of contagion appears to us to be wholly 'unshaken' by any argument which Dr. Maclean has advanced; at the same time, we think it

probable that some of the personal restrictions enforced on the establishment for Quarantine, might be modified, without risk to the public safety.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,  
CLEM. HUE, Registrar.

*The Clerk of the Privy Council to the Registrar of the College of Physicians.*

SIR, Council Office, Whitehall, 30th September 1818.

I am directed to acquaint you, that the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council have, since the receipt of your letter of the 31st of March last, received from Dr. Maclean a second volume of his work on the non-contagious nature of the plague, which the Doctor has represented to their Lordships as containing additional proofs of the accuracy of his views upon that subject; and as being in consequence not unlikely to lead to some variation in the sentiments of the College of Physicians. Although the Lords of the Privy Council cannot undertake to say how far this may be the case, the importance of the subject induces them again to bring it under the consideration of the College of Physicians; and I am therefore directed to transmit to you a copy of the second volume of this work, and to request that you will lay the same before the College for that purpose.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,  
JAS. BULLER.

*The Registrar of the College of Physicians to the Clerk of the Privy Council.*

SIR, College of Physicians, November 7, 1818.

I am directed by the President and Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th of September; together with a copy of the second volume of Dr. Maclean's work on Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases, and to state to you, for the information of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, that nothing contained in Dr. Maclean's second volume has altered the opinion expressed by the College in their former report.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,  
CLEM. HUE, Registrar.

*Lord Chetwynd, Clerk to the Privy Council, to Dr. Maclean.*

SIR, Council Office, Whitehall, April 14, 1818.

I am directed to acquaint you, that the work published by you on the nature of epidemic diseases, together with the summary of the principal propositions therein stated, have been referred by the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, to the College of Physicians, for their opinion; and their Lordships having had under their attentive consideration the answer which has been received from the College, I am farther to acquaint you, that the Lords of the Privy Council do not feel that they should be warranted in recommending the abolition of those cautionary restrictions of Quarantine, which have been deemed necessary for the protection of the public health.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,  
CHETWYND.

On receiving this intimation, it was deemed necessary by Dr. Maclean to request that copies of the College Reports should be communicated to him; with which request, however, the Lords of the Privy Council thought proper to evade compliance. He knew indeed, as demonstration cannot be refuted, that they could only consist of some of the common-place *dogmata* of the schools; and he was informed by Dr. Baillie, on the 31st of March, in explaining his own conduct upon the occasion, what these *dogmata* were: 'I concur,' says Dr. Baillie, 'in *opinion* with the College, that the plague is contagious, *although certain states of the atmosphere have a powerful influence on it*. I concur, likewise, in *opinion* with the College, that *the doctrine of contagion is distinctly stated by several writers among the ancients*.' This, indeed, comprehended the whole sum and substance of their Reports; but, from the circumstance above stated, they were not placed in a tangible shape till the appearance of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the validity of the doctrine of contagion in the plague in 1819, from the Appendix to which they have been extracted as above. What is most unfair in this matter, is, that the College should have been permitted to deliver a mere unsupported opinion, upon so important a subject, whereas it was in express terms, and repeatedly stipulated by Dr. Maclean, that they should be required to assign, in detail, the grounds of their conclusions. Nor will it elevate our notions of the equity with which these proceedings have been conducted, when we contrast the reluctance and delay which have marked every stage of this inquiry, during eleven years, with the alacrity and promptitude with which *two* reports *in favour of contagion* were required by the Privy Council from the College of Physicians, in the space of *twelve days*, in 1825!

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FIRE-FLIES *versus* STARS.

GRACEFUL and lithe the Bamboo trees  
Wave in the whispering eastern breeze;  
And when at night the Fire-flies glow  
Like drops of light on each small bough,  
The ever-living Stars on high,  
Studding, like gems, the azure sky,  
Can scarcely draw the wanderer's gaze  
From the green Bamboo's richer blaze

## REASONS FOR REDUCING THE MILITARY FORCE OF INDIA.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

Bengal, Oct. 15, 1896.

KNOWING, as you must ere this, that India is in a state of profound peace, you will perhaps be astonished to hear that the six extra regiments which were raised during the last war, have not yet been disbanded, although it is said, that positive orders have been received from the Court of Directors to that effect. Necessity has, of course, been urged to justify non-compliance, but of this necessity it will puzzle the uninitiated to discover the existence. Since the reduction of Bhurtpore, there is no rallying point for the disaffected, in central or upper India. We are safe on the side of Nepal, and the result of the late war has secured the quiet of our eastern frontier. On the west, we have the friendly power of the Sikhs, and, were it not friendly, it could be annihilated in a single campaign by less than a half of the army which reduced Bhurtpore. If our Eastern statesmen are so far-sighted as to anticipate a Russian invasion, it were better to husband our resources, in the meantime, to enable us to support an increase of our European force, which would in that case be required; or, if an addition to our Native army should hereafter be necessary, it has been recently shown how speedily a number of regiments can be raised and organised.

But the Bengal Government, it is said, has proposed to reduce some of the local corps: and why? The reduction of any number of these might render an equal number of regular corps necessary; but as the *whole* of our Native army can never at once be brought into the field, these local corps are as useful as any other, and kept up at half the expense. Even the Native part of a regular corps is much more expensive than a local one, while the European officers alone, required exclusively for the former, would cost, at least, 80,000*l.* per annum.

But to return to the alleged necessity for more troops, it will be recollected, that a want of troops was complained of during Mr. Adam's administration, by those who were interested in the increase of the army, and eight battalions were accordingly raised. This was then considered an ample addition, and, surely, the Bengal troops which were afterwards withdrawn from Nagpore and Mhow, together with the two new regiments of cavalry, are more than sufficient for the security of our recent acquisitions. The fact is, that the country is at present overstocked with troops. Three or four regiments are to be found at some of our interior stations, which were formerly occupied by two, and whole regiments at detached posts, formerly the stations of five and sometimes of two companies. How then is the call for an increase of the army to be ac-



counted for? Briefly thus:—Those who, from their situation, may have been able, by partial and exaggerated representations, to impress Government with the idea that an augmentation is necessary, are not only personally interested, but have many friends and relations in the army whom such an event gives them an opportunity of serving; and the discontent which now pervades the army, shows that they have not scrupled to do so in the present instance at the expense of others. It is an indisputable fact, that the majority of the officers wish for the reduction of the extra regiments; nor can any stronger evidence be adduced of the partiality which has been evinced in their formation.

The Commander-in-Chief, let it be recollected, is now a leading and influential member of the Government, and while his judgment is guided by those who are deeply interested in the increase of the army, his deficiency in local knowledge renders him unable to detect the fallacy of the *ex parte* statements laid before him.

I write this letter, Mr. Editor, with the hope that it may attract the notice of some of the Directors, or Proprietors of India stock resident in London, who otherwise may never hear a syllable of the matter. There are few in this country whose interests coincide with theirs; and the military, as far as they are concerned, must be silent from necessity. But there is no reason why the few Proprietors of India stock, resident in this country, should be silent also; whose duty I conceive it to be, to give notice to those residing in London, of any unnecessary addition to the Company's expenditure, and on whom it becomes a reciprocal duty to watch over the interests of

AN ABSENT PROPRIETOR.

#### L I N E S

*Occasioned by Reading "The Brude of Abydos."*

O! from what magic bower, what Peri height,  
Or charmed grove, or realm of love and light.  
Flowers of immortal bloom hast thou purloined?  
Thine is the loveliest, thine the saddest child  
I ween, that ever blest the union mild  
Of Poetry and Melancholy, joined.  
If from that feeling heart, that radiant mind  
Religion beamed, enshrining and enshrined;  
How would the holy Minstrels, who rejoice  
O'er triumphs far less brilliant, wake a strain,  
That e'en thy lay might emulate in vain,  
With all their hallowed fire and pure angelic voice

*Berhampton.*

H. S. B.

**PRESENT STATE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE SETTLEMENT  
AT PORT ELIZABETH, IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

WE have received, from an intelligent correspondent, an account of the harbour and settlement of Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay, up to the end of September 1826; and being aware of the interest felt on the subject by all those who look to our efforts in South Africa as a probable means of effecting great good, and ultimately, by the spread of commercial intercourse, civilizing that quarter of the globe, we lay it before our readers, to the nautical and commercial classes of which, at least, it will be found to convey much useful information.

*Abstract of a Diary of the Weather, kept at Algoa Bay, from January to July 1826.*

Months	Number of Days in each Month—								Days	REMARKS.			
	N	S	E	W	NE	NW	SE	SW					
										Surf Wind Good Bad			
Jan.	2	1				13	12	1	31	25	6	This month was in general unhealthy. The dysentry especially prevailed, and the weather was oppressively warm.	
Feb.	1	2		2		11	8	4	23	23	5	This month was more healthy, and much cooler, with the exception of three days, in which the heat was considerable.	
March	2					2	13	12	2	31	28	3	This month was very healthy, although on the 14th it was excessively hot.
April	3	2	2			14	9		30	27	3	During all this month there was uncommonly fine weather, like the Spring in Europe, with plenty of rain.	
May	5	1	1			2	15	6	1	31	30	1	A fine month throughout, with sharp winds, particularly healthy, though there were frequent rains. On the morning of the 24th there was a very strong N.W. wind.
June	3		2			9	14	2		30	20		This month was particularly healthy throughout.
July	5	1	2			1	13	8	1	31	29	2	In all respects the same as above.

Average number of days on which the surf admits of boats landing safely—about nine out of every ten.  
Number of days on which rain fell in the different months Jan. 2, Feb. 2, March 4, April 6, May 3, June 4, July 3—Total 24

The anchorage ground at Algoa Bay is formed of a strong clay. Strangers bound to the Bay are not to look to the summit of the hills for signals, but to the Resident's house at the bottom, where there is a flag-staff erected; and the only necessary mark for their anchorage is to keep the Resident's house bearing due west, and then to take the distance of their anchorage from the shore, according to the depth of water required for their tonnage; those of the largest burthen need not, however, anchor at a greater distance than one mile from the beach.

It is strongly recommended that any ship coming here should be provided with Marryatt's Code of Signals, as these are constantly used at the Resident's flag-staff.

The Bay is spacious, and a vessel, if anchored at a proper distance, can, at all times, beat out, against any wind; there is also a good anchorage behind the St. Croix Islands, which they can always reach.

The coast around, from the landing-place to Cape Padrôse, is bold: in coming in from the westward, vessels should give the rocky point a wide birth; they can, however, pass with safety between the Roman Rock, and Rocky Point. It is to be observed that when a white flag is hoisted at the signal staff at the Resident's house, no boat should attempt landing, the surf being then bad; and it is strongly recommended that boats belonging to ships (strangers) should never attempt to come on shore, until the government boat goes off, or under a warp line; the danger to be apprehended from so doing is not so much from the surf as from a strong current which runs close in upon the beach from south to north, when the helm, from the velocity with which the current drives the boat, has no command over her. Whale boats, however, can go in and out at all times, as the steer oar has a perfect command over them.

Vessels of any burden can, at all times, be supplied with abundance of water, and fresh stock of every description, at a much more moderate rate than in Table Bay. This place is also particularly healthy: convalescents from India, who have spent months in Cape Town, for the benefit of their health, have often experienced the superiority of this place, as they have not been here for many weeks before they have been perfectly recovered.

The following are the average prices of fresh provisions supplied to ships:—Bullocks, six or seven hundred weight, 30 rix dollars; sheep, fifty to sixty pounds, 3½ to 4 dollars; geese, 3 to 4 dollars; fowls, 6 dollars per dozen; ducks, 20 dollars per dozen; wood and watering, moderate.

High water, at full and change, 12 hours. Rise 6 feet.

An agreement should be entered into with the boatmen for the

conveyance on board of the stock and other necessities, otherwise their charges are exorbitant.

The following privilege has been recently granted to Port Elizabeth, by his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, under date of July 26, 1826:

‘ All vessels are permitted to enter into, and clear out from Port Elizabeth, and to land thereat, or embark therefrom, all goods, wares, or merchandise, which may be legally imported into or exported from this colony.’

The prosperity of the Cape of Good Hope, under the Dutch, arose principally from the advantages which its anchorages offered to ships trading to the East; and as the harbour of Port Elizabeth is really superior to either Table or Simon's Bay, the British settlers, from their peculiarly advantageous situation here, have strong reasons to hope for progressive improvement in their prospects and condition.

The homeward-bound Indiamen usually make this part of the coast in the first instance; and as adverse north-west winds prevail during four-fifths of the year, it is obvious that East India Captains, when they are informed of the accommodation which Port Elizabeth offers, will judge that it is preferable to turn into the smooth water of Algoa Bay, rather than fruitlessly to endeavour, at the expense of sails and rigging, to urge on their way to the westward. Our coasters never leave this port until a south-easterly wind springs up, which enables a vessel to reach St. Helena in 15 days; whilst, on the contrary, many vessels have severely suffered, by persevering in their efforts to round the Cape when opposed by winds and currents, and have succeeded with difficulty, after many days' exposure to the roughest sea in the world.

The advantages of this port are becoming gradually known, as several ships have already made a second visit to it, on their return voyages from India. Indeed when it is known that oxen can be delivered for one penny English per pound, and that the beef may vie with that of Ireland, it may reasonably be expected that it will be still more frequented for stock; and that settlers of capital will be attracted to the spot, as colonists, to improve still further the resources of the country.

The temperature of the climate at Algoa Bay is twelve degrees cooler than that of Cape Town; and the winters are almost-uniformly of the same description as the delightful weather which characterizes May and June in England.

The contiguity of the frontiers supplies an inexhaustible source of commercial prosperity. The interior is hardly approached, and

yet the merest trifles have been exchanged with the Natives, during the last year, for an amount of ivory and hides, which, if mentioned, would be thought incredible. It is reported that 100,000 lbs. of ivory and 300,000 hides have passed through Graham's Town from the weekly Caffer fairs, during the last 12 months only.

Agriculture and horticulture are, at present, greatly neglected. The chief produce is barley; the wheat crops having failed; but, by the introduction of scientific men, and the expected botanical establishments of Government, it is thought there are few articles which may not be hereafter successfully cultivated.

The latitude of the anchorage at Port Elizabeth and Table Bay being the same, to a minute, great accuracy of reckoning is necessary on the part of the coasters bound to Algoa Bay, from the westward, to avoid errors in their calculation of the longitude; for, should a vessel overshoot the port, she may remain many days exposed to an overwhelming sea; and, if she lies-to for the night, she may be carried away by the uncertain currents to a considerable distance from her place of destination. Some efforts, therefore, should be made to induce Government to authorize a light-house to be placed on Cape Recife. So impressed are the Captains of the coasters with the importance of the measure, that one of them offered to build a small light-house at his own expense, provided the Government would keep it in condition afterwards. The immediate neighbourhood of the whale fishery would ensure a constant supply of oil at a cheap rate, and a very trifling charge on the vessel *benefited* by the measure, would be more than adequate to the support of the establishment; but nothing has yet been determined on this subject.

As it is expected that the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Cape will fix his abode among the settlers at Algoa Bay for a short period, they are all looking forward to the pleasure and advantage of his arrival among them; and think that his report will be likely to establish the fact that his countrymen now in want of employment at home, would find, in South Africa, an excellent and congenial climate, and a country capable of furnishing to its inhabitants not only the necessities of life, but most of its luxuries.

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## ON THE EDUCATION OF CADETS FOR THE INDIAN ARMY.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

Banks of the Ganges, Aug. 1, 1820.

THE debate at the India House on Mr. Hume's motion, regarding the education of Cadets (for which see vol. vii. p. 380, of your Journal,) has induced me to turn my thoughts again to that subject.\* The principal objections taken by the opposite party seem to be: 1st, that the proposal would have been profitable to Dr. Gilchrist; and 2dly, that young men had better learn the Oriental languages in India than in England. Upon the first point I shall say nothing, though it appears curious that the education of the Company's Cadets should necessarily put money into the Doctor's pocket. If so, he must be the only man capable of teaching them, and thus the Court pay him a greater practical compliment than any language could have conveyed. But the second point having at first sight a plausible appearance, deserves more consideration.

It certainly looks like a self-evident proposition, that a language may be learnt quicker and better in a country in which it is spoken, than in any other. But it may be observed, that what is spoken here, is very different from the more classical language which constitutes the literature of the country. The Oordoo Zuban, in which we generally converse with the Natives, is, as its name implies, a mixture of many tongues, comprehending amongst others, Arabic, Sanscrit, Persian, Bengalee, Portuguese, and English. This, perhaps, might not be so easily acquired in England, but the written languages might be acquired there as well as in this country, and they would not only be valuable in themselves, but would form an excellent foundation for the other.

As to the present deficiency in what the Chairman in his simplicity calls the '*improved* state of India,' I appeal to the experience of any one who is conversant with the country. Does one Officer in twenty know more of its languages than is just sufficient to enable him to perform the routine of his duty? Are they not in this respect notoriously inferior to the Civilians, who have had the advantage of instruction on both sides of the water? The fact then is, that some more regular place of instruction is required; and this seems to be very generally admitted. But in what country? In England to be sure, and for these reasons: We have had a College of this nature in India, well known by the name of Barraset, and we have not forgotten what it produced—idleness, extravagance, dissipation, insubordination and duels. This will be, in some mea-

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\* A previous letter on the same subject, and from the pen of the same writer, will be found in the '*Oriental Herald*,' vol. vi. p. 87.

sure, the case wherever a number of men are collected together, just at that age when the passions become most clamorous for indulgence, and the restraints of authorities are necessarily relaxed. In England, however, you would have this advantage. The young men, having never been exempt from domestic interference, would submit to it with less reluctance; and the neighbourhood of their parents and friends, whom they have been accustomed to respect, and are solicitous to please, would have a salutary influence on their minds. If stronger motives appear necessary, withhold their appointments till their conduct affords some promise, at least, of future merit. At present, you send out a lad, suddenly emancipated from school, with a commission in his pocket, and a sword nearly as long as himself, by his side, and then gravely recommend him to study. You might as well try to catch sparrows by sprinkling salt upon their tails.

Again, whatever excesses a young man might be guilty of in England, would be unknown or forgotten on his arrival here. He would once more start fair in the career of life, with the advantage of such experience as he had purchased at home. But an offence committed here by the *Officer*, holding the commission and wearing the sword as aforesaid, is a far more serious matter. It is not more than two years since a young Ensign, about 17 years of age, having drank too much wine at the mess-table, and used insulting language to his brother officers, was brought before a court-martial, and sentenced to be dismissed the service. The Commander-in-Chief very properly pardoned him, on the plea of youth and inexperience; but does not such a plea show most forcibly the impropriety of sending out so young a lad to fill such a situation in life? I know how absurd is the common cant, that we hold this country by 'opinion.' In truth, Sir, we hold it by our broad-swords and bayonets, and if they were removed, opinion would not support us long; but is it not obviously important that those who wield these broad-swords and bayonets, should be able to look up to their officers with respect? If it be said then, that learning the Eastern languages at home would necessarily detain cadets a little longer in that country; I reply, to my mind, there cannot be a stronger argument urged in its favour, for they might learn at the same time what is more valuable, still, English habits and English principles.

I need not remind you of the long passage across the ocean necessary to reach this country, or the listless vacuity of thought in which it is, usually spent; for who could expect a young man, under such circumstances, without assistants, and almost without motives, to undergo the drudgery of attempting a new language? Had the foundation been properly laid in England, it is not too much to suppose that some at least would devote their minds to further improvement.

Once more, it is said, there are great temptations held out in this country to the proficient. Formerly, pecuniary rewards were given to those who distinguished themselves, but they have been long discontinued, it being thought a matter of economy to pay a salary to young officers, who are useless, if not mischievous, for the first year or two, rather than give a few thousand rupees as an inducement to make themselves well acquainted with the language and habits of the men they are to command. It seems impossible, Sir, for the Company ever to forget for a moment that they are merchants as well as sovereigns, and the scales are the emblems of justice that appear familiar to their hands. Military men too, are no longer permitted to study in the Civil College of Calcutta; so that in the 'improved state of India,' there are fewer means and rewards for diligence than there were formerly. But we are still promised, that staff appointments shall be given to those who are best qualified to fill them. Alas! Sir, this poor farce has been acted too often to deceive any longer. Lord Hastings set out with a magnanimous profession of attending only to the claims of merit; but it is notorious that the patronage of the Army was sometimes shamefully prostituted while he had the reins of government, and the interminable Scotch cousins of Lady Hastings devoured all the loaves and fishes in the land. Sir Edward Paget openly declared, he would give away the staff appointments, in his power, only to those who were recommended by the officers under whom they had served: and no doubt his promise was infinitely better kept than that of his predecessor. The valuable patronage of the Army, however, by some odd whim of legislation, is vested in the Governor-General; and of his mode of distributing it, you have had some specimens before you.

Let it not, however, be thought that all the faults and blunders are committed on this side of the water. The ignorance of some of the Directors, and the apathy of all, is a principal cause of the mischief. And when we see one of the Proprietors asserting, that many of the sepoy (or *any* of them, if he alluded to Bengal) are familiar with the English language; and another gravely assuring the Court, that the interpreter was the common channel of communication between an officer and his men;—we can only wonder by what strange caprice of fortune the Government of India has been intrusted to a set of men so lamentably ignorant of its character.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

PULLIV.

P. S. How came every speaker to conclude, that an establishment of this kind must necessarily be in or near London?



## THE DREAM.—A FRAGMENT.

*(From the Italian.)*

[The entire original of the accompanying Fragment may be found in the Venetian Annals of Giulio Albani, published at Florence in 1655.]

METHOUGHT I stood upon a dreary rock,  
 A barren islet in a boundless waste,  
 A spot where human foot had never trod,  
 Where human voice had never waken'd sound ;  
 Desolate and alone ; far from the world ;  
 Exiled, forgotten ;—many a gallant ship  
 Passing with gaudy streamers in the wind,  
 That bore them bravely on ; while from their decks  
 Rose peals of careless laughter, and rude mirth,  
 And merry music, and loud revelling ;  
 And on they sped : and others came, the same ;  
 And they passed too :—again—but not a sail  
 Resign'd its portion of the hastening breeze,  
 That fill like Flattery's breath, and wooed them on  
 None tarried : Pleasure's realm was still a-head  
 And Sorrow's rugged isle display'd no charm  
 To tempt delay from such a summer crew.  
 No eye was turn'd upon that cheerless shore,  
 Or him who stood there, lonely as the elf  
 That beetled o'er him. Melancholy, slow,  
 I sought my only refuge—only home—  
 A cave hard by ; and laid me down, and slept  
 That scene of bitter mockery—all the world,  
 Even the main around, the hopeless waste,  
 (My dreary world) that there encompass'd me,  
 Was hidden. Not a sound, e'en of the wave  
 That broke upon the strand, was heard ; no air,  
 No sea-bird's call, no life : 'twas as the grave  
 Had closed upon its prey in endless night,  
 The silence of a desert sepulchre.

There, such a dream came o'er my harass'd sense,  
 As never, sure, in wretchedness or bliss,  
 Was given to earthly slumber : From the West,  
 As rising from the wave, a form advanced,  
 Circled in living light, illumining  
 The watery path it trod. It heeded not  
 The argosy's gay pageantry, nor heard  
 The mingled shouts of many tongues, that thence  
 In admiration hail'd it. On it came,  
 Regardless of their blandishments and threats,

And reach'd the desolate shore ; and still approach'd,  
And stood beside me—glorious, beautiful !  
Not as of earth ; or, if of earth, it seem'd  
As if the chisell'd idol of the world  
Had gain'd from favouring Heaven the vital spark  
That woke grace into life, exhibiting,  
In each new attitude of limb, each look,  
The breath-fraught touch of Deity, that show'd  
An angel risen where an image stood !  
Sweet play'd the spirit-soul within : it beam'd  
In soft suffusion glowing, as of old.  
The vestal's sacred charge of incensed flame,  
Gave, through its alabaster shrine, its fire,  
In temper'd brilliancy of light ; but here,  
In mild transparence, azure veins were seen  
Marbling the downy whiteness, as they wound,  
In mazy lustre, through their bed of snow,  
Mellowing beside them as they flow'd, as pure  
As if a seraph's hand in heaven's blue dye  
Had dipt the pencil that pourtray'd them. Thus,  
In loveliness it stood. It moved ; the step  
Fell like a zephyr's sigh upon the earth—  
So echoless—so still—the emmet train  
Turn'd not aside, nor fear'd the airy tread  
That threaten'd not its banquet. Suddenly,  
Methought it smiled (celestial light !) upon me  
Sure never face, save in a dream, or heaven,  
Never on earth, had woke, to shed delight,  
So fair a soul as smil'd in that sweet smile !  
Would that an abler pen were mine, to paint  
The sun whence beam'd that look of life, of love !  
Yes, it was love it beam'd ; but chasten'd, purer,  
As if it woo'd the heart to share that sphere  
Of light it seem'd descended from, and there  
Live in eternal peace and blessedness !

Lent, as to veil, but yielding added grace  
To this perfection, golden tresses hung,  
Like jess'mine tendrils round a new-born rose,  
Shading, as envious of the charm it wore,  
The flower they clung to ; or, like fleecy clouds,  
When, through a summer's heaven, pleased Cynthia smiles,  
Bright'ning to living amber on her brow,  
Thence soft'ning into shade, but amber still,  
Thence, in the concave's light, like gossamer,  
Sinking to airy nothingness again,—  
From that expanse, that azure lake, methought  
The eye had drunk its spell ; so mild, yet bright.  
As if a diamond's ray the turquoise wore,  
And flash'd forth unmingled purity.

I lesser time than this strange tale of thought  
 Hath claim'd attention, this all-beauteous Shade,  
 His wond'rous birth, of fancy's mimic hour ;  
 Angel, in woman's semblance, gave mine ear  
 A voice, so sweet ! It fell, like Miriam's breath,  
 In music on the heart ; and, as it spoke,  
 The lips, whence flow'd the melody, display'd,  
 Reflecting back the blush they shed, what lay  
 Like ocean's pearls beside a coral stem,  
 Some sea-nymphs' wreath beneath the noontide wave,  
 Sipping fresh lustre from th' enamour'd sun.  
 Oh ! I could dwell for ever, still in words,  
 As still in thought unwearied, on this form :  
 As still the mind reviews the vision'd bliss,  
 And dreams again that bliss reality !  
 Bliss ? rapture ! Yes, though agony was there,  
 It came not then : but, like a vapoury night,  
 Shrouding the sunshine of a day of spring,  
 Stole o'er the scene, in blight and blasting shade,  
 Breathing foul poison as it spread :—'twas thus  
 The trouble came : and all of joy was changed  
 To torturing anguish, that, e'en now the brain  
 Recals in shuddering horror ! Agony !  
 Beyond the power of any tongue to tell !  
 Yet, deadly as it fell, for that bright heaven  
 That *had* been given, and thus was swept to gloom,  
 So would I sleep again, and dream for ever !

Brief be the rest ! there's little charm, alas !  
 In any tale that Misery has to tell ;  
 And this, though but a dream, a sleeper's grief,  
 Will sound but rudely. Many a tear have I  
 (Dream as it was) in secret shed ; and still  
 Shall shed again ! but then, o'er me, there hangs  
 A nameless something blending all with life,  
 As 't were the shadow of some real event,  
 Gone by, or yet to come : and there are beings,  
 Not oft, but seen at times, whose forms recal  
 The Spirit of that night ; and then the heart  
 Spontaneous throbs, before the startled eye  
 Can give its warning. Strange ! but thus it is :  
 And time hath rather added to the spell,  
 Than aided to dissolve it. Now methinks  
 'T will last till thought shall cease, shall sleep, perchance,  
 To dream in bliss again. \* \* \* \* \*

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## REVIEW OF SKETCHES IN PERSIA.\*

Books of travels ought to have but one object. They should inform the reader fully of the nature and condition of the countries they describe, single out and delineate correctly whatever is peculiar in the manners of the inhabitants, or in the institutions civil or religious which influence those manners, and this in a clear and manly style, like that of Volney, which inspires confidence, as it indicates a mind far too dignified to descend to falsehood. There is no occasion to proscribe wit in a traveller, when he happens to have any; but we soon learn to entertain something very like contempt for the writer who imagines us incapable of being pleased with unsophisticated description, and has recourse at every turn to grimace and exaggeration to extort our applause. We disapprove of a taste so vicious in every department of literature, and it sometimes appears in every one; but in travels and voyages it has a peculiar air of deformity, for there we expect to find the sentiments of a grave man, intent on observing mankind, and much too earnest and desirous of truth to give way for a moment to the suggestions of a childish fancy. Such are our notions of books of travels. Perhaps they are too severe, having been formed originally from the perusal of such writers as Chardin, Bernier, and Volney, and those more modern authors who have adopted their earnest and masculine way of writing.

As to the 'Sketches of Persia,' now before us, they are not regular travels, carrying the reader by any particular route through the country in question, but a mere selection from voluminous notes made upon the spot, now freshly re-written for the press, and leavened with as much wit and vivacity as the writer's most laborious efforts could conjure up. By this elaborate retouching he has succeeded, however, in producing exactly the sort of thing he aimed at, and which is now in most demand with what is called 'the reading public,' that is, with those who read until they stifle in their minds all propensity to thinking and reflection. Not but that this writer has very clever things in his book, things which deserved well to be rescued from the oblivion in which certain strong trunks of the author had kept them for six-and-twenty years. What we object to is a light and flippant manner of telling very serious truths, of which he is often guilty, not inadvertently, for his system evidently is to regard every thing as matter of jest and laughter, in which he will agree with the great majority of his readers.

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\* *Sketches of Persia, from the Journals of a Traveller in the East.* in two vols. London, 1826.

In spite of this humour he paints the Persians admirably, from the slavish courtiers, who tranquilly and eagerly acknowledge the Shah's absolute right to make foot-balls of their heads whenever it may please his majesty, down, or *up*, to those fierce wandering tribes who appear to enjoy in the midst of oppression and despotism a very great share of wealth and independence. He touches, too, upon the Turcomans and their long plundering expeditions, but this portion of the work will appear exceedingly meagre to whoever has read Mr. Frazer's more full and satisfactory account of the same people and their manners.\* What he says of the Koords is far more novel and interesting; but from this portion of the book we shall presently make an extract or two, both as a specimen of the author's best manner, and as illustrating certain passages in the *Anabasis*, the most romantic and beautiful piece of military history that has ever been written. Other passages also, throwing some light on the same history, occur early in the first volume. These relate to the Persian manner of hunting the antelope, and pursuing the bustard, a bird which the Greeks in Cyrus's army greatly relished. 'As for the bustards, (says Xenophon,) they may be taken, if one springs them hastily, they making short flights, like partridges, and are soon tired. *Their flesh was very delicious.*'† Mr. Spelman, in his admirable translation of the *Anabasis*, uses the word *roe-deer* for *Δορκίδες*, instead of *antelopes*, which, although it conveys the usual meaning of the term, which also signified *wild goats*, yet was not so proper in speaking of the animals which Xenophon was describing, for these undoubtedly were antelopes, and not roe-deer, the *cherrouils* of the French. Speaking in a note of the bustards mentioned by his author, he says, 'Bustards are very well known to sportsmen; we have great numbers of them in Norfolk; they are remarkable for having no more than three claws, like the dotterel, and some few other birds; they are scarce to be approached by any contrivance, as I have been taught by many disappointments: possibly this may be owing to their exquisite sense of hearing, no bird having, according to its size, so large an aperture to convey it. What Xenophon says concerning their short flights, can only be understood of them before they are full-grown, for, when they are so, they make flights of five or six miles with great ease. Pliny and Xenophon, like many other people, differ in their taste, with relation to bustards; the first calls them *damnatus in cibis*—the last, we find, commends them.'

From the 'Sketches' now before us, we seem to discover the reason of the difference between the opinion of Pliny and that of Xenophon respecting the bustard: the species mentioned by the Greek

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\* In his admirable *Travels in Khorasan*

† *Anab.* 1. 1. Spelman's translation

writer, and now called *Hubara* by the inhabitants of the country, being, in all probability, as peculiar to the sandy plains of Persia, as the mode of hawking by which it is caught. Be this as it may, the description here given of the mode by which the *Hubara* and 'the fleetest quadruped on earth' are taken, is extremely interesting, the more so perhaps as it seems like a kind of supplement to the brief relation of Xenophon.

'We were kept several weeks at Abusheher; and among other amusements by which we beguiled the tedium of our sojourn at this dull seaport, were those of hunting and hawking; which, according to the Nimrods of our party, is nowhere found in greater perfection: but as the mode of killing the game differs essentially from that of other countries, I shall describe it, that such sportsmen as can read may judge of its merits.

'The huntsmen proceed to a large plain, or rather desert, near the sea-side: they have hawks and greyhounds; the former carried in the usual manner, on the hand of the huntsman; the latter led in a leash by a horseman, generally the same who carries the hawk. When the antelope is seen, they endeavour to get as near as possible; but the animal, the moment it observes them, goes off at a rate that seems swifter than the wind; the horsemen are instantly at full speed, having slipped the dogs. If it is a single deer, they at the same time fly the hawks; but if a herd, they wait till the dogs have fixed on a particular antelope. The hawks, skimming along near the ground, soon reach the deer, at whose head they pounce in succession, and sometimes with a violence that knocks it over. At all events, they confuse the animal so much as to stop its speed in such a degree that the dogs can come up; and in an instant men, horses, dogs, and hawks, surround the unfortunate deer, against which their united efforts have been combined. The part of the chase that surprised me most was the extraordinary combination of the hawks and the dogs, which throughout seemed to look to each other for aid. This, I was told, was the result of long and skilful training.

'The antelope is supposed to be the fleetest quadruped on earth, and the rapidity of the first burst of the chase I have described is astonishing. The run seldom exceeds three or four miles, and often is not half so much. A fawn is an easy victory; the doe often runs a good chase, and the buck is seldom taken. The Arabs are indeed afraid to fly their hawks at the latter, as these fine birds in pouncing frequently impale themselves on its sharp horns.

'The hawks used in this sport are of a species that I have never seen in any other country. This breed, which is called *Cheghk*, is not large, but of great beauty and symmetry.

'Another mode of running down the antelope is practised here,

and still more in the interior of Persia. Persons of the highest rank lead their own greyhounds in a long silken leash, which passes through the collar, and is ready to slip the moment the huntsman chooses. The well-trained dog goes alongside the horse, and keeps clear of him when at full speed, and in all kinds of country. When a herd of antelopes is seen, a consultation is held, and the most experienced determine the point towards which they are to be driven. The field (as an English sportsman would term it) then disperse, and while some drive the herd in the desired direction, those with the dogs take their post on the same line, at the distance of about a mile from each other; one of the worst dogs is then slipped at the herd, and from the moment he singles out an antelope the whole body are in motion. The object of the horsemen who have greyhounds is to intercept its course, and to slip fresh dogs, in succession, at the fatigued animal. In rare instances the second dog kills. It is generally the third or fourth; and even these, when the deer is strong, and the ground favourable, often fail. This sport, which is very exhilarating, was the delight of the late King of Persia, Aga Mahomed Khan, whose taste is inherited by the present sovereign.

‘The novelty of these amusements interested me, and I was pleased, on accompanying a party to a village, about twenty miles from Abusheher, to see a species of hawking, peculiar, I believe, to the sandy plains of Persia, on which the Hubara\*, a noble species of bustard, is found on almost bare plains, where it has no shelter but a small shrub called getuck. When we went in quest of them we had a party of about twenty, all well mounted. Two kinds of hawks are necessary for this sport: the first, the Cherkh (the same which is flown at the antelope), attacks them on the ground, but will not follow them on the wing; for this reason, the Bhyree, a hawk well known in India, is flown the moment the Hubara rises.

‘As we rode along in an extended line, the men who carried the Cherkhs every now and then unhooded and held them up, that they might look over the plain. The first Hubara we found afforded us a proof of the astonishing quickness of sight of one of the hawks; he fluttered to be loose, and the man who held him gave a whoop, as he threw him off his hand, and set off at full speed. We all did the same. At first we only saw our hawk skimming over the plain, but soon perceived, at a distance of more than a mile, the beauti-

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\* \* The Hubara usually weighs from seven to eleven pounds. On its head is a tuft of black and white feathers; the back of the head and neck are spotted black; the side of the head and throat are white, as well as the under part of the body; the breast is slate-coloured; the feathers of the wing are greenish brown, speckled with black; the bill of a very dark grey; and on each side of the neck is a large and handsome tuft of feathers, black and white alternately.

ful speckled Hubara, with his head erect and wings outspread, running forward to meet his adversary. The Cherkh made several unsuccessful pounces, which were either evaded or repelled by the beak or wings of the Hubara, which at last found an opportunity of rising, when a Bhyree was instantly flown, and the whole party were again at full gallop. We had a flight of more than a mile, when the Hubara alighted, and was killed by another Cherkh, who attacked him on the ground. This bird weighed ten pounds. We killed several others, but were not always successful, having seen our hawks twice completely beaten, during the two days we followed this fine sport.

The author of the *Anabasis* dwells upon the extreme swiftness of the wild ass. 'The asses, (says he,) when they were pursued, having gained ground of the horses, stood still, (for they exceeded them much in speed,) and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again; so that our horsemen could take them by no other means but by dividing themselves into relays, and succeeding one another in the chase. The flesh of those that were taken was like that of red-deer, *but* more tender.' This animal, now termed Goor-Kher by the Persians, still maintains its reputation for extraordinary swiftness: 'There goes a Goor-Kher,' said Mahomed Bey, the Jelloudâr (groom) who was riding close behind; and away he galloped. Away I galloped also . . . . . We pursued the Goor-Kher several miles, when we gave up the chase as hopeless." In order to give the reader sentences connected by the whole of the author's observations on Persian hunting and hawking, we here extract the following short passage on the chase of the hare:

'On our return, however, we found plenty of other game; five hares were killed by our dogs and three by hawks. When at Shiraz, the Elchee had received a present of a very fine Shâh-Bâz, or royal falcon. Before going out I had been amused at seeing Nutee Beg, our head falconer, a man of great experience in his department, put upon this bird a pair of leathers, which he fitted to its thighs with as much care as if he had been the tailor of a fashionable horseman. I inquired the reason of so unusual a proceeding. 'You will learn that,' said the consequential master of the hawks, 'when you see our sport;' and I was convinced, at the period he predicted, of the old fellow's knowledge of his business.

'The first hare seized by the falcon was very strong, and the ground rough. While the bird kept the claws of one foot fastened in the back of its prey, the other was dragged along the ground, till it had an opportunity to lay hold of a tuft of grass, by which it was enabled to stop the course of the hare, whose efforts to escape, I do think, would have torn the hawk asunder, if it had not been provided with the leathern defences which have been mentioned.



‘The next time the falcon was flown gave us a proof of that extraordinary courage which its whole appearance, and particularly its eye, denoted. It had stooped and quite disabled the second hare by the first pounce, when two greyhounds, which had been slipped by mistake, came up, and endeavoured to seize it. They were, however, repulsed by the falcon, whose boldness and celerity in attacking the dogs and securing its prey excited our admiration and astonishment.

‘We had some excellent sport with smaller hawks at partridges. I was particularly pleased with one bird which kept hovering over our heads till the game was sprung, and then descending like a shot, struck its prey to the ground.’

To give his book a character quite miscellaneous, the greatest charm a book can now have, this singular traveller has contrived to introduce, among his ‘Sketches,’ discussions, by no means short or few, on Persian poetry and literature, with translations from Firdoosi, apologues from all quarters, sayings from Saadi, and tales from numerous vagabond story-tellers. Of all these the only ones that are absolutely dull, are the translations from the Persian heroic poet, the absurd legends of Zohawk, Rustam, &c. It is in the highest degree absurd, as a thousand examples have already proved, for persons who accidentally have cultivated and acquired a taste for Asiatic literature, and learned by habit to overlook its grossness and imperfection, thereupon to assume a critical air and institute comparisons defective and rash between it and the philosophical and perfect compositions of Europe. Their acquaintance with the languages gives them no privilege in the present age, when specimens sufficiently numerous of all kinds of composition that have ever flourished in Asia have been laid before the learned of Europe, in translations, to enable them to judge for themselves, with the greatest accuracy. The author we are now speaking of avoids this error, though he evidently entertains a strong partiality, not altogether unpardonable, for the literature and language which seem to have occupied the best years of his life. Firdousi, Hafiz, &c., maintain in his mind positions which, in that of a man of purely European taste, are held by Homer and Horace or Anacreon.

He enters with some length, and a little tediousness, into the discussion respecting the country in which fable first took its rise, and, agreeably to the notions now generally adopted, decides in favour of India. Of course we pretend not to contest with learned philologists a question which must, it seems, be decided by researches into Sanscrit lore, but really we have as yet seen nothing like proof that the fables of Æsop came from the Panch-Tantra. The intercourse of Western Asia with India, previous to the time of Æsop, seems to have been too much limited to allow us to suppose any transfer or traffic of literary merchandise to have ever taken place. At all events, the question is one of those that deserve

no lengthened discussion, more especially as it must immediately be evident to common sense that certainty and truth can never be reached, no, nor any thing like even rational probability.

The 'stories' of our writer of 'Sketches' are very much superior to his dissertations on Apologue, or his poetical translations, and will be sure to amuse exceedingly almost all kinds of readers, except, perhaps, the antiquary and the political economist. We take such particular notice of these translations, discussions, tales, &c., because in this work they are not, as is usually the case, mere make-weights, thrust in to fill up the volumes, but form a distinct department of the book, and have, at some time or other, occupied the peculiar attention of the writer. Most probably they are favourite exercises, executed when he was studying with his moon-shee the language of Shahs and Moolahs.

From these matters we shall now turn to passages in the 'Sketches' which relate directly to Persian scenery and manners. The burning sandy plain which skirts the gulf has often been described by travellers, and has few interesting features to entertain the curiosity of the reader; but leaving this, and penetrating into the heart of the country, where we meet with mountains, valleys, plains, rivers, lakes, and salt deserts, Persia assumes a striking aspect, and appears to offer to the traveller something to exercise his mind and pen. The misfortune is, that hitherto the majority of those who have visited that kingdom have trodden almost exactly in each other's footsteps, and described precisely the same cities and the same scenes. The author of these 'Sketches' deviates but little from the beaten track, if we except the latter portion of the journey, which lies through the mountains of Koordistan; but he does not rely upon the interest of his route, being capable of rendering any route agreeable by the method he has adopted of interweaving tales and anecdotes when the road offers no subject for remark independent of historical recollections. Shah Abbas helps us through many a heavy piece of road, and, in default of better entertainment, a Persian groom enlarges upon the exploits of Rustam.

The ascent from the hot region to the mountains is thus described:

'Nothing can be more striking than the change from the Gurmaseer, or hot region, as they term the arid track on the shores of the Persian Gulf, to the fine climate and rich soil of the elevated plains of the interior of that country. After travelling fifty-five miles, we reached the mountains. From the village of Dalkhee, famous for its date plantations, and streams impregnated with naphtha, and which lies at the foot of the first range, we proceeded by narrow paths, which wound along the face of the rugged and steep mountain we were ascending. When near its summit, were met by the chiefs of the tribes and villages in the vicinity.

These, with their principal adherents on horseback, were drawn up on the crest of the mountain, while their other followers sprang from rock to rock, firing their matchlocks in honour of the strangers. Their ragged clothing, their robust forms, their rapid evolutions, (which, though apparently in disorder, were all by signal,) amid precipices, where it seemed dangerous to walk, the reports of their fire-arms reverberating from the surrounding hills, gave an interest to these scenes which a fine writer might dwell on for pages, but I shall content myself with the fact; that we passed in security the two great ranges of mountains that intervene between the sea-shore and the valley of Kazeroon; on entering which, our eyes were not only cheered by rich fields, but also with wild myrtle, blackberry bushes, and willows. The latter, shadowing small but clear rivulets, gave me and others a feeling of home, which he who has not travelled in a far distant land can never understand. Those of our party who had not been in Persia before were quite delighted at the change of scene, and began to give us credit for the roses and nightingales which we promised them on its still happier plains. What they had seen of the inhabitants of the mountains we had passed inclined them to believe the marvellous tales we told of the tribe of Mama Sunce, who boast of having preserved their name and habits unaltered from the time of Alexander the Great.

‘We had good reason, when on the first Mission, to remember this tribe, who, in conformity to one of their most ancient usages, had plundered a part of our baggage that was unfortunately left without a guard in the rear. The loss would have been greater but for a curious incident. Among the camels left behind was one loaded with bottles containing nitric acid, which had been furnished in considerable quantities to us at Bombay. The able physician\* who discovered its virtues was solicitous that its efficacy should have a fair trial in Persia; and it certainly proved a sovereign remedy in an extreme case, but one in which he had not anticipated its effects. The robbers, after plundering several camel-loads, came to that with the nitric acid. They cast it from the back of the animal upon the ground. The bottles broke, and the smoke and smell of their contents so alarmed the ignorant and superstitious Mama Suncees, that they fled in dismay, fully satisfied that a pent-up genie of the Faringees had been let loose, and would take ample vengeance on them for their misdeeds. The truth of this was proved by the testimonies of the camel-drivers, the subsequent confession of some of the thieves, and the circumstance of several of the loads which were near the nitric acid being untouched.’

The following extract, which describes the savage manner in which men are sometimes deprived of their eyes in Persia, is dis-

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\* The late Dr. Helenus Scott.

tinguished by a mixture of the serious with the ludicrous, which really renders the whole more shocking:

‘Riza Kooli Khan, the Governor of Kazeroon, came to pay the Elchee a visit. This old nobleman had a silk band over his eye-sockets, having had his eyes put out during the late contest between the Zend and Kajir families for the throne of Persia. He began, soon after he was seated, to relate his misfortunes, and the tears actually came to my eyes at the thoughts of the old man’s sufferings, when judge of my surprise to find it was to entertain, not to distress us, he was giving the narration, and that, in spite of the revolting subject, I was compelled to smile at a tale, which in any country except Persia would have been deemed a subject for a tragedy: but as poisons may by use become aliment, so misfortunes, however dreadful, when they are of daily occurrence, appear like common events of life. But it was the manner and feelings of the narrator that, in this instance, gave the comic effect to the tragedy of which he was the hero.

“I had been too active a partizan,” said Riza Kooli Khan, “of the Kajir family, to expect much mercy when I fell into the hands of the rascally tribe of Zend. I looked for death, and was rather surprised at the lenity which only condemned me to lose my eyes. A stout fellow of a *ferash*\* came as executioner of the sentence; he had in his hand a large blunt knife, which he meant to make his instrument: I offered him twenty tomans if he would use a penknife I showed him. He refused in the most brutal manner, called me a merciless villain, asserting that I had slain his brother, and that he had solicited the present office to gratify his revenge, adding, his only regret was not being allowed to put me to death.

“Seeing,” continued Riza Kooli, “that I had no tenderness to look for from this fellow, I pretended submission, and laid myself on my back; he seemed quite pleased, tucked up his sleeves, brandished his knife, and very composedly put one knee on my chest, and was proceeding to his butchering work, as if I had been a stupid innocent lamb, that was quite content to let him do what he chose. Observing him, from this impression, off his guard, I raised one of my feet, and planting it on the pit of his stomach, sent him heels over head in a way that would have made you laugh (imitating with his foot the action he described, and laughing heartily himself at the recollection of it). I sprung up; so did my enemy; we had a short tustle—but he was the stronger; and having knocked me down, succeeded in taking out my eyes.

“The pain at the moment,” said the old Khan, “was lessened

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\* *Ferash* is a menial servant employed in a house to keep it clean and take care of the furniture. He also pitches tents, spreads carpets, &c. &c.

by the warmth occasioned by the struggle. 'The wounds soon healed; and when the Kajirs obtained the undisputed sovereignty of Persia, I was rewarded for my suffering in their cause. All my sons have been promoted, and I am Governor of this town and province. Here I am in affluence, and enjoying a repose to which men who can see are in this country perfect strangers. If there is a deficiency of revenue, or any real or alleged cause for which another governor would be removed, beaten, or put to death, the king says, 'Never mind, it is poor blind Riza Kooli; let him alone;' so you observe, Elchee, that I have no reason to complain, being, in fact, better defended from misfortune, by the loss of my two eyes, than I could be by the possession of twenty of the clearest in Persia:" and he laughed again at this second joke.

'Meerza Aga Meer, the Persian secretary, when commenting upon Riza Kooli Khan's story, said that his grounds of consolation were substantial; for that a stronger contrast could not exist between his condition, as he had described it, and that of others who were employed as revenue officers under the present administration of Fars. "I cannot better," said he, "illustrate this fact than by the witty and bold answer given a short time since by one of the nobles to the Prince Regent at Shiraz. The prince asked of his advisers what punishment was great enough for a very heinous offender who was brought before him: 'Make him a collector of revenue,' said an old favourite nobleman; 'there can be no crime for which such an appointment will not soon bring a very sufficient punishment.'"

The following brief description of Dusht-e-Arjun is very beautiful:

'From Kazeroon to Dusht-e-Arjun is but a short distance, but the ascent is great; and pleased as we had been with Kazeroon, we found all nature with a different aspect in this small but delightful valley, which is encircled by mountains, down whose rugged sides a hundred rills contribute their waters to form the lake in the centre. The beauty of these streams, some of which fall in a succession of cascades from hills covered with vines; the lake itself, in whose clear bosom is reflected the image of the mountains by which it is overhung; the rich fields on its margin; and the roses, hyacinths, and almost every species of flower that grow in wild luxuriance on its borders, made us gaze with admiration on this charming scene; while the Persians, who enjoyed our looks and expressions of delight, kept exclaiming, "Iran hemeen ast!—Iran hemeen ast!" 'This is Persia!—'This is Persia!'

His remarks on Persian society, and the preparation necessary to enable strangers to enjoy it, appear to be very judicious, and to bespeak a practised and acute observer of mankind. No doubt the reason why men are disgusted with foreign manners and cus-

to ~~some~~, when neither vice nor virtue is concerned, is, that their minds are filled with narrow prejudices, and tied down to one mode of viewing things, from which a notion of dignity prevents their departing at the suggestion of experience. It is this lamentable failing that torments our genteel tourists on the continent. Even the manner in which a Frenchman eats his breakfast ministers to these peevish philosophers abundant food for petulance and ill humour; they quarrel, too, with his taste in building, in painting, in music, in every thing about which men pretend to exercise that refined species of judgment which we are pleased to call *taste*. Set one of these gentlemen down to a Persian dinner, and desire him to thrust his hand instead of a spoon into the dish of smoking pilau before him, and, unless rendered polite by excessive hunger, he would stare as widely as if he were commanded to eat one of the Persians about to dine with him. But, with the 'preparation' our author speaks of, a man may soon learn to relish, or, at least, to tolerate any form of society. Part of his remarks we shall extract:

'It must not be supposed from what has been stated, that the Persians are all grave formal persons. They are the most cheerful people in the world; and they delight in familiar conversation; and every sort of recreation appears, like that of children, increased by those occasional restraints to which their customs condemn them. They contrive every means to add to the pleasures of their social hours; and as far as society can be agreeable, divested of its chief ornament, females, it is to be met with in this country. Princes, chiefs, and officers of state, while they pride themselves, and with justice, on their superior manners, use their utmost efforts to make themselves pleasant companions. Poets, historians, astrologers, wits, and reciters of stories and fables, who have acquired eminence, are not only admitted into the first circles, but honoured. It is not uncommon to see a nobleman of high rank give precedence to a man of wit or of letters, who is expected to amuse or instruct the company; and the latter, confident in those acquirements to which he owes his distinction, shows, by his manner and observations, that usage has given him a right to the place he occupies.

'I heard, before I mixed in it, very different accounts of Persian society. With one class of persons it was an infliction, to another a delight. I soon found that its enjoyment depended upon a certain preparation; and from the moment I landed in the country, I devoted a portion of my time to their most popular works in verse and prose. I made translations, not only of history and poetry, but of fables and tales, being satisfied that this occupation, while it improved me in the knowledge of the language, gave me a better idea of the manners and mode of thinking of this people than I could derive from any other source. Besides, it is a species of literature with which almost every man in Persia is acquainted; and

allusions to works of fancy and fiction are so common in conversation, that you can never enjoy their society if ignorant of such familiar topics.'

To this passage should be added another, in which the writer describes what he believed to be quite a rarity in Persia, as, we fear, it is in many other countries—an honest man.

'Our only occupation at Shiraz was feasting, visiting, and giving and receiving presents. The cupidity of the Persians exceeded all bounds, and ministers, courtiers, merchants, wits, and poets, were running a race for the Elchee's favour, which was often accompanied by a watch, a piece of chintz, or of broad-cloth. Their conduct confirmed me in a belief I had imbibed at Abusheher, that all the Persians were crafty and rapacious rogues. I like to decide quickly, it saves trouble; and when once decided, I am particularly averse to believe my judgment is not infallible.

'The Envoy had hired, as before noticed, for his Persian secretary, a mild moderate man, who appeared to have both good sense and good principle: but although some time had elapsed, and I had watched him narrowly without discerning a flaw, I attributed this to his art, and I therefore gave little heed to his reasoning when he used to plead for his countrymen, urging (as he often did,) that from our being strangers, and from our reputation for wealth, generosity, and inexperience, we were naturally exposed to the attacks of the cunning and designing, from whose conduct we drew general inferences, which were not quite fair. "We are not all so bad as you think us," the good Aga Meer used to say, with a smile, "we have some redeeming characters; these may be rare, but still they exist; but that, you English, will as yet hardly believe." He used frequently to mention to me, as one, a relation of his own, the Shaikh-ool-Islam, or Chief Judge and Priest of Shiraz: "He was," he said, "a person who combined sense and information with piety and humility. He has never come," added he, "like these greedy nobles and hungry poets, to prey upon the munificence of the Elchee; and when the latter, hearing that his sight was weak, sent him a pair of spectacles beautifully mounted in silver, he returned them, requesting a pair set in common tortoise-shell." Though I heard the account of this paraded humility with a smile, I was very happy to find we were to meet this paragon of modest merit at a breakfast, to which Mahomed Hoosein Khan, the son of the minister Hajee Ibrahim, had invited the Envoy.

'The party assembled at the garden of Sadee, and we were seated near a fountain close to the tomb of the Persian moralist. There was some punctilio in taking our places: but the Elchee, though a stickler for rank with the temporal lords, insisted upon giving the highest seat to the Shaikh-ool-Islam, who at last consented to take it, observing, the compliment, he felt, was not per-

sonal, but meant to his situation as a minister of religion. I sat near, and listened attentively to his conversation, in the hope of detecting the Persian, but was not successful. "You must," he said to the Envoy, "believe me to be void of rational curiosity, and a man who affects humility, because I have not only never been to pay my respects, but when you sent me these costly and beautiful spectacles, I solicited a cheaper and less showy pair. In both instances, however, I acted against my personal inclinations from an imperative sense of duty. My passion," said the Shaikh, "is to hear the history, the manners, and usages of foreign countries; and where could I have such an opportunity of gratifying my curiosity as in your society? I was particularly pleased with the silver spectacles; the glasses suited my eyes; *and others in my house besides myself*," said he smiling, "*thought they were very becoming*." But I was forced in both cases to practise self-denial. The poor have no shield between them and despotic power, but persons in my condition; and they naturally watch our conduct with great vigilance and jealousy: had I, for my own gratification, visited you, and displayed on my person the proofs of your liberality, *they would have thought their judge was like others, and have lost some portion of their confidence in my best efforts to protect them*. Besides, ministers and courtiers would have rejoiced in my departure from those rigid rules, the observance of which enables us expounders of the Koran to be some check upon them. These were my motives," concluded the Shaikh-ool-Islam, "for a conduct which must have seemed almost rude; but you will now understand it, and not condemn me."

The following is the author's description of the prettiest town in Persia :

' Before quitting Nethenz I accompanied the Elchee in a ride through its streets and gardens, which are so intermingled as to give it a singular and pleasing appearance: you can scarcely tell whether you are in the town or the country. We saw plenty of the pears and peaches, for which my friend told me it was famous. As to its pretty ladies, they saw us, no doubt, through the trelliswork of their dark veils, while we could only dwell upon their beauties with the eyes of our imagination.

' As we were talking, we arrived at a citadel which was the residence of the old Hâkim, or governor Hajee Abd-ool-Câsim, to whom the Elchee paid a visit. We were received in a room at the top of one of the highest turrets, from whence we had a commanding view of the surrounding scenery. Nothing could be more singular or beautiful. The valley of Nethenz, which is enclosed by mountains, is itself a succession of eminences and small hills. The fruitful gardens, which occupied every spot where there were no houses, extended eight miles. Seldom above one, and never more than two of these gardens, were upon the same level: they either



appeared in a circle, converging towards the common centre of an eminence that rose above the others, or were seen sloping in flights along the hills that bordered upon the mountains. Rows of lofty sycamores and spreading walnuts marked the lines of the streets and the divisions of the gardens; and the latter were fenced round with thick mulberry hedges, whose leaves, the Hâkim informed us, fed innumerable silk-worms, the produce of which formed the finest of the silk manufactured at the cities of Cashan and Isfahan.

‘The sun was shining bright as we gazed upon this enchanting scene, and its beauty was greatly increased by numerous clear streams, which, pouring from the neighbouring hills, either flowed or were conducted among the gardens and orchards, where they appeared lost, till seen glistening through those parts where the foliage was lighter or wholly removed.

‘The Elchee was quite delighted with the prospect. After remaining for some time abstracted in contemplating its beauties, he turned round to the governor, and with assumed gravity proposed to change stations with him. “I should,” said the old Haje, with a faint smile, “make a bad Elchee; and the pleasure you have enjoyed in looking at this town from that window is the greatest you would ever know if you were its Hâkim.” When making this last observation, he shook his head in a manner too plainly indicating that the scene of abundance with which he was surrounded was to him the source of more trouble than enjoyment.’

We shall now pass over the remainder of the work, in order to make an extract or two from the concluding chapter of the second volume, relating to Koordistan. The reader should bear in mind that the Koords are those Carduchi who so excessively harassed the ten thousand in their retreat, and whose country and manners remain still nearly the same as they were in the days of Xenophon. Our sketch writer makes no attempt to discover whether the track of the British Mission ever approached that of the Greeks, or how far the two routes differed; but throughout the whole country, with one exception, the manner of the people are the same, the entire nation being thoroughly addicted to robbery, and admirably calculated to practise it with success. On entering Koordistan our author says:

‘We went from the banks of the Jaghattee to a village called Koozlee. Ascending to the top of hill, we had a fine view of **Kurdistan**, which appeared, far as the eye could reach, an interminable cluster of hills. A few scattered huts, and several small encampments, were all we could see of human dwellings; and their distance from each other indicated that stage of civilization which precedes the congregating of men into villages and towns.

‘The impressions this prospect made upon our minds, as to the character of the people on whose rugged land we were now entering,

were confirmed the ensuing morning at three o'clock, by the cry of "Robbers, robbers! Murder, murder!" All was instantly in confusion; trumpets sounded, drums beat to arms; boots destined for the right leg were put on the left, while we huddled on our clothes, and ran to our posts. It was too dark to see ten yards; but we soon discovered that there were no assailants in the camp. Many of our party who had gone in front came back, and every one had a more alarming tale than the other. According to them, several men were killed, and a hundred mules plundered. While listening to these accounts, a Portuguese servant came galloping into the camp, exclaiming, "They are murdering all the Christians!—May the Lord preserve us!" The pious ejaculation of the affrighted Joseph caused much merriment; for, as he was the only Christian who had been in danger, it was evident that his alarm, whatever character he desired to give it, was all for himself.

The Elchee halted till day-light, and then proceeded towards the village; where he found his Mehmandar, two Kurdish chiefs, and three or four principal men of the country, consulting what was to be done. They entreated him to allow them to trace the robbers, and recover what had been plundered, which was now found to amount to five mule-loads; but circumstances led to a suspicion that some of those who gave this advice were concerned in the robbery, and the Elchee was consequently in no temper to listen to their counsel. He told them not to speak to him, as he neither wanted their advice nor aid; being resolved to deter the natives of Kurdistan from ever again meddling with a European envoy. They endeavoured, but in vain, to pacify him; he ordered the infantry and baggage to proceed to the stage, twelve miles distant, and with the cavalry, divided into three parties, swept the country for eight miles, in the direction in which the mules had been carried off. Three mules and some of the plundered articles were found; and as a security for the remainder, nine head persons of hamlets and petty tribes were seized, and taken to our encampment. The Mehmandar and some Kurdish chiefs entreated for their release, and crowds of women and children followed us imploring mercy; but all received the same answer: "When every article which has been taken is restored, or what cannot be found is paid for, then, and not a moment before, shall these men be released."

The Elchee either was or pretended to be in a great rage. The Mehmandar, who was a favourite, and used to joke with him, became alarmed: "I now see," said he, "what I had before heard, but could not believe, that you Feringees, when in a passion, are as great savages as we are, or even as the Kurds."

When we reached our encampment, the hostages were placed in strict confinement, and not allowed to communicate with any of their families or tribes. The consequence was what we anticipated.

The lost mules and the greater part of the baggage were brought back. Nothing remained unaccounted for, but some clothes belonging to the Elchee and his personal servants. These were valued at seven hundred and twenty piastres; which, seeing no abatement would be allowed, were at last paid by the collector\* of the district. Some hours after the Elchee sent for this officer, and returned him three hundred and twenty piastres, the amount of his personal loss. This unexpected consideration put the collector in good humour. The prisoners, who had been alarmed for their lives, were not only released but feasted; and the Elchee made small, but valued, presents of coloured handkerchiefs, knives, and scissors, to several of their wives and children, who had followed them to our camp. In short, a gloomy morning was succeeded by a sunshiny evening, and our Kûrd friends left us, declaring they would never again plunder any of our tribe; a promise they will probably keep or break, according as they think they can measure strength with those of our race who may visit their country.

‘The Elchee having become not only calm, but in high spirits with his success, was visited by the Mehmandar and others, who assured him the news of these transactions would soon spread, and protect his camp against all further attempts of plunderers; and certain it is, we were never again assailed during our residence in Kûrdistan.

‘Our march for several days was over a very rugged country, in which there was little cultivation. The pasture appeared excellent, and the valleys were watered by small but clear streams. The great want in Kûrdistan, as in many other parts of Persia, is wood. My Indian friend, Soobadar\* Syed Hoosein, when riding with me, remarked the great difference in this particular between the provinces we had travelled through, and his native land. “These proud Persians,” said he, “boast of their country; but they have neither shade to protect them from the heat of summer, nor fuel to save them from the cold of winter.”

‘The day he made this observation, the good Soobadar had reason to complain of the want of the latter article; for, as winter was yet distant, it being only the 16th of August, none was furnished, and the cold proved excessive; the water in our tents was frozen, and Fahrenheit’s thermometer stood at 34° at six in the morning.

‘As we approached Sennah, the capital of the province of Ardelan, the soil improved, and, if cultivated, would, no doubt, pro-

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\* Zabiteh.

\* Soobadar is the highest rank a Native can attain in the Indian army. This gallant soldier is now soobadar major of the body guard of the governor of Madras.

duce abundance of grain; but its rude inhabitants prefer a pastoral life. They are, if we may judge from what we saw, an uncommonly robust race, and appear unchanged in their manners and customs by the twenty-three centuries which have elapsed since the days of Xenophon, who would have no difficulty, if permitted to return from the Elysian fields, to recognise the descendants of the enemies he encountered amidst these wilds. I made this observation to Baharâm Meerzâ, who had been sent by the Waly of Sennah to welcome the Elchee, and remarked at the same time, the little care or knowledge they had about religion, though all professed that of Mahomed. "It is all very true," he said, "but two or three days will bring you to Sennah, and you will then see that though we are Kûrds, and have a pride in being so, we are not all barbarians."

'Sennah is so surrounded by hills that the town is not seen till you are close to the suburbs. We were pleased with its appearance: the houses are well built; and the gardens and cultivation in its vicinity came in strong and pleasing contrast with the rugged lands through which we had travelled for the last eight days.

'Two sons of Aman ollâh Khan, the Waly or prince, came with three hundred horse to meet, and welcome us to the court of their father. I was delighted with the eldest of these boys. Though only ten years of age, he rode and managed a very spirited charger with great address. In his conversation he was free and unembarrassed, mixing the simplicity of the child with the information of the man. He had, he said, been in all parts of his father's territories, and appeared well acquainted with the various tribes by which they were inhabited, answering every question put to him by the Elchee on this subject with remarkable clearness and correctness.

'The day after our arrival, we went to visit the Waly, who received us in a magnificent style. We found him attended by his principal officers; and the two boys who had come to meet us, were standing close to their father. The Elchee wished them to be seated; but that, he was informed, was against the etiquette of this petty court. That etiquette however was disturbed. A man came into the room, and spoke to the Waly in the Kûrdish dialect. The prince laughed; and on the Elchee asking what was the matter—"Nothing," said he, "except that a spoilt child of mine, not four years of age, declares he will put himself to death, unless allowed to see you as well as his brothers." The Elchee entreated he might make his appearance, saying he was fond of children, and much flattered by the boy's anxiety to see him. Soon after, in marched this desperate little Kûrd, loaded with fine clothes. He was tolerably bold at first, but took the alarm when pressed by the Elchee to sit near him; he appeared particularly startled by the cocked hat and high feather. The Elchee, ob-

serving this, took out the feather and gave it him to play with. This act of conciliation was completely successful. After amusing himself with the feather for some time, the little fellow ventured to take up the hat, examined it, and other parts of our dress, and in a few minutes began to chatter in a manner which delighted the father, who seemed much pleased with the attention paid to his favourite.

'The Waly having returned the Elchee's visit, and invited us to dine with him, we went to his palace, a small but handsome building. The hall in which we were received was forty feet long, twenty-four broad, and thirty high. A facing of white marble covered the walls of this apartment to the height of eight feet, above that it was painted and richly gilt. The chequered gilding of the roof had an appearance like mosaic, which produced a good effect. Adjoining to this hall, and one step more elevated, was a room twenty-four feet by eighteen, connected with the interior of the palace by folding-doors, so admirably finished, and the gilding of which so exactly corresponded with the other ornaments of the apartment, that when shut it was difficult to discover them. The front of the hall was supported by four richly carved and gilt pillars, and opened on a terrace commanding a view of the town. On this terrace was a fountain, adapted to its size and that of the building.

'Persia is famous for its carpets; but none I had ever seen surpassed in beauty that on which the Waly and his guests were seated in this hall of his fathers. He appeared to have great pride in introducing the Elchee to the persons by whom he was surrounded. None of them, he said, counted less than eight or nine generations in the service of his family, and some had been its firm and attached adherents during a period of four centuries.

"My country," he concluded, "is above two hundred miles in length, and nearly as much in breadth. We owe and pay allegiance to the kings of Persia, but we are exempted from that severity of rule which often ruins our neighbours, who possess rich plains and wealthy cities. Ardelan presents little temptation to an invader. It abounds in nothing," he added, smiling, "but brave men and hardy horses."

'The Waly was pleased to find we had, from perusing the history of Kùrdistan, become acquainted with all the great families of that country, and were familiar with the names and actions of some of the most renowned of his ancestors. He had a copy of the same history, but it wanted some passages which were in that of the Elchee, which he borrowed to have them transcribed. The Elchee was pleased, when his volume was returned, to find an addition, which brought up the history of the Walties of Ardelan to the present date, with a most flattering and highly-coloured account of the arrival of the British Mission at Sennah; an event

which the author, in a truly eastern style, predicted would henceforward be deemed an epoch in the annals of that principality.

‘The town of Sennah, which lies in north lat. 35° 12’, enjoys a fine climate; the small valley in which it is situated being protected from the severity of the winters in this elevated country, by the hills around it. The prince and his chiefs live in general luxury, and the inhabitants have all the appearance of enjoying competence, if not affluence. Among them were forty families of Nestorian Christians, the heads of which, with their pastor, visited the Elchee. There were many of the same sect, the good priest informed us, in Kûrdistan, who had resided there ever since its separation from the Greek church, a period of thirteen centuries. As for himself and his little flock, he added, they had a small church at Sennah, and were, as their fathers had been, not only tolerated, but protected by the princes of Ardelan. This may in part be ascribed to their being industrious and useful citizens, as they are almost all either artizans or manufacturers.

‘From subsequent conversations which the Elchee had with the Waly, it appeared that though the kings of Persia had never attempted to establish their own authority over Ardelan, or to interfere with its internal administration, they have often disturbed its quiet, by fomenting discord in the family of its ruler; and more than once have obtained a temporary influence and power, by aiding a discontented or revolted prince, to overthrow the direct line of succession.

‘The contrast between the inhabitants of Sennah and of the neighbouring hills is singularly striking. The first are little different in their habits from citizens in Persia, while the latter are even more rude than the wandering tribes of that country. You meet them, watching their flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, within five or six miles of the small but luxurious capital, and are surprised to find that it is with pity, not envy, they regard its inhabitants. They glory in the state and splendour of the prince and chiefs to whom they owe hereditary allegiance, but look with contempt on the unwarlike, but more civilized community, with whom those they obey are immediately surrounded.’

We have been induced to enter at considerable length into the nature and merits of this work, and to extract a great many passages from it, for the very best of reasons,—the book, excepting the occasional slippancy of the style, is a good book, and consequently deserves to be known and read extensively. It has been attributed to Sir John Malcolm; but we must say that it possesses none of the usual characteristics of that writer’s style and manner, which are invariably dull and heavy, while the present publication is lively even to impertinence and folly. Besides, our writer of ‘Sketches’ not only makes himself merry with Sir John’s big volumes of history, and with his affecta-

tion of superior tact in diplomacy, but moreover accuses him, though not quite in the manner of Mr. Bankes, of using, without acknowledgment, knowledge which this writer regarded as his own.\* In short, no one, from the mere internal evidence of the book, would imagine Sir John Malcolm to be the author; for although he is represented throughout as a person who laboriously and stiffly maintained the honour of his masters, yet the author contrives on all occasions to infuse a slight tinge of the ridiculous into his description of the Envoy's behaviour, which, one would think, the Envoy himself would have been the last person to do, unless he were destitute of common judgment. It is possible, however, that what wore the appearance of something ludicrous in our eyes, when we read the book, (owing, perhaps, to our contempt for those forms and ceremonies which may be very philosophical in Persia,) may to others appear in quite a serious light; in which case we shall appear to have wronged both the author and the Envoy. But, notwithstanding, the blame must rest with the writer of the volumes; for if, in treating of grave matters, as, whether Sir John should have an inch or two less or more of carpet to sit on, he will persist in using language akin to the ironical, how are we to guard against mistakes? If he meant to elevate Sir John Malcolm in the eyes of his readers, he has lost his aim; if the reverse was his desire, he has hit the mark to a hair's breadth.

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S T A N Z A S.

Ah, why that cold averted eye,  
Which once could beam on me so brightly?  
And why the form that passes by,  
To speak a heart that holds me lightly?  
Though lips of scorn have counted o'er  
And whisper'd of my every failing,  
Till thy young love, like early flower,  
Hath withered—the chill blight inhaling.—  
Yet—yet, thou shalt not meet anigh  
A passion pure and deep as mine;  
For if its love could sanctify,  
Oh! where the heart so worthy thine?

*Calcutta.*

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\* The following is the way in which the author accuses Sir John of plagiarism:—'This story has been told by Sir John Malcolm, in his history, in illustration of some of his facts or opinions; but he has taken this, and many equally good things, from me, without ever acknowledging them; I shall, therefore, stand on no ceremony when it suits my purpose to reclaim my property.' If Sir John Malcolm be the author of this *note*, which occurs, vol. i. p. 76, it must be owned he has chosen a curious style of speaking of himself. Other passages occur, almost equally laudatory.

## STATE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE IN 1825.

BY A COLONIST.

## No. V.

**BEFORE** concluding my sketches of our provincial system of administration, I must take some notice of the Courts of Circuit.

Previous to the year 1811, all cases, criminal as well as civil, which did not come under the cognizance of the landdrost or heemraden, were brought before the full Court of Justice in Cape Town. This naturally occasioned much unnecessary trouble and expense; and the Earl of Caledon directed annual Circuit Courts to be established, consisting of members of the Court of Justice, who, two and two in rotation, were appointed to visit the several country districts. The utility of this measure cannot be disputed, but the mode of procedure before this court is highly revolting to English feelings.

The Court of Circuit, on their arrival at the drostdy, or district town, take up their residence with the landdrost; and he has thus an opportunity of biassing their minds by informing them of what cases are on the roll, and at the same time insinuating his opinion of the parties concerned.

In criminal cases, the landdrost acts as public prosecutor, and in that capacity sits on the bench with the Judges. The prisoner or defendant being brought forward, the public prosecutor puts a series of questions to him, with the view of extracting an answer that may tend to criminate him. If he does not succeed in this, the evidence on both sides is heard; and the public prosecutor "demands" the court to sentence the defendant to such punishment as he names in his "claim." The accused having made his defence, the court deliberate, and pass sentence—without however stating upon what grounds; they merely state, that doing justice, in the name, and on behalf of his Britannic Majesty, they condemn or acquit the prisoner and defendant.

It is extremely galling to the feelings of the defendant to see his prosecutor seated on the bench whispering to the Judges, and occasionally exchanging slips of paper, and smiles of mutual intelligence with them. The mode of questioning the accused is most unjust, and can only tend to make a stupid, though perhaps an innocent man condemn himself; whilst a clever villain will always take care to answer the queries in such a manner as will turn to his advantage. The defendant is allowed no professional assistance—no advocate to plead his cause, or to cross-examine the witnesses.

*Oriental Herald, Vol. 13.*



How different are these institutions and modes of procedure from those of our mother country! where the Judges are independent, where all men are equal in the eye of the law, and where a man accused of crime is sure of a fair trial by his peers.

In civil cases, if the district clerk has failed in his endeavours to reconcile the parties, the court are instructed to make a similar trial before they enter into the merits of the case. This is no doubt a most praiseworthy regulation, and if executed according to its original spirit and intention, would be a most beneficial one; but I have seldom seen parties so reconciled, who have not, upon their leaving the court, entered into new disputes; and exclusive of this, the landdrost is present when such accommodations are made, and not unfrequently he has been known authoritatively to interfere, and to *threaten* the parties, to oblige them to compromise the matter in dispute.

This was the case in an action between Johannes Schepers and Thomas Muller, before the Circuit Court at Uitenhage, when the latter refusing to come to an accommodation, the landdrost made use of such threatening expressions towards him, that he thought it better to make the matter up, than to expose himself to the future vengeance of that all-powerful officer.

In October 1823, an action was brought by a Miss Ferreira against Stephanns Hartman (the landdrost Cuyler's brother-in-law) for seduction under promise of marriage; when the court recorded a reconciliation, although the prosecutrix refused to assent!

The mode of proceeding in civil cases before the Circuit Court is similar to that of criminal ones. Here also the parties are denied the assistance of professional advocates, and, according to the instructions, they are not allowed to avail themselves of the assistance of a friend, except in case of old age, debility, &c. This at first sight appears very equitable, as one would conceive the court to be most likely to come at the truth, by each party telling his own story in a plain and simple manner; but persons who are in the habit of witnessing the proceedings, soon perceive the fallibility of this argument,—as, in all classes of society, we find men of more or less ability, it frequently happens that a rogue, who is a clever fellow, is opposed to one whose abilities are not very great, though he may be a very honest man. This mode of proceeding also tends to draw out the trial to an unnecessary length, as masses of evidence are sometimes brought forward quite irrelevant to the case in question.

Another impropriety both in civil and criminal cases, is, the manner in which the evidence is recorded; instead of the secretary taking down the words as delivered by the witness, one of the members of the court repeats them in his own language, and they

are thus recorded. By this mode the true meaning is often perverted, and a simple story, when garnished by the Judge, may have a very different tendency from that which the witness delivered.

After the law proceedings are finished, the Judges inspect the public offices and prison; and they are directed, to make their report to the Governor as to the general state of the district. These inspections do not appear, however, to be executed with any severe scrutiny, as we have never yet heard of any improprieties or abuses being reported by these gentlemen to exist in any of the districts. After the inspection of the offices, the court sign the accounts and other documents as correct; and the provincial functionaries conceive themselves perfectly purified from any official misdemeanour they may have committed previous to the inspection.

The mode of inspecting the public prison is most objectionable. The members of the court walk there arm in arm with the landdrost, and ask the prisoners (who are in general Hottentots) whether they have any complaints to make. I will ask, if these unfortunate people, whatever injuries or oppressions they may have suffered, can be expected to have the courage to answer in the affirmative, whilst the landdrost against whom their complaint must be made, is present; and when they know that the moment the Court of Circuit have left the village he has it in his power to make their situation much worse? The unhealthy and neglected state of the Uitenhage prison is the most convincing proof that this inspection is only made for form's sake, and that no benefits are derived from it.

After the Court of Circuit have performed these duties, they proceed to the next district.

The time which elapses between the visits of the Circuit Courts, is a great drawback to their utility. In civil cases, if the sessions are not very near at hand, the parties in general prefer referring the case to the full court at Cape Town, to awaiting the arrival of the circuit. In criminal cases, the prisoner must frequently either be confined for eight or ten months before his trial takes place, or be sent to Cape Town. This cannot be effected without great trouble and expense, and the great distance of the frontier districts from Cape Town precludes the possibility of Judges being sent more frequently. If two able, independent, and upright Judges were appointed for the districts of George, Uitenhage, Albany, and Graaff Reinet, this inconvenience would be avoided; they might take up their residence at Uitenhage, (it being the most central district,) and make their circuits quarterly, without inconvenience to themselves or the public.

Having now laid before my readers a sketch of the principal institutions for the government and dispensation of justice in the country districts, it is necessary to say something respecting the

expediency of their being superseded by more liberal ones. The first and greatest privilege of an Englishman, is trial by jury. The propriety of its immediate introduction at the Cape, has been doubted by persons who have the welfare of the colony at heart; and it is a subject doubtless that admits of argument. In the country districts, the majority of the inhabitants are uneducated, and the constant intermarriage of the Cape Dutch would, in many cases, render them incapable of filling the office with impartiality. On the other hand, there are now in the country districts a number of European residents, as well as natives, who, though they have not received liberal education, are possessed of strong natural sense. Taking this into consideration, it does not appear that the colony is so unripe for the reception of this standard of freedom and justice, as is generally supposed. The great difficulty would be in drawing a line between those who were, and those who were not fit to act as jurymen. Possession of property can be no criterion here, as it by no means follows that the richest men are the best educated, or possess the strongest sense, or steadiest principles. Suppose seventy-two men, in each district, were annually elected to serve as jurors, there cannot be the least doubt that that number of persons fit to fill the office, may be found in every district. Surely, if persons can be competent to fill the situation of heemraden, who are judges, jurors, and legislators, they must be equally competent to decide on the guilt or innocence of a prisoner. The liberal plan recently adopted by the British Government of sending out proper teachers, will, no doubt, be attended with beneficial results; and if the *immediate* introduction of trial by jury be judged impolitic, we may, at all events, hope that, at no very distant period, the obstacles to such an institution will be removed; and that, in the mean time, the deficiency may be, in a considerable degree, compensated by the appointment of wise, upright, and *independent* Judges.

The 'Civil Servant' says, in his second chapter, 'The Cape is not as yet of sufficient growth and importance, nor does it afford rational expectation of an accumulation of wealth and greatness, sufficient to require a legislative assembly, as in the West Indies; yet it may, in the course of time, expect to see the establishment of a council, or of some board, holding power in check, and making a pause between the will and the deed of a governor.' Does the 'Civil Servant' mean by this paragraph to insinuate, that none but great and opulent countries should be governed by liberal institutions? or will he have the face to assert, that the Cape of Good Hope, where the white population amounts to at least 60,000 souls, is not as much entitled to the benefit of a representative system, as some of our petty West India islands? A council (at least with the present constitution of our Colonial Government) would be to a governor, what the heemraden are to a landdrost in the country

districts,—a cloak, taking from his responsibility, without checking his power.\* Nothing would benefit the colony more than a house of assembly. It would be there that men whose energy and intelligence now lie dormant, would have an opportunity to display their abilities; it would be there, that the executive Government would see who were fit persons to be employed in offices of trust or power; it would be there, that the commercial resources of the colony would be discussed and revealed; and there would the grievances of the inhabitants be made known, and the best mode of remedy submitted. It would be an inducement to the rising generation to apply with more ardour in the pursuit of knowledge, in the hope of one day distinguishing themselves as legislators; it would make the natives of the Colony feel the benefit of remaining under the English Government, and England would find, in the gratitude of the Colonists, a security against the attack of foreign power; not only gratitude, but interest, would unite the inhabitants in the defence of this country against foreign invaders. At present the old Colonists are indifferent as to what Government they fall a prey to, and ever will be so, unless they find more benefit from being under the dominion of one nation than another: nay, some of the English inhabitants would feel little regret if, under the present system, the Colony was returned to the Dutch, as *their* institutions were, in reality, much more liberal than those now in force.† If then the Cape of Good Hope is of any value to the British Crown, it behoves the Government of the mother country to grant us a share, at least, of those privileges which we have lost by coming here.

It must be evident, from the facts exhibited in preceding articles, that the sole government of a country district, in this Colony, is entrusted to the hands of a landdrost, who is responsible only to the governor of the Colony for his actions, and that he enjoys the exclusive confidence of such governor. If, then, a landdrost is not endowed with infinite wisdom and justice, such a share of power must necessarily be detrimental to public welfare. It is therefore necessary to consider the best mode of checking such inordinate power. I have already stated the consequences attendant upon a complaint to the governor; if there was a house of assembly no such danger would be incurred, as a member would be able to expose the maladministration of public functionaries, without being

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\* The council which has been appointed since this was written exactly meets the description here anticipated. As at present constituted, it is merely a cloak but not a check upon the despotic power of the governor.

† My readers will, no doubt, be somewhat astonished at this assertion; but it is strictly true. The Dutch governor was controlled by an *effective* council, the accounts of the higher senate were open to public inspection, the taxes were lighter, and the law more impartially administered. Under the British Government, the sole power of making, and administering laws, of raising taxes, &c. &c., has fallen into the hands of one man, and the greater part of the inhabitants look upon this as a sample of English jurisprudence: for, say they, 'the governor is English, and he makes what laws he pleases.'

liable to punishment or persecution, and as a representative of the people, his voice would be heard with due respect in the proper quarter. If the British legislature should not deem it expedient to grant the Colony a house of assembly, the only way to circumscribe the power of a landdrost within moderate limits, would be by making the office of heemraad elective and independent. A moderate salary should be given to them, and they should not be allowed to receive grants of land during the time they are in office.

EARLY NOTICE OF THE CAMERA OBSCURA, IN A LETTER TO  
LORD BACON.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

March 6, 1827.

I HAD NO SOONER accompanied your 'Continental Traveller' as far as Lintz, (p. 427,) than the name of that town, by the power of association, which we are so often led to admire, brought immediately to my recollection the account of an interview at the same place, between two eminent persons of the 17th century, of which I had read several years ago. The passage which interested me then, may possibly be new and interesting to some of your readers, and if you are disposed to indulge the narrative propensity of age, it is at your service. Sir Henry Wotton, answering a letter from Lord Bacon, dated 1620, acknowledges the receipt of several copies of his *Novum Organum*, and thus proceeds:

'I owe your Lordship, even by promise, (which you are pleased to remember, thereby doubly binding me,) some trouble this way: I mean by the commerce of philosophical experiments, which, surely, of all other, is the most ingenious traffic. Therefore, for a beginning, let me tell your Lordship a pretty thing which I saw coming down the Danube, though more remarkable for the application than for the theory. I lay a night at Lintz, the metropolis of the higher Austria. There I found Kepler, a man famous in the sciences, as your Lordship knows, to whom I propose to convey from hence one of your books.

'In this man's study, I was much taken with the draught of a landscape on a piece of paper, methought masterly done. Whereof inquiring the author, he bewrayed with a smile, it was himself; adding, he had done it, *non tanquam pictor, sed tanquam mathematicus*. This set me on fire. At last he told me how. He hath a little black tent, (of what stuff is not much importance,) which he can suddenly set up where he will in a field, and it is convertible (like a windmill) to all quarters at pleasure, capable of containing not much more than one man, as I conceive, and at no great ease; exactly close and dark, save at one hole, about an inch and a half in

the diameter, to which he applies a long perspective trunk, with a convex glass fitted to the said hole, and the concave taken out at the other end, which extendeth to about the middle of this erected tent, through which the visible radiations of all the objects without are intromitted, falling upon a paper, which is accommodated to receive them, and so he traceth them with a pen in their natural appearance, turning his little tent round by degrees, till he hath designed the whole aspect of the field. This I have described to your Lordship, because I think there might be good use made of it for chorography: for, otherwise, to make landscapes by it were illiberal; though, surely, no painter can do them so precisely.'—*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (1685) p. 299, 300.

This is, probably, the earliest account in our language of that useful and entertaining instrument, the *Camera Obscura*. It is, however, remarkable that Sir Henry Wotton should consider the subject as new to Lord Bacon, and thus appear to have been unacquainted with the description of such a contrivance given by Baptista Porta, who died in 1516, and whose work, entitled, '*Magia Naturalis, sive de miraculis rerum naturalium, Libri iiii.*' printed at Antwerp, in 1585, is now before me.

Should this communication be favoured with your acceptance, I may take an opportunity to offer you some further notices of Baptista Porta's description; and, perhaps, a few other curiosities from the same small volume, a *multum in parvo*.

SEXAGENARIUS.

#### FAREWELL.

(From a Manuscript of the late Bishop Heber.)\*

WHEN eyes are beaming  
What never tongue might tell,  
When tears are streaming  
From their crystal cell;  
When hands are link'd that dread to part,  
And heart is met by throbbing heart,  
Oh! bitter, bitter is the smart  
Of them that bid Farewell.

When hope is chidden  
That pain of bliss would tell,  
And love forbidden  
In the breast to dwell,  
When, fetter'd by a viewless chain,  
We turn and gaze, and gaze again,  
Oh! death were mercy to the pain  
Of them that bid Farewell.

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\* We have transplanted this exquisite flower from the Number of the 'Quarterly Review' just published, where it is given in a note to a highly interesting article on the life of this amiable and lamented individual.

## CAPTAIN GRINDLAY'S INDIAN SCENERY.

WE have, on more than one occasion, drawn the attention of our readers to the merits of this exquisitely beautiful work: and we recur to it again with renewed pleasure. Parts I. and II., which have been some time before the world, contain sufficient proofs of the excellent judgment of the artist in the selection of his subjects, and of the skill with which they are so happily delineated: while their execution by the engraver, and highly finished colouring, give them all the appearance of the most beautiful water-colour drawings. Part III., which is expected to appear within the present month, promises, however, to surpass, in all the attractions of subject and style of execution, even those which have already appeared. This is not the usual order in which such works are progressively produced, the ordinary course being to excite admiration by the first efforts, and then gradually to relax in care and expense as the numbers follow. With Captain Grindlay's Views, the case is directly the reverse. The second part is superior to the first: the third, we are persuaded, will be universally acknowledged to be superior to the second, whether the interest of the subjects, the beauty and variety of the scenes, or the detailed excellencies of their execution, as works of art, be made the standard of comparison.

In Part III. is included a very faithful delineation of a portion of the Fort at Bombay, taken from the glacis between it and the sea, commonly called the Esplanade. A morning scene near Kallian Ferry has also great beauty: and the Hermitage of Kurrangallee, in the island of Ceylon, unites the charm of local interest, characteristic devotion, and a picturesque view, in one. The tombs of the kings at Golconda are portrayed in all the richness of sepulchral grandeur: and the palace of the British Resident at Hyderabad combines as much of the splendour of chaste and noble architecture, with the richest Eastern foliage and gay and varied costume, as we ever remember to have seen united in any single picture. A powerfully graphic representation is also given of a group of Hindoo Temples at a ghaut, or flight of steps, descending to the sacred river of the Ganges—where the preparations for a Suttee, or the burning of a Hindoo widow, are carrying on with all the zeal of infatuated superstition: exciting a lively, yet melancholy interest in the occupations of the groupes, and in the fate of the heroine and victim of this cruel and bloody sacrifice.

On the whole, we can truly say, that no collection of Indian Views, with which we are acquainted, has ever presented more genuine claims to public patronage than those of Captain Grindlay: and we think that all who feel an interest in Oriental subjects should add them, without delay, to their collections.

THE LANDING OF AGRIPPINA, WITH THE ASHES OF  
GERMANICUS.\*

THE wide beach seem'd alive—  
 So dense was the crowd it bore;  
 It look'd as an armed host might strive  
 'In vain to reach the shore:  
 The young and the gray-hair'd stood  
 The shelving sands along;  
 The rocks that look'd on the ocean-flood  
 Were rife with the gazing throng;  
 Nor could sex or age one foot restrain  
 From the dark human mass that bank'd the main.

The city, † where Maro died,  
 Had sent forth all her throng;  
 Nor these alone to the full beach hied—  
 For the land that loved his song  
 Pour'd forth, from the cities afar and near,  
 Her thousands to the bay,  
 Till the foremost, press'd by the crowding rear,  
 Often touch'd the spangled spray;—  
 They heeded it not—for each heart and eye  
 Was fix'd where the bright deep lined the sky.

Calm and soft was the morning hour,  
 While the Day-king upward rode,  
 And the burning East, as he left his bower.  
 Like a sea of opal glow'd:  
 The green Calabrian plain,  
 The deserted city's pride,  
 The expanse of Adria's sapphire main,  
 And the far hill's misty side—  
 All glow'd with a light, so rich yet mild,  
 It seem'd as on Earth the Sun-god smiled!

Yet his smiles to *them* were nought—  
 For, of all that countless band,  
 Not a brow, undimm'd by the cloud of thought,  
 Might be seen o'er the peopled strand:  
 Silent they gaz'd, or spok'e  
 With a low and mournful tone;  
 And in every wan and anxious look  
 Was a tale of hopes o'erthrown:  
 The robes of the tomb on each breast were seen,  
 And the sunk eye told of the grief within.

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\* Vide Tacitus, Ann. l. 3. c. 1.

† Brundisium.



*The Landing of Agrippina,*

They had watch'd till hope grew pain,  
 For the glimpse of a distant mast;  
 But they would not think they gazed in vain—  
 And it met their gaze at last!—  
 Every eye was keenly strain'd  
 On the specks that rose in view,  
 Until, as the nearer deep was gain'd,  
 The Imperial Fleet they knew:—  
 One murmur arose—They come! They come!—  
 And the voice of the mighty mass was dumb.<sup>h</sup>

Near and more near they bore—  
 Can it be *thy* navy, Rome!  
 Do thy sons thus greet their native shore,  
 And thy ships their native foam?  
 In solemn silence all,  
 They heavily drew nigh;  
 And it well was seen, by the oar's slow fall,  
 That it bore no freight of joy:  
 One galley before the rest swept on,  
 And the eyes of all were on *her* alone.

She near'd the marble pier,  
 And, veil'd, on her deck was seen—  
 A sight to claim a Roman tear—  
 The Cæsar's widow'd Queen!  
 In her arms she closely press'd  
 A vase in a sable pall;  
 And the funeral robe, on her stately breast,  
 Might be seen to rise and fall,  
 While around her knees, with their young arms twine  
 Two orphan hopes of the Julian line.

Proudly she stepp'd to land—  
 In despair she forgot not pride—  
 And there, from the vase, with a wasted hand,  
 She drew the pall aside:  
 'T was their hero's golden grave—  
 Was it thus they hail'd him home?  
 Famed, fear'd, and loved,—the benigu, the brave,—  
 Had he only risen on Rome,  
 Like a beautiful star, for a brief hour bright,  
 To leave them wrapp'd in a sable night?

As from the fatal vase  
 She drew the dark veil's fold,  
 The sun, with a clear and ghastly blaze,  
 Illumined the urn of gold:  
 It seem'd as the sad gleam broke  
 Some spell which had hush'd the throng,  
 For to owo wild cry the echoes woke  
 The resounding shores along—  
 Over land and main it swell'd the gale,  
 And it rung like the voice of an Empire's wail!

Oh, there was in that cry

What struck to the heart like a knell ;—

'T was the burst of a nation's agony,

As it bade to Hope farewell !

Despair spoke in the sound,

Which, like thunder, rose and rung,

As if the waters a voice had found,

And the hills an earthquake's tongue :—

So wild was the wail o'er dear hopes vain,

The tall mast rock'd on the trembling main !

Even the war-worn veterans wept,

Nor blush'd for the tears they shed

Over him whose dust for ever slept

In that narrow golden bed.

They recall'd when his eagles flew

On the banks of the reddening Rhine ;

Nor less when his laurell'd legions drew

To the Roman Thunderer's shrine,

And, with five \* royal babes in his splendid car, a

He graced the pomp of his country's war :

And she—that Hero's wife,

The daughter of their gods—

Who had left, to share his martial life,

Her Siros' august abodes—

As they gazed on her, anow

The pitying tear-drop sprung,

To think that a spirit, so high yet true,

Should be thus from its proud hopes flung—

That the asp should thus unheeded glide

To the bower and breast of a Conqueror's bride !

Yet, amid that mourning crowd,

Fearless and mute she moved

Though her handmaids round her wail'd aloud--

She mourn'd as she had loved !

Tears were too weak to prove

The grief that swell'd her soul—

The depth of a proud heart's lonely love

When the death-waves o'er it roll !

She clasp'd the urn to her burning heart....

One kiss !....the dead and the desolate part !....

The noblest of the land

Received the sacred trust,

And, ranged in a sad and solemn band,

They bore the imperial dust :

Wherever they pass'd, there breath'd

Incense from altars round,

And the flowers of the grave, by fair hands wreath'd,

Were strewn o'er the mournful ground,—

Till the glorious dust at length found room

On the Tyber's banks, in the Cæsars' tomb.

## SHIPWRECK OF THE BRITANNIA.

*Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the Ship Britannia, Captain Bouchier, bound to the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, and Bombay. By one of the Shipwrecked Passengers.*

On the 17th October, the wind having set in from the S.W., we fetched within six miles of Table Bay, but the wind continuing to blow with a strong northerly current, the ship was driven to the northward fast; and on the 20th, being four miles to leeward of Saldanha Bay, the captain had determined on running into St. Helena Bay, the only harbour then under our lee, and recommended by Horsburgh as a safe anchorage, by doing which it would prevent our being driven up the coast of Africa, and ultimately have obliged us to have stood through the S.E. trade again, before we could reach the Cape of Good Hope.

On edging away for St. Helena Bay, a man fell overboard, from the mainyard, as they were bending a new mainsail; various things were thrown overboard, among which was a hen-coop, which the man succeeded in reaching. The ship was immediately hove-to, and although it was blowing so strong that the ship was under close-reefed topsails and foresail, the chief officer, Mr. Wisset, and four men, gallantly volunteered to attempt saving their shipmate, which they succeeded in doing, but melancholy to relate, as they were returning to the ship, a heavy breaking sea ran in upon the boat, and every soul was drowned, after having so humanely rescued, as they and all of us had hoped, their shipmate from a watery grave. It was impossible to render them any assistance, and we had the horror of seeing the chief officer and five gallant fellows drowned within a quarter of a mile from the ship!

We then continued on and anchored in the evening in St. Helena Bay, which verified all Horsburgh had said of it being a most spacious one, and sheltered from the same winds as Table Bay. On the morning of the 21st we weighed, but finding it was blowing very hard outside with a heavy sea, the captain thought better to return. On the following morning at daylight, it having moderated very much, we once more weighed and stood out of the Bay, having passed all the points where there was the least appearance of danger, or were laid down in Horsburgh's charts.

A little after nine o'clock, while we were seated at breakfast, the ship, as she fell in the sea, (there being a good deal of swell,) struck one tremendous blow on a sunken rock, rose again and never stopped. The captain was on deck in an instant, and ordering the bell to be sounded, found at first no water in the ship;

but on repeating his orders, which were as promptly obeyed as given, two feet water was found in her. While sounding the well he wore the ship round, which act of promptitude was ultimately, under Divine Providence, the means of saving our lives, for had he stood out to sea ten minutes longer, it was the opinion of every one, officers, seamen, and passengers, that few, if any of our lives could have been saved, as the ship must have sunk before we could possibly have reached the shore, being then 12 miles from it.

The water gained very fast, in spite of all the exertions made at the pump, by the young men and cadets on board, who used every exertion to keep her free; the water, however, very soon increased to seven feet! The captain, as he has since declared, entertained the intention of standing into St. Helena Bay, and there discharging his cargo, if he found he could keep the leak under; but he took the precaution to keep as much to windward as possible, thereby giving himself the option, if necessary, of running the ship on shore on a sandy beach, which we have since learned is called St. Martin's Bay; and this was indeed the only place along the whole coast where he could have run the ship on shore, with any chance of saving the people's lives, or any part of the cargo.

As we were standing in for the land, every eye was anxiously placed on the captain, from whose countenance little of danger could be inferred, although almost all of us were perfectly aware that we were holding our lives by a very slender thread; for had the wind backed us off at all, (and at one time it had every appearance of so doing,) the ship must have sunk in deep water. Thanks be to God, however, just as we were all in the greatest state of doubt, and the ship, from the immense quantity of water in her, moving but very very slowly, a strong breeze came down along the land, and our hopes were revived of soon being beyond the danger of being drowned. We heard the leadsman calling out that the water deepened from five to ten fathoms; this, although horribly distressing, lasted but a few minutes, as from ten fathoms we gradually shoaled to three, when the ship grounded, the water being then up to the deck, and the ship about 100 yards from the beach. A reef of rocks ran off about 200 yards under our lee or larboard quarter.

The small boat was immediately lowered, and the ladies were landed with their female servants. The long-boat was hoisted out, and the seamen's baggage was landed at some little distance from the passengers. A rope was taken on shore and made fast to a small anchor in the sand, and the long-boat was hauled backwards and forwards, saving all the provisions and wine from the captain's store-room that could be got at. About two o'clock p.m. the surf setting in, we were all obliged to work very hard in hauling the long-boat high enough to be out of the reach of the surf, and for that

day we could do nothing more. A tent was made for the ladies and female servants. In the course of the next afternoon we saw an English brig standing into the Bay, and in the evening a gentleman of the name of Atkinson, a passenger in the brig, (the *Hebe* of London,) with three seamen, having seen our signal of distress flying, were kind enough to come overland from St. Helena Bay to offer us every assistance in their power. They remained all night, and were very useful in assisting to save the few things we had; for the ship gradually sinking in the sand made it more difficult every returning flood tide to get any thing more from the wreck. A fine bed of muscle shells supplied us with a new spoon at each meal; and as knives and forks became scarcer every succeeding day, each person who was fortunate enough to procure one was seen with those implements in a leather case, (made out of the leg of a boot,) by his side, ready to make an attack whenever any thing eatable was produced.

The following morning we all commenced at daylight, and as the surf had gone down, we made several trips on board and saved part of the passengers' baggage and a few more hams and cheeses; but unfortunately not a drop of fresh water, except what remained in the drip-stone, and a small keg which the cook took on shore the day before. There was but one habitation within ten miles, and that proved to be only a miserable fishing-hut going to decay, with three white men and a Hottentot family. From them we received every assistance in their power to bestow; they brought us, in a bullock waggon, a cask of water, which, although very salt, was highly acceptable; and, by the same conveyance, part of the baggage was forwarded towards Cape Town, from which place we were about 150 miles. In the afternoon the ship's masts were cut away, as the only means of saving the rigging, the sails having been previously unbent and landed on the beach.

The next morning Mr. Watson, the supercargo, left us for the Cape to relate our misfortunes, and get the agents for Lloyd's to send assistance. During the night, the surf having set in very high, the long-boat was stove. As the surf generally fell at daylight, on the morning of Tuesday, October 24th, the small boat was sent off to try to save something, but with very little success. In the evening a waggon arrived, and the ladies left us, having shown as much fortitude and courage as heroines of this or any former age. They were exposed to a scorching sun upon an arid sand during the whole day, and under a thin canvass to a piercing cold night. The *Hebe* brig took part of the seamen to the Cape, it being found impossible to provide for so many persons, (there being originally sixty,) in consequence of the small quantity of provisions saved, and water was so excessively scarce, that it was much easier to procure a glass of champagne than a glass of water.

On the evening of the 26th, two waggons arrived, and the whole of the passengers proceeded to Cape Town. Mr. Stoll, the land-drost of the Cape district, came to St. Martin's Bay, and very kindly offered and rendered every assistance by sending waggons to forward the remainder of the men and officers to Cape Town. On Saturday the 28th, a gale of wind set in from the N.W., to which the wreck was completely exposed, and on the following morning, Sunday the 29th, the only part remaining together of the unfortunate *Britannia* was the stern and sternpost, the beach for two miles being strewed with cargo and pieces of wreck; the poop had broken off and was washed on shore, with the wheel standing; but during the day it was broken into innumerable pieces. People arrived on the following day, (Monday,) with Mr. Watson to assist, with two small vessels and several boats from the Cape, in saving the part of the cargo washed ashore.

This unfortunate shipwreck has originated solely and entirely in the imperfection of the charts of this part of the coast, which is a matter of reproach to the Government, as it is so immediately in the neighbourhood of the principal town of so large a colony as the Cape of Good Hope. As a proof of the dangers of this coast being unknown, it may be mentioned, that a gentleman who had a whale fishery there for several years, and also a vessel constantly running between Cape Town and St. Helena Bay, declared he had not the least knowledge of the existence of such a rock as that on which the *Britannia* struck, it being nearly 12 miles S.S.W. by compass from Cape St. Martin.

I cannot conclude this account without expressing our sense of the unwearied attentions and gentlemanly conduct of Captain W. Bouchier, both previous to our misfortune, and during the distressing scenes that unavoidably followed; his decision of character and promptitude of action, saved us many a privation, which we must otherwise have endured, and rendered our comfortless situation on a barren sand as bearable as circumstances would admit; and it is sincerely hoped that he will accept this tribute of thanks from

A PASSENGER.

Cape Town, Nov. 10th, 1826.

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SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE CONNECTED WITH  
THE EASTERN WORLD.

BENGAL.

SINCE our last, there have been arrivals from Bengal bringing intelligence to the 10th of November; and filling up the intermediate space by details of events, during the period between this and the date of the last preceding letters from thence. The tour of the Governor-General through the provinces, previous to his return to England, still continued, and daily advices were received at the capital of the progress of Lord Amherst and his suite. It is but justice to his Lordship to state, that the good people of Calcutta have discovered, since his absence from them, that illiberal as they were accustomed to consider his policy and measures, those of the Council whom he has left behind him at the Presidency, are infinitely more narrow minded, bigotted and tyrannical, of which we shall offer some proofs in our pages. In the meantime, that we may proceed with some order in the intelligence that has reached us, we shall begin with the portions of the earliest date. The following is from a letter dated at Calcutta, Sep. 14, 1826:

‘ There appears to be but little of a public nature agitating the Presidency at present; many vague, and apparently unfounded reports, are every two or three days circulating concerning an unsettled state of things at Rangoon, but, from the information that I have been able to obtain from those who have lately arrived, and are daily arriving from that quarter, it appears solely to arise from the Burmans being dissatisfied with the tyrannical rule of one of their subordinate officers of Government in a district not far distant from Rangoon. All the regiments stationed at Rangoon are suffering from illness, except the 87th, which is pretty healthy; and from that regiment, which is his Majesty’s own Irish, and the Colonel of which is Sir John Doyle, numbers are said to have deserted to the enemy; the cause of their discontent, however, I have not been able to learn.

‘ Long ere this will reach you, you will have been acquainted with Lord Amherst’s departure, on a tour through the interior of India. It is expected not to occupy a shorter period than 18 or 20 months, and at an expense of from 50,000 to 60,000 rupees per month for boats and equipage alone. Some persons here do not expect that he will again return to the Presidency, but think that he will proceed to Bombay and embark from thence to England; but the general opinion appears to be, that he will return to Calcutta, and proceed to Europe from hence, soon afterwards. There does not appear to be a dissenting voice respecting his utter incapacity for the high station he has now so long filled; the Burmese war of pestilence and death, and the Barrack-pore mutiny and massacre have given *universal* dissatisfaction.

‘ His Lordship has lately lost his only son, a young man, of whom every one who knew him, spoke in the highest terms of praise. His affability and kindness in discharging the duties of the appointment he held, were acknowledged by all who found it necessary to communicate with him.

‘ In conversing, the other day, with a Civilian of 23 years standing, in the Company’s service, concerning the miseries of the Burmese war, he declared,

that no account he had met with, exaggerated what had really taken place. The loss of troops by disease and their privations were incalculable. The salted provisions, *by being badly prepared*, were completely spoiled, and the beds for the use of the sick, though sent, could not be found when wanted. Wherever the subject is mentioned, a shake of the head, and "*bad management*," are the expressions of feeling sure to follow.'

The delusion that has been practised on this subject by the authorities in this country is not surprising, when it is considered, that one of the principal arts of Government, generally, is to know how to deceive; but if the testimony of men on the spot be of any value, as to the light in which this vaunted war is regarded in India by those who are not compelled, as a matter of official duty, to excuse or applaud every thing done by their superiors, the people of England ought to be satisfied that the British name has been dishonoured by the folly which plunged us into so unworthy and disastrous a struggle. Another letter, not specifically treating on this subject, has the following incidental paragraph:

'What compensation are we to receive for the waste of life and treasure in the Burman war, time alone can unravel. The envenomed tunic of Nisaua was not a more fatal acquisition than Arracan; and we shall probably relinquish it, when a few more lives and lacs have been wasted on this sickly tract, merely for a future well-defined frontier.'

A third letter from Calcutta, written by one who had seen the miserable skeleton of an English regiment landed on its return from Rangoon, says:—

'The malaria of Arracan is no longer the scourge of Europeans,—its earth seems to hunger for European flesh, as the tiger thirsts for human blood. The last of the Europeans landed here a few days ago; about 60 died on the passage, and 200 were landed sick. The regiment was about 600 strong when it went into the province. Of these, only a dozen were able to march with the colours into Fort William. Would that we could apply the burning iron of Ida to the forests of Arracan!'

The subject of this unfortunate war and its melancholy results, is, indeed, scarcely ever mentioned in any letter from India but in terms of condemnation and regret. It is, however, now fortunately at an end; and whether the Burmese pay their promised tribute in pure silver or in dross, or whether they pay it at all, is of far less importance than securities that the war in that quarter should not again be renewed.

#### LORD AMHERST AND THE INDIAN PRESS.

In reverting to the fact of Lord Amherst's alleged superiority to his Council, in the liberality of his opinions and conduct, as mentioned in a preceding page, we shall give the substance of a late letter that has reached us on this subject, and illustrate it by reference to the Bengal Papers of the same period, September 16, 1826. The letter says:

'For many months prior to the departure of the Governor-General on the 1st of August last, on a tour to the Upper Provinces, we had enjoyed a freedom of discussion, through the press, which was never surpassed even in the



freest period of Lord Hastings's administration (although, unhappily, we had not the same talent engaged in the conduct of the public press, to take due advantage of this privilege. As to the motive of this extraordinary license, on the part of the Governor-General, people here differ: but by many, who pretend to know the secrets of the cabinet, it is confidently stated that Lord Amherst was so much offended at the grant of 1500*l.* to Mr. Arnot, as a compensation for the losses he had sustained by his (Lord Amherst's) measures, that he vowed, in revenge for the insult thus put upon him by the Directors, never to offer the smallest obstacle to the utmost freedom of the press again. And certainly he did give 'ample scope and verge enough,' of which two of the papers, the '*Hurkaru*' and the '*Bengal Chronicle*,' especially took every advantage. Articles that could never have ventured to see the light in Lord Hastings's time, were published here with impunity. Mr. Lushington's eulogies on the late Mr. Adam, which came out in a pamphlet, were attacked and dissected in the most unsparing manner in the '*Chronicle*;' while, in the '*Hurkaru*,' some able letters, under the signature of *Caius*, reviewed the character and conduct of the Governor-General, with a freedom of comment quite unexampled in India. Still Lord Amherst remained quiet, and would suffer no interference by his Council. To do him justice, indeed, it has been confidently asserted, that, in his first measure, in banishing Mr. Arnot, and subsequently in his entire destruction of the '*Calcutta Journal*' property, he was almost entirely influenced by the violent prejudices instilled into him by the authorities at home, and followed up by the mischievous misrepresentations of Mr. Bayley and Mr. Lushington here. Most people, indeed, now know that he was instigated to these harsh measures by others, and that he weakly surrendered his own judgment to those whose experience ought, he considered, to make them better judges than himself. As he gathered experience of his own, however, he became gradually so convinced of the absurdity of apprehending any danger to the state from the utmost freedom of discussion in India, that on principle also, as well as to revenge the insult put upon him by rewarding one who had suffered from his measures, he had determined never to lend himself to any act of severity towards the Press again. On one occasion, indeed, he was strongly urged by his Council to punish an attack made on himself by one of the liberal papers here: when he had the good sense and magnanimity to reply, that the newspapers of England spoke as freely of the King himself, and he did not perceive why his dignity should not endure what the Majesty of England submitted to without a murmur.

'No sooner, however, had Lord Amherst left the Presidency for his tour through the Upper Provinces than the Vice President, Lord Combermere, and his colleagues, Messrs. Haughton, Bayley, and Lushington, issued a notice or proclamation, warning all Europeans that orders had been given to seize and send to Calcutta whoever should be found trading at a distance of ten miles from the Presidency, whether they had the Company's license to visit India or not, unless provided with a specific passport from the local authority; and, at the same time, laid their tyrannical fetters again on the Press, by an official letter addressed to the Editor of the '*Bengal Chronicle*,' to which, however, Lord Amherst was, of course, no party.'

Thus far the writer of the letter we have quoted from Bengal. As we have received, through another channel, copies of the correspondence here referred to, we subjoin it, for the information of those who wish to see how supremely ridiculous men can make themselves, when, in the pomp of office, and clothed with official power, they venture to give their mandates to their submissive slaves. The air of wisdom that is put on upon the occasion conjures up before us the owl in spectacles; and it is difficult to say whether the Vice President or his shallow Secretary betray most folly in their joint epistle. The letters are as follow:

'To Mr. Monte D. Rosario, Proprietor and Publisher of the Bengal Chronicle.

'Sir,

'General Department.

'I am directed to inform you that the Right Honourable the Vice President in Council considers the article headed the 'Press and the Privy Council,' inserted in the 'Bengal Chronicle' of Sunday the 6th inst., to be a *flagrant breach* of the 2d Rule of the Press Regulations. The article in question contains a most offensive attack on the solemn decision of the Privy Council on the appeal made to its authority against regulations for restricting the licentiousness of the Press in this Presidency, and indirectly a *disrespectful attack* on the authority of the Government by which those Regulations were framed and are maintained.

'2d.—So *unwarrantable* does the Vice-President in Council consider the character of those observations to be, that his Lordship in Council would at once have proceeded to enforce the utmost penalty attached to a breach of the Regulations in question, if the present had not been the first occasion on which the Government has been called upon to notice a violation of them in the 'Bengal Chronicle.'

'3d.—In giving you the benefit, however, of this *indulgent* view of the case, I am determined to recal to your recollection the *warnings* which you received as proprietor of the 'Columbian Press Gazette,' and to notify to you, that any future wilful violation on your part of the Press Regulations, will subject you to the loss of the license under which your paper is printed.

'4th.—As proprietor of the 'Columbian Press Gazette' you were furnished with a copy of the Press Regulations, and when the license of your present paper was granted, your attention to those Regulations were again enjoined; and I am now desirous specifically to acquaint you, that the *discussion* in the periodical papers, published at the Presidency, of the *character* or *merits* of those Regulations is strictly prohibited. I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

'C. LUSHINGTON,

'Council Chamber, 11th Aug. 1826.

Chief Sec. to the Govern.'

'To Charles Lushington, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government.

'Sir,

'General Department.

'I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, informing me that the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council considers the article headed 'the Press and the Privy Council' inserted in the 'Bengal Chronicle' of the 6th instant, to be a *flagrant breach* of the 2d Rule of the Press Regulations and a most offensive attack on the solemn decision of the Privy Council, and also further acquainting me, that I have merely escaped the penalty of forfeiture of my license, on account of the indulgent consideration of his Lordship in Council for this first occasion on which any article in the 'Bengal Chronicle' has been deemed to violate the Regulations of the Press.

'As the whole of my property is vested in the paper above named, and my sole dependence on the gains derived from it, his Lordship in Council will at least give me credit for my sincerity when I express my deep regret that by the insertion of remarks in its pages, which have been deemed so offensive, I should so nearly have brought down upon myself a visitation that would have been as ruinous, as I hope to satisfy his Lordship in Council it would have been entirely unmerited.

'I beg respectfully to urge on the consideration of his Lordship in Council, that whatever may now be the views of Government in regard to the construction of the Press Regulations; for many months past a latitude of discussion has been admitted of, unknown since the administration of the most noble the Marquis of Hastings. Not only has the question of the liberty of the Indian Press been freely and repeatedly agitated in every

newspaper in the settlement, without calling forth, in so far as I am aware, any mark of the displeasure of Government, but the measures of the existing administration, the policy and conduct of the Burmah war, and even the public character of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council himself individually, have all been discussed during the period referred to, with a degree of freedom that appeared to be limited only by the feelings of the writers themselves.

While such a latitude of discussion was thus admitted of, it is obvious, on the one hand, that no paper could hope for success, more especially one advocating liberal politics, which did not avail itself of the license thus permitted; while, on the other, such a course would have betrayed an unpardonable insensibility to the value of the boon of free discussion, which the liberality of the Government had thus voluntarily, though tacitly indeed, bestowed.

Acting under this impression, I must admit that my late paper, as well as the 'Bengal Chronicle,' did engage in those discussions in common with other newspapers of the Presidency; but I at the same time respectfully submit, that both have much more frequently followed than taken the lead in them, and were in general drawn into controversies on the great question of Indian policy by the uncalculated advocacy in the 'John Bull' newspaper, and a periodical of the same proprietor, of measures which the conductors of those publications know are obnoxious to the advocates of a liberal policy in the system of the administration of this country, and the defence of which is calculated, and expressly meant, as I firmly believe, to provoke exposure and reply.

The last Number in particular of the periodical referred to, contains an article occupying nearly half its space on the very subject, the discussion of which in the pages of the 'Bengal Chronicle' has drawn on me the displeasure of Government; while the tone of it is in the highest degree irritating and insulting to the friends of free discussion, and wantonly slanderous of one of its ablest advocates, who is not here to defend himself; the attention of the Right Honourable the Vice President in Council has not been called to this article I feel well assured; but as the work is published under a license similar to that of the newspapers of this Presidency, I trust his Lordship in Council will perceive that consistently with that reliance on the justice and impartiality of the Government which every British subject naturally cherishes, it was impossible for the conductors of the liberal press to conceive, that they could be deemed disrespectful in replying to strictures of a character so peculiarly calculated to defy examination and provoke retort.

Under the impressions and influenced by the motives I have now had the honour to explain, I acted in the particular instance which has unfortunately been deemed so offensive by Government. I beg to call the attention of his Lordship in Council in particular to the fact, that the article headed 'the Press and the Privy Council,' did not appear until the 'John Bull' had provoked an examination into the weight due to the decision of the tribunal referred to, by an attack upon that of the Judges at Bombay, in which, indeed, though their motives were not impugned, their judgment was treated with a degree of levity and scorn, which justly irritated those who regarded it as entitled to the highest respect, as being in conformity to the principles of British law and the spirit of the British Constitution. This attack, moreover, on the Bombay Judges contained an insinuation which is quite opposed to the fact, that the decision of the Privy Council is that of the judges of England.

When his Lordship in Council adverts to the latitude of discussion which had lately prevailed, and when he takes into consideration the fact, that the conductors of the press could not be, and certainly were not informed, that any change in the views of authority on this subject had occurred, I trust he will be inclined to regard the act of admitting a reply to such an attack on the

Bombay Judges, and such a misrepresentation of the body composing the Privy Council, as one which, under the peculiar circumstances, does not merit the severity of construction it has, I would find hope from a disregard of them, experienced at the Council Board.

‘But I beg further to submit, in extenuation of my unintentional error, that even the reply inserted in the ‘Bengal Chronicle’ to the remarks in the ‘John Bull,’ did not appear till another journal of the Presidency had taken the same view of the question, and also disputed the position, that the judgment of the Privy Council was either entitled to the high respect claimed for it, or that it was that of the Judges of England.

‘I am perfectly aware, that in the case of a clear and definite law, the transgression of it by one cannot justify a similar offence by another; and that, apart from the peculiar circumstances I have brought to his Lordship’s consideration, my unintentional error, in so far as it may be considered a violation of the Press Regulations, could not on that ground be justified, if these restrictions were not, as I submit they are, indefinite and susceptible of varied construction. In the actual case, I do hope that his Lordship in Council will consider that it is some justification of my offence, that others who preceded me in the discussion, apparently concurred with me in the opinion, that the restrictions, however they might limit strictures on political authorities in England, did not prohibit remarks on a mere judicial body like the Privy Council.

‘That this view of the import of the Press Regulations is opposed to the construction of authority, I beg to assure his Lordship in Council is a matter of the deepest concern to me; not only because the fact of its being so, has already unconsciously betrayed me into an act considered disrespectful to Government, and which had nearly occasioned my ruin, but because I feel that this uncertainty of the law, by which alone I am to be guided in the future conduct of the paper, renders the task one of such infinite difficulty and danger, that I would gladly resign it, did any other means present itself of otherwise providing for those who are dependent on me for support.

‘Even at this moment, while I have before me the very clause in the regulations, which the article headed “The Press and the Privy Council,” is considered to violate, I am compelled to declare, that I cannot discover in it any prohibition of remarks on a mere judicial body like the Privy Council, and I do most conscientiously affirm also, in the same manner, that I cannot perceive, in any other clause of these regulations, any prohibition of a temperate and decorous discussion of the policy of granting to India the boon of a Free Press. I beg most respectfully to assure his Lordship in Council, that these statements are not advanced with the presumptuous view of opposing the judgment of a humble individual to the collective wisdom of the Government, but merely as a further confirmation of the innocence of my intentions on the occasion which has called forth so severe an expression of its displeasure, as that contained in your letter. After the decided opinion, however, expressed by the Government therein, I cannot, of course, labour under any misapprehension in regard to the peculiar subjects of discussion which it prohibits; and I shall feel it my duty, in obedience to the commands of his Lordship in Council, without reference to the Press Regulations, to refrain from any agitation of the question of the liberty of the Indian Press, and from any remarks on the decisions of the Privy Council.

‘In conclusion, I beg to repeat, that as it is as much my desire as it is my duty and interest to conform to the Press Regulations, I shall, in future, endeavour to keep within their limits in as far as they are intelligible to my humble understanding, and to express my hope, that the explanations I have submitted to his Lordship’s consideration, will satisfy his Lordship in Council that I have not merited the degree of severity, with which my unintentional offence has been visited. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant.

‘M. D. ROZARIO.

## DOCTOR BRYCE AND THE INDIAN JOHN BULL.

About the same period that this correspondence was opened by the Government, a long and laboured article on the subject of the Indian press is said to have appeared in Dr. Bryce's publication, the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, which we have not seen, in which the whole controversy respecting the charges of Bankes and Burckhardt, against the author of '*Travels in Palestine*,' was revived; and both the quarterly periodical of the Reverend Scotch Divine, and his daily paper, the '*Indian John Bull*,' of which, in defiance of the orders sent out by the Court of Directors, he still continues to be the avowed proprietor and known manager, (an occupation far more congenial to his love of contention and strife than the holy duties for which he is so liberally paid,) seem to re-argue this now long settled question, as if the guilt of the accused were beyond a doubt! The result of the legal proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, contained in the November number of the '*Oriental Herald*,' is, however, before this time in India, and will remove all remaining doubts on this point.

In the '*Bengal Harkaru*,' of August 14, are some editorial remarks on this subject, reviewing the article in the '*Oriental Quarterly*,' part of which, as being quite in place here, we transcribe. The editor of the '*Harkaru*' says:

'It was neither our wish nor intention to notice the article in the last number of the '*Oriental Magazine*' on the Indian Press, but as the '*Bull*' has taken such pains to puff the work itself and praise the article, we cannot, in justice to the pockets of the Indian public, allow so impudent an imposition to pass without exposure. We cannot, we repeat, in justice to the *pockets* of our readers, for it would be an insult to their understandings which we should be loth to offer, if we imagined that they would not instantly discover the imposture on the perusal of the article we are about concisely to notice.

'We should find it difficult to reconcile to ourselves, how the author of this article and the conductor of the magazine (for it is not attempted to conceal that he is one and the same) could so far o'er-step his customary caution as to have published it, did we not well know how dear reputation is to every man, more especially to one who has the sanctity of the sacerdotal character to support; a 'good name' is to be maintained at all risks, and we certainly think it required some ingenious defence to give him even the shadow of a claim on this invaluable prize, after all that has occurred in this Presidency, in which he has acted so notorious a part. It was then, we allow, 'due in a particular manner to the reputation of the Rev. Dr. Bryce, of the Scotch Church of Calcutta,' to get up some such paper, but it would have been more candid at least to have introduced it by its real name, and we doubt not it would be read with as much avidity. We mean not to take up the cudgels for Mr. Buckingham, for he can and will vindicate himself to the public of England: the public of Calcutta can duly appreciate the credit that *ought* to be attached to statements coming from the pen of his malignant, unforgiving enemy, who knows he is out of the immediate reach of the man he basely vituperates.

'If it were necessary, we should not hesitate to infringe on our allotted space, and follow the wily writer through all his turnings till he reached his den, but there is nothing novel that calls for it, nothing plausible that requires it: the materials have, without exception, been repeatedly before the Indian

public: the letters of 'a Friend of Banks' are dragged from obscurity, where every right feeling man must wish they had for ever remained, and dwell on with delighted complacency: the letters of Captain Boog are quoted as texts, for the Doctor to comment on with zeal, yet Christian-like mildness; and Buckingham's answers are given in detached sentences, as if suited the purposes of the author. There is something charmingly characteristic in all this; something exceedingly ingenious:—but then a character was to be cleared, and we presume not to say that it is not, by this elaborate condensation of malice, misrepresentation, and falsehood.

'This is strong language; but we cannot see a man in his latter day keeping in the track from which he has been so very often warned, by the loudest reprobation, in Scotland, in England and in India, without warmly expressing our feelings and sentiments at such a persevering and hardened line of conduct, against an adversary too—divided from him by half the world, and perhaps, ere this, ruined and the inmate of a jail.'

'The futile ravings on the mischief of a *free Press* in India; the nerveless and rapid remarks on the 'Westminster Review;' the contemptible, low, and envious abuse of this paper and its correspondents—we laugh at, as we should at the drivelling eloquence of a drunken man—and as we know that they are harmless, we only pity the venom of the spirit that conceived them, and condemn its littleness.'

'But we have one hearty laugh to indulge in, one additional piece of barefacedness to expose, ere we conclude.

'If our paper was only circulated throughout India and its dependencies, it would be wholly superfluous to state that the editor, and, we believe, sole proprietor, of the 'Oriental Magazine,' is the Rev. James Bryce, D. D., of the Scotch Church, Calcutta: the same person is also principal proprietor and the great 'contributor' to the 'John Bull' newspaper, the nominal editor of which is his brother-in-law. We are thus particular for the information, and we think we may add amusement, of our foreign readers. Now every one will think, that being so very nearly related, *boni fide* brothers in fact, there should be a considerable portion of brotherly love between those publications: that each should embrace the other occasionally, and moderately praise the good qualities of his relation: this kind of fraternal piety would be natural and pleasing, and nobody could find fault with it. But instead of this, their love exceeds in ardour and enthusiasm the transports of a youthful bride and bridegroom: one re-echoes the praises of the other, almost in the same words,\* until each holds the other up a paragon of perfection and faultless models, for the world to admire and copy from. Indeed to such lengths have they gone, that it will sound almost incredible in England, where a little *modesty* is a necessary ingredient in a *puff*, wanting which, it would infallibly disgust.

[A long quotation is then made from the 'Oriental Quarterly,' in which Dr. Bryce, its proprietor and editor, bestows more impudent panegyric on himself and his writings, as proprietor of and contributor to the 'John Bull,' than is to be matched by any puffs in England, from Warren's Blacking to Rowland's Kalydor. The writer in the 'Hurkaru' concludes with these remarks:—]

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\* In these lights has the order been ably and clearly put by the 'John Bull.' We have only to say, that we fully concur in the view of the subject taken by that paper.—*Vide* Note at p. 216 of the 'Quarterly Magazine.'

'We need scarcely say, (indeed we have done so repeatedly,) that in the opinions and doctrines of law in the 'Oriental Quarterly,' in regard to a *Free Press* in this country, we very heartily concur. We agree with the able writer of this article.—*Vide* 'Saturday's Bull.'

'Aware as the writer of the foregoing extract from the 'Oriental Quarterly' undoubtedly is, of the fact of its being *notorious* that he is most intimately concerned in the 'John Bull,' to what can we attribute the measureless vanity and assurance of the man, thus inordinately to bepraise his own handwork, without any disguise? Surely he must be possessed of some extraordinary idiosyncrasy, peculiar to himself, for no other man on the face of the earth could be found to laud his own writings in this way. What he hints in the above, he asserts in a former part of the article, viz., that the 'Bull' is more extensively circulated than any other daily publication in India—this we flatly and decidedly deny, and conscientiously believe that this, as well as many others, are *willful* misrepresentations. It is owing to such productions as the one we have been noticing, that Indian literature has never flourished: we have made a slight effort to rescue it from the dominion of a principle, which has withered all its energies, and converted it into a miserable tool of party and personal malice.'

#### OPINIONS IN INDIA ON THE LATE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In September last the reports of the proceedings in Parliament, appointing a Committee to inquire into the facts alleged in Mr. Buckingham's petition, respecting the destruction of his property in the 'Calcutta Journal,' reached Bengal. If the editors there had conformed strictly to the odious restrictions still existing in that Presidency, they would have been unable to have published the debates on this subject in their columns. But, notwithstanding the recent letter of Mr. Secretary Lushington, addressed to the proprietor of the 'Bengal Chronicle,' the 'Hurkaru' first published the Parliamentary Report, and this was repeated afterwards by the 'Chronicle,' with bold and vigorous comments. It is right that the Members of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors—who will read every line contained in *these* pages, though the comments in the Bengal papers might, perhaps, escape them—should know what is thought of their knowledge and their conduct by persons in India, who are not merely competent to form accurate opinions on this subject, but who are bold enough to put them forth, and challenge the most scrupulous investigation of those to whom every part of the case is most familiar. The Bengal editor says—and we especially recommend his strictures to the notice of Mr. Wynn and his colleagues:—

'The debates in the House of Commons on the 9th and 11th May on Mr. Buckingham's case, will be found amongst our European selections, and to these we have added a list of the Committee, appointed to investigate it, distinguishing the members originally selected, from those added on the 11th, in conformity to Mr. Wynn's motion.

'The original Members of the Committee appear to have been fairly enough selected, but in regard to those added on the 11th May, on the motion of Mr. Wynn, the President of the Board of Control, the reader has only to turn to their names to be satisfied that Lord Milton's complaint of the gross partiality observed in the selection of them was well founded: the very first name is Mr. Stuart, formerly Member of Council, and known to be hostile to Mr. Buckingham and the Press: the next, Colonel Baillie of the same party, and who has been lately severely handled in the 'Herald,' in an examination of the *Oude Papers*; then we have Mr. Peel, a Cabinet Minister; and Sir Ed-

ward Hyde East, who, independent of his known hostility to the liberty of the Press and the subject, may be almost considered the personal enemy of Mr. Buckingham. We need not recall the events on which this opinion is founded; but to us it is astonishing how this ex-Indian Judge could consent to be a Member of such a Committee to investigate the case of an individual towards whom it is not in human nature that he should be capable of acting with impartiality. With regard to the Members of the Board of Control who have approved of every measure adopted against Mr. Buckingham and his property, being selected as Members of the Committee, on this occasion, we presume it is in conformity to custom; but if it be, we must confess that we should regard it as one 'more honoured in the breach than the observance,' for if the Company have been wrong and have injured Mr. Buckingham by sanctioning the measures adopted against him, the Members of the Board of Control are *participes criminis*, and are therefore appointed to sit in judgment upon their own offences; the other names are those of ministerial members, to one of whom, in particular, Lord Somerset, Lord Milton very strongly objected, and with great reason, for he is the brother of Lord Charles, who has been justly held up to public reprobation in the 'Oriental Herald,' for his arbitrary proceedings at the Cape of Good Hope. Is it likely that such a man can act impartially towards Mr. Buckingham? As much so as that the Ethiopian will change his skin or the leopard his spots.

We observe, in the list of the Committee originally appointed, the name of Mr. Trant, who has, in his public conduct, displayed such rare integrity,—such a total disregard of all selfish views, as justly entitle him to the admiration of every honourable mind of whatever party. We feel the less reluctance in offering this humble tribute of our admiration to this individual, because he is not a party man and rather leans towards power, though if ever there was an individual in this world who acted from the purest motives, and from sincere conviction, instead of personal feeling or party bias, we believe that man to be Mr. Trant. His views, however, of Indian policy,—his honest views incline him, if the impression on our mind be right, rather to oppose the cause in which Mr. Buckingham suffered. Yet what a noble example of disinterestedness and impartiality has he not set in this case! At the very time when he was a candidate for the Direction he has supported the claims of this individual for redress, because, he believes him to be an injured man, even though the act gives the death-blow to his hopes of becoming a Director. How nobly do his language and conduct contrast with that of Sir Edward Hyde East and others, who have quietly suffered themselves to be enrolled as Members of a Committee for the investigation of a case they have already prejudged. Mr. Trant said he scorned the imputation of going into the Committee with any bias—he was open to conviction.

A contemporary paper seems to think, that the appointment of the Committee insures Mr. Buckingham some compensation; but we must confess that on looking at all the names that compose it, we are not so sanguine of his success. Out of the twenty-five appointed, fifteen may be considered hostile to the appellant.

We have not time for comment on the speeches of the Members who took part in these debates on Mr. Buckingham's case, but we cannot resist the temptation we feel to say a few words on that of Mr. Wynne, the President of the Board of Control. The line of argument adopted by the Honourable Member, has, we own, fairly astonished us. He addressed himself entirely to the question of the Indian Press, and maintained that as it never had been, and ought not to be free, but had been all along subjected to restrictions, Mr. Buckingham had been justly punished for asserting its freedom, and repeatedly violating the restrictions upon it. Now really, with all submission to the honourable Gentleman's wisdom, this was not the whole or only question before the House, for even if it could have been proved that punishment of some kind had been merited, it would still have remained to be considered whether in degree it had not gone far beyond what the offence called for. Besides, which, the motion of Lord John Russell did not involve any decision on the



merits of the case, but merely called for inquiry into them. If the line of argument pursued, by the honourable Member, however, be remarkable, the extraordinary inaccuracy displayed by him, as to the facts of it, is still more so; it is true, indeed, that this observation applies in a greater or lesser degree to all the speakers: but the President of the Board of Control ought, at least, to be quite familiar with every circumstance of a case on which he has before been called to decide, yet he concludes with a remark, that 'if on Mr. Buckingham's departure, a license had been continued to the same Proprietors, it would have rendered nugatory all the former proceedings of Government.' Thus then it would appear, that the President of the Board of Control, who would resist all inquiry into Mr. Buckingham's case, is himself ignorant of some of the most important facts of it; that he is not aware that the licensing law was not passed or even thought of until that individual had left India, and that after it was passed, a license was actually granted, (*not continued*) to the very same proprietors, under which the paper was actually published nearly nine months, when it was suppressed by authority. Now, if we suppose that Mr. Wynn's speech is truly reported, it is clear that few need the aid of inquiry on the subject more than himself. One of the arguments of Mr. Buckingham's friends is, that his property was destroyed by an *ex post facto* law, and yet Mr. Wynn has decided against him, apparently under the impression that his paper had all along been published under the sanction of that very law, of the existence of which he had scarcely heard when he learned that his paper had been suppressed in virtue of it. Surely this is of the highest importance; for if that law had passed while Mr. Buckingham was in the country, he might instantly have sold his paper, and thus have relieved the Company of one ground of appeal against the acts of their servants.

#### PROGRESS OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN HIS TOUR.

To pass to other subjects: we observe that the progress of the Governor-General through the Upper Provinces left him at Benares on the 12th of October. The following are the details of his voyage and progress, given in the 'Calcutta Government Gazette' of October 26, and therefore under the sanction of authority:—

'We have received at a late hour, on Monday evening, letters of the 17th instant, from Benares, from which we have been enabled to gather the following particulars of the visit of the Governor-General to that station:

'The fleet arrived at Benares on the 12th instant. In the evening, the Governor-General and Lady Anherst landed in state at Raj Ghat, where they were received by the principal Civil Officers of the station, and proceeded thence to the house prepared for their accommodation at Secrole, being escorted by a troop of the body guard. At their residence, Brigadier-General Price and staff, with a detachment of the troops, saluted them with the usual military honours. Lord and Lady Anherst were the guests of Mr. Brooke, during their stay at Benares.

'On the day following, a levee was held in the morning, and a drawing-room in the evening, which were attended by all the Civil and Military Members of the society of Benares. A durbār was held on the 15th. The Members of the Royal Family, residing in the city, the sons of the late Mirza Khorrem Bukht and Mirza Shergosteh Bakht, and the Raja of Benares, were admitted to a private interview, preceding the public presentation of the principal Native gentlemen, the zemindars and merchants of the city and the vicinity, who were severally introduced to the Governor-General, by Mr. Brooke and Mr. Stirling, to the number of fifty or sixty. Honorary dresses were conferred on the Raja of Benares, on Raja Jayprakash Singh, Zemindar of Bhojpur, Baboo Siv Narayan Singh, Jagirdar of Sayidpur, Gopal Saran Singh of Shadabad, and Baboo Ram Das of Benares, on the son of Raja Kalisankar Gosal.

and on the Dowan of the Raja of Benares. A Kholat was also sent in the usual manner, to the widow of the late Biswambher Pundit.

\* During his stay at Benares, the Governor-General visited the Government Hindu College, the Temple of Visweswara, the Minaret Mosque, the Hindu Observatory, and other remarkable objects in the city. On the evening of the 16th, his Lordship and Lady Amherst partook of a dinner at the house of the Collector, Sir Frederick Hamilton.

\* On the morning of the 17th, the Governor-General returned on board his boats, and the fleet passing the whole length of the city with a favourable but gentle breeze, the party had an opportunity of seeing the place to the greatest advantage. Few places in Gangetic India offer a more picturesque or imposing appearance than Benares from the river. The bank is lined with an uninterrupted range of spacious ghats, and crowned with an infinite number of small temples of most elaborate workmanship, which present themselves to view in rapid and varied succession. Structures of more bulk and greater extent, the dwellings of opulent individuals or the domiciles of religious orders, occupy the intervals between these lighter edifices, and the back ground is filled with a series of lofty buildings, rising tier above tier, and topped with every possible variety of pinnacle and minaret. The whole is of grey or red stone, diversified by the variegated tints which time has given to their hue. The picture is perfect, without the addition of human figures, but when, as on the present occasion, the ghats and surmounting edifices are covered with a dense population, dressed in the greatest possible variety of colour and costume, a scene occurs, to which it would be difficult for the pencil, and still more so for description, to render justice.

\* After passing the city, the fleet came to at Rannagar, on the opposite bank, at the palace of the Raja. Lord and Lady Amherst having accepted an invitation to an entertainment to be given there in the evening, with all the splendour and display worthy of the occasion, and for which the Rajah of Benares is celebrated. The fleet was to resume its progress on the morning of the 18th, and, it was expected, would reach Allahabad in ten or twelve days. Thence the journey proceeds by land, and the tents were ordered to be in readiness by the 25th.

\* We are happy to learn, that both Lord and Lady Amherst have much improved in health and strength, and suffered no sensible inconvenience from the public ceremonies at Benares, or the excursions made whilst at the station. We understand, they expressed themselves highly pleased with their reception, and much gratified by the interesting objects to which their attention was directed.

#### ADMISSION OF NATIVES TO SIT ON JURIES IN INDIA.

The act of Parliament admitting Natives of India to sit on juries in the Supreme Courts of Justice in India had reached that country in October; and the following announcement of the fact, with the observations of the editor on it, are given in the Government Gazette:

\* The Chief Justice addressed a charge to the jury, for a report of which we are indebted to Tuesday's 'Hurkaru.' From this report, it appears that the Act relating to the administration of Natives to sit on juries has been received; but the consequences to which it is there said to lead, upon the authority of the Chief Justice, are very inaccurately reported. We hope to be able to furnish a correct statement in our next.

\* The admission of Natives as petty jurors must continue for a long period at least, to be wholly inoperative. The acquirement of the English language to a sufficient extent for such a purpose, is confined to the principal members of the Native community, and they certainly will think it neither an honour nor a pleasure to be placed in a jury-box, even with European

tradesmen. Individuals of any other description are wholly out of the question; as neither in knowledge, nor in character, are they competent to sit in judgment upon offences against morality or law. We are disposed to think that a great mistake has been committed in the construction of this law as applicable to the Natives, and that to have rendered their services beneficially available, they should have been rendered eligible to the Grand Jury especially in that situation, their knowledge of their own language, and what is still more valuable, their knowledge of their countrymen, would be of invaluable assistance to their English associates, and their co-operation with a number of persons of the first respectability, would convert the duty into an honour, of which they would be fully sensible, and would be the most powerful incentive that could be offered to their feeling and maintaining a proportionate degree of moral and intellectual elevation. The omission, we trust, will be rectified as soon as an opportunity may occur, as till then, the law is a dead letter as far as the Natives of India are affected by its provisions.

There is, no doubt, some truth in these observations, especially as they apply to the general ignorance of the English language, (in which all the proceedings of the English courts at the Presidencies are conducted,) except among the *principal* members of the Native community. In point of fact, there are not perhaps in all Calcutta—one of the largest cities of the East—as many as fifty Natives who know sufficient of the English to be able to read the newspapers of the day with profit, pleasure, or interest. And yet, when the mischiefs of a free press in India were to be exaggerated, what an outcry was raised about the danger of inflaming the minds of the Natives—as if every Hindoo and Musulman in the country were competent to read and discuss the comments of the English editors! It was very appositely said by a London Editor (when this subject was first agitated in England) that there was just as much danger of inflaming the Native Indians by an English press at Calcutta, conducted with the utmost degree of imaginable freedom, as there would be of subverting the English Government, by publishing in the city of London a journal written in Gaelic, Irish, Chinese, or any other tongue equally unknown to the multitude. Now, however, when it suits another purpose, the Natives are represented (and certainly with more truth) as being in general so ignorant of English, that it will be a very long period before a sufficient number of them can be found to form the portion admitted by law to sit upon a petit jury. The supplement to the same Gazette contains the following paragraphs:

‘Having been put in possession of the Report to which we referred in our regular publication of this morning, we have thought it advisable not to delay its publication until Monday. The following may be depended upon as a correct representation of what was said to the Grand Jury, on Monday last, by the Chief Justice, respecting the statute of the 7th of the King, c. xxxvii. entitled ‘An Act to regulate the appointment of Juries in the East Indies.’

‘I do not think I ought to omit to mention to you, that I received last night the Act of Parliament, which has recently made a material alteration as to the juries of the Court. It is very short, and provides only that, whereas, hitherto British subjects only have sat on juries, hereafter, under regulations to be made by the Court, all good and sufficient persons resident in

Calcutta, and not being the subjects of any foreign state, shall be qualified and liable to serve on Juries, with two exceptions, namely, that Grand Juries must be composed entirely of persons professing the Christian religion, and so must all Petit Juries for the trial of Christian persons. Two purposes seem to be attained by the act. First, it removes, as to the Natives of Calcutta, a part of that distinction which has prevailed between British and Indian subjects, and is a declaration that the latter, though they have not been included under the term 'British subjects,' as it is used in the statutes relating to India, yet are no less the subjects of the British crown, than persons born in the United Kingdom. Vague ideas have prevailed both here and at home on this point, but no Judge who has acted under the letters patent, by which this court was constituted, can ever have entertained any doubt, as to persons born within the territories possessed by the East India Company in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. They are unquestionably as much subjects of the King as if they were born in Windsor Park. It is another effect of this Act, that it marks the willingness of the Imperial Legislature to impart to the Indian subjects, such British institutions as they are qualified and prepared to use beneficially. This is neither the time nor place for expressing any opinion, whether it would be now, or ever would be, desirable or practicable to introduce juries beyond the limits of the seats of Government, nor do I possess such a knowledge of the interior of India, as would authorize me to speak with any positiveness upon the question. But I must observe, that in imparting this privilege to the Indian subjects within Calcutta, (or imposing this duty on them, if it ought so to be termed,) the Legislature has not been in any hurry. As far back as 1783, forty-three years ago, in a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, which I believe was drawn up by Mr. Burke, it is said, that 'your Committee, on full inquiry, are of opinion, that the use of juries is neither impracticable, or dangerous in Bengal.'

Upon the value of the institution of trial by jury, it cannot be necessary that I should say any thing to you, who are English gentlemen. The advantage to a people, that questions of fact affecting property and life should be decided by persons drawn from their own class of society, and conversant with such facts as they are called upon to consider, instead of the matter being left entirely to officers appointed by the Government, must be obvious to every reasonable being. It is so obvious, that trial by jury, though fitted also for the most refined states of society, has subsisted amongst the most rude. It was in vigour amongst our Saxon ancestors, and is still in its prime amongst ourselves. With a difference of form only, it was a favourite mode of trial under the Hindoo Law, and is recommended for adoption, in the present state of India, by some of the ablest of those who conduct its Government. I need only refer to the published opinions of Mr. Elphinstone, the present Governor of Bombay. These considerations I hope will have their effect in recommending the institution to the Hindoo and Mohammedan residents of Calcutta: but they need not have any apprehensions of being prematurely forced into an adoption of it. There are many difficulties which stand in the way of our admitting even those who are willing. The first is, their imperfect knowledge of the English language. Many of the proceedings of the Court are not interpreted in the usual course of the trials: some of them could not be interpreted. The observations of the Judges, perhaps, fall under the first head: the speeches of Counsel, under the second: the importance of these last would be much increased, if we should ever have the assistance of juries in civil cases: and as to the first, I would ask you to consider, as an illustration, the difficulty which there would be in explaining in English to a Hindoo or Mohammedan, the nice distinctions upon which it may depend, whether an act be murder or manslaughter. There are other difficulties arising from prejudices which we are bound to respect as far as we can: a Hindoo juror of caste would feel religious scruples in taking any kind of food, or even a glass of water, in the Court House, though he were fasting. A further difficulty arises from the character of the oath which is

usually administered here. We have, for some time, been employed in inquiries on this subject, and we are still carrying them on, but there are some doubts remaining. Our object is to learn what form of oath would be considered, by a Hindoo of sound sense, and of an honest mind, to be most *binding on his conscience*, and we shall endeavour to make such provisions as will not exclude from serving on juries, any Hindoo whose scruples have a foundation. Gentlemen, I have thus stated to you some of the purposes of the statute, some of the benefits of which it affords a hope, and some of the difficulties by which its introduction is opposed, and I trust that in any conversation you may have with intelligent Natives, you will assist them in coming to an understanding of the institution which is offered to them, and of the advantages which they may derive from it: in this way you have the means of doing much good, and whatever private opinions any of us may entertain, I need hardly say, that as the Legislature has made the enactment, it is the duty of us all to give it effect.'

'The task is left to the Court of preparing rules for that purpose. We shall direct our attention to this object without delay, and probably shall take for our model, as far as it is applicable to this country, the Act which was framed by Mr. Peel in 1825, for the consolidation of the Jury Laws at home; but until these rules are completed, we shall be glad to receive any suggestions from those who are qualified to give them, and especially from the gentlemen of whom the Grand Juries of the Court are composed.'

#### ESTIMATION OF DR. GILCHRIST'S MERITS.

At the present moment, when efforts are making by Dr. Gilchrist to enforce his particular views on the subject of Oriental instruction, and where a corresponding degree of activity is exercised to oppose those views in other quarters, it is of importance to his cause, and, indeed, to truth itself, that the opinions entertained of his merits, and of the nature of the instruction given by him in the Hindoostance tongue should be fully understood. The testimonies on this subject, furnished in his own Reports to the East India Directors, as well as others contained in his '*Tuitionary Pioneer*,' are not so well known as they would be, if the documents themselves were not so voluminous; for the indisposition of the generality of men to look into large masses or collections of papers, is as great as their unwillingness to hear or to read long speeches, and as there is no forcing them to do either; they must be won by gentler means. We have it in our power now, however, and it affords us great pleasure so to do, to lay before the reader a very, *short* letter, the original of which we have seen, containing evidence which is beyond a doubt disinterested, and, as we conceive, extremely satisfactory. The letter, or note, was addressed to Dr. Gilchrist by the father of one of his pupils, within the past month only, and is as follows:

'MY DEAR FRIEND,—On coming home just now, I found on my table a very gratifying letter from my son, who is still at Delhi, and it is with very great pleasure I give you the following extract from his letter:

"I have attacked Persian, which is certainly a most beautiful language, but as it will not be so useful to me as the Hindoostance, which is the general language of India, I give more attention to the latter, and consider the Persian merely as an addition and kind of polish that might be dispensed

with, and is not absolutely necessary. I observed the following sentence in a newspaper a few days ago. "Experience has established the little communicative utility of the kind of Hindoostanee taught by him, (Dr. Gilchrist), and that a very different dialect is necessary to communicate with the large majority of the population, and particularly with the military class." Now, from my own experience, I know quite to the contrary, as only a three weeks' attendance at Dr. Gilchrist's Lecture-room enabled me, on my arrival in India (referring to his books when I was at a loss how to express myself) to make myself perfectly understood, and several of the cadets, who came out with me, succeeded equally well in making the Natives understand them; and I cannot imagine what can lead people to endeavour to detract from the merits of a man who has bestowed his whole time in acquiring and rendering easy to them this language; it is truly absurd to state that the Hindoostanee taught by him is unintelligible to the Natives of India, when examples are every where found to prove the falsity of their assertions."

\* What my son states he read in a newspaper, I have heard often in London; but it was always from old officers, or others who were either too stupid or too indolent to acquire the language, otherwise than as a mere jargon, and, consequently, could but very imperfectly understand the Natives, or make themselves understood by them. I remain, my dear Gilchrist, yours, &c."

#### ECONOMY IN HIGH PLACES.

We have recently seen an announcement of the public sale of the Duke of Wellington's farming stock, and it has been said that other reasons than those generally assigned for this step, led to the measure. It is remarkable enough that the last packet of papers from Bengal contains an announcement of the public sale of Lord Amherst's farm yard stock also, the details of which are sufficiently curious, considering that no Englishman (not even the Governor-General himself) can lawfully purchase or become the owner of a single acre of land in India, though all his illegitimate children by Native women, of which most Englishmen in India leave behind them a long race, may be the landlords of whole provinces. Such is the wisdom of the policy which is intended to prevent Colonization. Notwithstanding these restrictions against owners of land, however, the Governor-General seems to have collected together more than fifty bulls and cows, which, in the catalogue, are described as in a fair way of producing a profitable progeny of calves, and his Lordship will no doubt 'turn a penny' by their sale. The following is the announcement of this event:

\* Sale this day, of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst's farm-yard stock. Messrs. Tulloch and Co. have the honour to announce, that this day, Tuesday, the 5th September 1826, at 11 eleven o'clock precisely, they will submit for sale by public auction at their premises, Tank Square, the valuable farm-yard stock, belonging to the Right Hon. Lord Amherst, consisting of some of the finest bred cows in the country, most of them in milk, or about to calve. They are sold in consequence of his Lordship's departure for the Upper Provinces, and are highly deserving the notice of families: viz.—(Here follows a list of 54 lots of bulls, cows, and calves, when the catalogue proceeds)—  
55, a half-English cow, with calf, and when in full milk warranted to give six to seven seers milk per day; 56, a cow calf, a year old, of the above breed;  
57, a real Hurriannah cow, in calf, and warranted to yield as much milk as lot 55; 58, a country cow, in calf, and gives from three to four seers of milk per day. The above are all good and valuable cattle, and confidently recom-

mended to intending purchasers: 59, an imported English cow, colour red and white, of the Suffolk breed; 60, a capital Hurriannah ditto, colour red; 61, a half English cow, colour red, N. B. The above cows are all in calf, by an English bull. 62, an English bull, colour red and white; 63, a ditto, colour black. \* \* The whole of the above cattle are in good health and condition, and deserving of notice. 64, a young English cow, of the Alderney breed, in excellent condition, and supposed to be in calf to an English bull, highly deserving notice; 65, a large Hurriannah milch cow, that gives a good supply of milk daily, morning and evening.—Conditions: ready money, and the lots to be taken away before four o'clock this evening, otherwise they will be re-sold on account and risk of the first purchaser. The lots to be at the risk and expense of the purchasers from the moment they are knocked down.

#### MISCELLANEOUS NEWS.

The following extracts of letters from India, have appeared in the London papers during the past month. They serve to corroborate, in some respects, the accuracy of the intelligence we have already given, and contain matter of reflection in more respects than one. The first paragraph is as follows:

'By accounts from Calcutta, of the 3d of November, it appears that since the departure of Lord Amherst, on his tour to the provinces, the Gentlemen of the press have been compelled to be more guarded in their comments on political events; as the members of council do not view the question of free discussion with the same liberal eyes as his Lordship. One paper (*The Bengal Chronicle*) has received a severe reprimand, for some remarks it made on the decision of the Privy Council, on the case of the press regulations; and its editor has been informed that his Majesty's Privy Council was under the protection of the Calcutta press rules, and must not therefore be spoken of in any terms of opposition or independence.'

Think of the unhappy plight of his Majesty's Privy Council, and the degradation to which they are reduced!—obliged to be *protected* from all comments on their acts, by the overshadowing shield of an Indian despot! If the Privy Council *condescend* to accept this humiliating species of protection, they will at once admit to the world that their conduct, with respect to India, at least, stands in need of it. If they spurn (as we should hope they will do) the degrading idea of their needing a protection, which the king himself neither asks nor expects in this country, they will repel the insult offered to their integrity, by immediately informing the Indian Government, that their actions do not need protection from public comment, and beg, therefore, to be exempted from this insolent imputation on their wisdom or their integrity. We shall see which course they will take. The following is another paragraph which has appeared in the papers of the day:

'The Burmese continue quiet, but have not made good the second instalment, and never will. The editor of '*The Bengal Chronicle*' has received two severe *rigs* from Government, and his license will certainly be taken away if he errs a third time. *On dit*—that Lord Amherst was very angry when he heard of the proceedings against the press, and wrote about it to Lord Combermere, who is Vice-President. Mr. Crawford had reached Prome, by the latest accounts, on the way to Ava. Advices have been received, *via* Bombay, of the war between Russia and Persia; and the Natives have it, that

the Gossacks will be upon them very shortly—an event the Russians, they say, are all soldiers, and not merchants. There is a report that the Duke of Wellington is to be Governor-General, which we hope will prove true.

The following is, however, the most remarkable of all, as showing what are the views with which our conquests in the East are generally made; and how, when revenue or tribute fails to flow into the coffers of the East India Company in one shape, they eagerly avail themselves of the means to secure it in another. At home, even lotteries, in which the most exemplary might adventure without a taint on their morality, have been abolished as destructive of public virtue; but in our foreign and conquered dependencies, we counterbalance this puritanical proceeding with a due excess in the opposite scale. Revenue is drawn in India from idolatrous worship, from pilgrimages to Juggernaut, and from the vices of the most abandoned characters. And the same happy system is now extending to the Burmese territories, the people of which we first invade, plunder, and insult, by the violation of their dwellings and their temples; and to prepare them for a better faith, begin by teaching them the worst vices of our own country, and deriving a revenue from the guilty source! The extract is as follows:

‘The Burmese still owe two lacs and a half of the second instalment; and the latest accounts represent that they dispute the payment, that is to say, they differ in the valuation of what is paid, and insist they have paid it; meanwhile, we keep possession of Rangoon, and, it would seem, do not contemplate the early evacuation of it; for the authorities at Rangoon, whether to their credit I leave you to decide, have lately again advertised the sale of half-yearly licenses for grog-shops, gambling houses, and the sale of opium; all which the Burmah law prohibits strictly; but it is proper that the evils of the war should be compensated for to the vanquished, by the introduction among them of the blessings of civilization, among which, of course, gaming and drinking stand conspicuous.’

Another paragraph will conclude our selections from the public prints; when we shall recur again to our own correspondence from India. This intelligence is either gratifying, or otherwise, according to the conditions of the treaty spoken of, which we have not yet seen. If the Company have stipulated for the monopoly of the trade to themselves, which, to be consistent with their chartered character, they ought to do, the sooner such a treaty is violated or annulled the better. The paragraph is as follows:

‘A treaty of commerce has been concluded between the India Company and the Siamese, who, since the cessions made by the Government of Ava, are become neighbours to our India possessions.’

#### BOMBAY.

The intelligence which comes to us from this Presidency continues to confirm the unwearied assiduity of the King's representatives, the Judges of the Supreme Court, and more especially their



worthy head, to extend over the Native community within the jurisdiction of that Presidency, as much of the protection and independence of the British laws, as it is within their power to grant them. The Grand Juries and the Magistrates, the great majority of whom are members of the East India Company's service, contend, indeed, for larger powers to be enjoyed by the police, and attribute a pretended increase of offences to the attempts of the Judges to set limits to their arbitrary rule. But in the various presentments of the Grand Juries and charges of the Chief Justice, in which this subject may be said to be fully discussed, nothing is more plain than that the Company's officers are the advocates of despotism, and the King's Judges protectors of his Majesty's subjects, whether native Indian or European—whether of a dark or a fair complexion. This is as it should be, and long may so bright an example be followed.

#### DECAYING STATE OF SALSETTE.

It is a matter of regret, indeed, that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court—that is, the protection of British laws to person and property, is not more extended. At present it is confined, we believe, to the small island of Bombay, which is but little larger than the town of Calcutta, within what is called the Mahratta ditch; and which there also forms the limits of the English Court's jurisdiction. It would be at least wise, if merely as an experiment, to extend the jurisdiction of the Bombay Court over the adjoining island of Salsette, and the smaller islands which lie between it and the Mahratta shore, leaving the continent of India untouched. During the occupation of Bombay and Salsette by the Portuguese, and previous to their cession to the English, the latter island was by far the richest, most productive, and most thickly peopled of the two; as the remains of various public edifices, enclosures, and once cultivated lands, still continuing to be seen in Salsette, abundantly testify. Both islands were then under the same laws and the same protection. Now, however, since the India Company's possession of these fertile spots, the jurisdiction of the British Court of Justice extending only to Bombay, and Salsette being under the chilling influence of the Company's rule, the latter island, though by far the largest and most fertile of the two, has become almost deserted, and fields that were once the abode of an active and prosperous peasantry, under the Government of the Portuguese, are now the haunt of the tiger and other beasts of prey. What a contrast does this present! and what a reproach to the name of England, not to wipe away the stain!

#### NECESSITY OF COMMISSIONERS BEING SENT TO INDIA.

It is really high time for this, and a thousand other reasons, that the King's Government should take up the investigation of

this subject in time. Commissioners have been sent to the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius—two colonies which, taken together, are not of greater importance than Bombay itself, and are nothing as compared to all India. Yet, although the period is fast approaching, when the whole system of the East India Company's Government, and the question of its further existence, will be discussed, and the issue be of the deepest interest to the merchants and manufacturers of this country, and the cultivators and consumers of that, no step has been taken to send Commissioners to India, to furnish authentic information on the various points on which the Ministry and the people of England are equally in the dark, and must continue so long as the Press is restrained by severe laws in some parts of that country, and as long as the power of banishing and ruining any man who ventures to disclose whatever may be displeasing to the governing authorities, exists in all. Let the King's Ministers look to this subject before it is too late, or be prepared to answer to their country when the day of account shall come, if they neglect it until then.

#### ILLNESS OF THE MAHRATTA CHIEFTAIN, SINDIA.

A late letter from Bombay mentions that the celebrated Mahratta Chieftain, Sindia, was on the point of death, but could not be prevailed on to name a successor. The Government of India would, therefore, have to bestow a vacant throne and sceptre on whoever they should find best suited to their purpose, among the many that will, in such an event, no doubt, put forth their several pretensions. This may lead to events which, in the present contest of the Russians with Persia, it might not be easy to direct to a favourable issue; for, at the present moment especially, tranquillity within is the greatest good that can happen to the Indian Government, when likely to be called on to prepare for aggression from without.

#### SINGAPORE.

Of this once flourishing settlement it has been our pleasure to record the rapid rise and progressive improvement, while a free port; during which period, in consequence of its exemption from the monopolies and restrictions which every where fetter trade in the East, it became the depot of all the commerce between places and countries adjacent. We have now, however, the painful task of communicating that it is about to be deprived of this great privilege of Free Trade, to which it owes all its wealth and importance, and to fall under the paralyzing hand of the East India Company's custom-house and trade regulations, by which, if all the good it has already attained be not entirely destroyed, its further progress in the career of prosperity is at least sure to be arrested. A recent letter from this island, dated 25th Sept. 1826, says:

'It is a pity that, the retaining this as a free port has been abandoned, and that we are to have imposed on us, vexatious, though trifling commercial duties heretofore unknown. If there be a deficiency in the revenue from other sources, which the Government wish by this means to make up, I am sure that the merchants here would much rather make up such a deficiency by a gift from themselves, supposing the establishment not to be increased beyond its present extent, rather than be troubled with all the vexatious details of a custom-house, and its train of officers and servants. At present, the civil and military establishment of the island is sufficiently large; yet the revenue is very nearly adequate to its maintenance. A small sum would make up the deficiency. But custom-house duties on commerce is the worst mode that could be devised for supplying this. The forms of a custom-house are peculiarly obnoxious to Native traders, and they give also much trouble to Europeans, besides preventing any business being done at all, except within certain hours. All that could be expected of such a place as this is, that it should pay its own expenses; and while it formed an independent Government, this is all that would have been required. But now that, instead of being a free port, it is put under the Government of Penang, in conjunction with Malacca, as settlements of the East India Company, it is no doubt intended to raise by commercial duties at this place, whatever deficiencies may arise from the disbursements exceeding the revenue at each of the two others.'

The 'Singapore Chronicle' continues to improve in its character for intelligence; and, though labouring under many disadvantages, contains, generally, much more of local news, and this detailed with more judgment, in reference to its comparative importance, than is to be found in the papers of India generally. The following are a few of the shorter articles which we extract from its columns:

'Singapore, August 3, 1826.—In addition to the pleasure which it gives us to announce the arrival of his Majesty's ship *Rainbow* in our roads, we have the satisfaction of stating that Captain Rous has effectually established the practicability of the passage through New Harbour for vessels of a large draft of water. By heaving boats sounding in every direction and other measures of precaution equally judicious, the safety of the ship was completely secured, and the *Rainbow* came through without difficulty. The beautiful and romantic scenery of New Harbour, with the view of *Batu Belayer*, (or the sailing rock,) renders the navigation through the Strait delightful, and would well requite a stranger for the trouble of a visit. The situation of the anchorage, and the peculiar advantages which it possesses over Singapore roads of being easily fortified so as to afford the most complete protection to shipping, will probably one day make it a place of some consequence on this island. Besides the entrances from the Straits of Malacca and Singapore Roads, the old Straits of Singapore afford an excellent outlet from the harbour, with regular tides, by which means vessels can go out or come in at all times, without waiting for favourable breezes. There is at present a village at New Harbour inhabited principally by the followers of the late Tumungung, who removed his family there soon after our occupation of Singapore. Cultivation is also extending rapidly in that direction, and the jungle giving place to neat plantations of pepper, gambier, &c.,

'*Eastern Trade*.—The Rhenish West India Company have determined to open an establishment at Hamburgh, for the purpose of extending the operations of the Company, and forming connections with South America and the East Indies. A German paper of the 25th February informs us that on the 1st May a vessel of the Company's would sail from Hamburgh with a cargo of German produce and manufactures for the markets of India and China. The immediate destination of this vessel is Singapore, the prosperity of which, as a free port, and its convenience as a depôt, has induced the Company to make choice of it as the scene of their first transactions in this country. The

importance of a commerce, freed from all restraint, appears to be fully appreciated by the merchants of Hamburg, and we trust that the exertions of the Company in opening a trade with our settlement may be crowned with the success which such laudable speculations merit. The benefits which this port will derive from such an intercourse cannot be other than beneficial.'

*Manilla.*—Advices to the 7th of June have been received from this country, *via* Batavia. Trade is represented as being dull, and the market glutted with British goods. Two American ships had arrived there in the month of May with large investments of English cotton cloths, woollens, &c., which had been landed, but remained unsold in the warehouses of the agents. The produce of the country of every description is quoted at high rates, and sugar had been purchased as high as eight dollars per pecul.'

*Java.*—The "*Batavia Courant*" announces the capture of *Plerit*, a fortified position occupied by the insurgents in the neighbourhood of *Djojocarta*. It was in this affair, probably, that the Dutch sustained the loss mentioned in our last number, but receiving our earliest accounts of such matters often through Native channels, we are sometimes unable to state all the circumstances with perfect accuracy. The assault of *Plerit* seems to have been conducted with skill and intrepidity by Colonel *Cochens*, with a body of troops detached for this purpose. The gallantry and determination natural to the European character secured the success of the enterprize, but not without an obstinate and vigorous resistance on the part of the Javanese, who are represented as having fought with desperation, and having left 400 men dead in their lines. From the date of this affair the operations of *Depo Nigoro* have been prosecuted with less vigour. In the district of the *Magelan* some skirmishing had subsequently taken place, but it was attended with no decisive issue. We never entertained a doubt of the result of any contest in which the Dutch forces could be brought in contact with the insurgents in circumstances to admit of their exercising fully the commanding advantages of science and discipline; and the affair at *Plerit* has only justified these opinions. Notwithstanding, however, the advantage which they have gained in this instance, we think the protracted nature of the struggle to be every day strengthening the Native in the same degree that it weakens the European cause. Had powerful reinforcements arrived at the commencement of the campaign the revolt might have been now, perhaps, suppressed, but the season is far advanced without any thing decisive having been effected for want of the necessary supply of troops. These seem always promised but never to arrive. Should the Dutch be forced to pass the ensuing wet season as they did the last, the issue may still be most disastrous.

*Macassar.*—Intelligence, on which we place the fullest reliance, has been received from this quarter, apprising us of the renewal of hostilities against the Dutch. Being connected by matrimonial alliances, a close connection has always been kept up between the native Courts of *Java* and those of *Celebes*; and we doubt not that the latter have been accordingly influenced with the view of creating a diversion in favour of the Javanese insurgents, as well as of effecting their own liberation. The *Batavia* Government have, we believe, resolved on sending no further succours to *Macassar*. This resolution may have been taken from necessity, but is, at the same time, the most prudent that could be adopted. Had the Baron *Vander Capellan* acted on such moderate and prudent counsels, the tranquillity of *Java* would not have been disturbed.'

*Singapore, September 11, 1820.*—We learn from *Penang* that the visit of the Governor to *Singapore* and *Malacca* is not to take place so early as we expected. We believe that Mr. *Fullarton* has postponed his departure from *Penang* until the arrival of the new charter of justice for these settlements, when Sir *John Claridge* intends accompanying him on his tour. The Recorder's Court, as now constituted, will possess Admiralty as well as Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction throughout the three settlements, at each of which sessions will be held regularly, after the manner of Circuit Courts in England. A

steam-boat is now building at Calcutta, for this Government, to be used in the Straits, by means of which, the visits of the Governor and Recorder to the different settlements will be effected with ease and dispatch. The confidence which may be placed on making passages in a steam-boat within a certain period, will render the employment of a vessel of this description of the first consequence, and her services in suppressing piracy would well repay the expense of her outfit, &c.

*Pulicat Merchants.*—Several of these traders have arrived here lately from Madras, with extensive investments of country piece goods, &c. These people make an annual visit to the ports in the Straits, and seldom trust their persons or property in any vessels but the ships of his Majesty or the Honourable Company. In the latter they usually embark from Madras with their goods about the middle of August. The property is generally taken on board on *respondentia*, and the freight is in consequence high. When they have disposed of their merchandize and converted it into specie, they return again to the coast to prepare investments for the following season. A man-of-war generally visits the Straits about the month of March for the purpose of conveying the treasure of the Pulicat merchants, who make a point of waiting for this favourable opportunity; and, as they never insure, such precaution is the more necessary. A company of these traders have taken a grant of ground, and built some substantial houses in this settlement, where it is their intention to remain permanently for the purposes of trade. This will probably increase their traffic to this port considerably, and the mode of conducting it will certainly be more beneficial; as there are many of the commodities of this market which are well suited for returns, which will probably be resorted to as remittances instead of dollars.

*Trading Prahus.*—Great numbers of native Prahus arrive daily from the ports of Borneo proper, from whence they import valuable cargoes of fine camphor, bees' wax, pepper, &c. The quantity of camphor brought by them this season is much greater than usual, and in these vessels, where every person on board is more or less interested in the cargo, a valuable commodity of this description is better suited to this division of interest than the more bulky articles. Camphor sells currently at present for about thirty dollars per katti, and is purchased for export to China, to which country almost the whole product of the Archipelago in this article finds its way. The expected Bugis prahus from Celebes, Bali, &c. have not yet made their appearance here. Two of them, we learn, have arrived at Rhio, and others were daily expected.

*War in Java.*—The intelligence brought by the *Hedleys*, from Batavia, extends down to the 30th of August. The news of an insurrection having broken out in Cherribon had been received at Batavia on the 25th of that month, and the town was, in consequence, thrown into a state of great alarm, which was increased by the want of correct information respecting the real extent of the mischief, and the report of a general rising throughout the province. The vicinity of Cherribon to Batavia, and the great extent of the province, containing a population of 216,000 inhabitants, almost all Javanese, (for excepting in the towns of Batavia, Samarang, and Surabaya, the Chinese or foreign settlers are not numerous,) renders the suppression of any disturbance there, and the preservation of order, a matter of the greatest importance. The Government immediately despatched the few troops who were in Batavia, and even the hussars or body guard of the Governor-General were sent off, leaving the protection of the town to the schuttery, who have been ordered to do duty in their stead. Several vessels had been taken up and despatched to Celebes and Borneo for the purpose of conveying the garrisons of the out-stations on these islands back to Batavia; the Government having resolved to abandon these possessions entirely.

The protracted nature of the war, and the spirit of determined opposition, lately manifested by the natives of Java, and their perseverance after so many

defeats, have caused a change of opinion in the councils of the Dutch administration, and they appear to have abandoned all expectations of reducing the natives to subjection, or of restoring peace to the country by force of arms. The old Sultan of Djojo, Amangkubana the second, the same who was dethroned by the English in 1812, is to be restored to the throne under his former title of Emperor of Djojocarta. His Royal Highness has been a prisoner for fourteen years, the last of which he has passed on board of the guard-ship in Batavia roads, whither he was removed at the commencement of the insurrection, for the greater security. How strange are the reverses of fortune ! The old Sultan landed in state from his floating prison, and was received on shore under a royal salute, and other demonstrations of joy. A few days afterwards he appeared at a public entertainment given on King William's birth-day ; where, attended by a few followers, and splendidly dressed, he received the congratulations of the assembled company, amongst whom were the heads of the Dutch Government.

The line of policy now adopted by the Dutch will, we trust, quickly put an end to all hostilities, and restore quiet throughout the distracted country. It was not, however, known how the proposition for reinstating the Sultan will be received by the insurgent chiefs, some of whom may, perhaps, have formed plans of aggrandizement or usurpation, hostile to the proposed restoration. The conditions upon which the Dutch have agreed to restore the Sultan to his throne are not calculated to conciliate an oppressed people, already driven to desperation by the weight of their taxes. We understand that the European Government engage to relinquish all claims on the revenue, and all right of interference in the government of the country ; in consideration of which the Sultan engages to defray all the expenses of the war, to make certain roads and bridges, and agrees to various other stipulations, which he has probably as little intention as ability to perform.

We look with anxiety for the next arrival from Java, which will probably bring us more detailed accounts of the insurrection in Cherribon, and inform us of the effect which the intimation of the Sultan's recognition has produced on the great body of the insurgents. The demand for European goods had revived a little in Batavia, but there was so little confidence amongst the merchants, that no credits were allowed, and all the sales which had been effected were for cash. Some shipments of coffee had been made to Europe, at the rate of ten Spanish dollars per pecul on board of ship. This is the lowest rate at which the article has been purchased since our occupation of the island in 1811.

*Tringann.*—Accounts have lately been received here of the death of his Highness the Rajah of Tringann. This principality, like the other Malayan states of the peninsula, has been long subject to much anarchy and confusion, but particularly so on the death of a sovereign. The succession to the throne has been generally disputed, and decided by recourse to arms. On the present occasion, however, we are happy to learn that the late Rajah has been succeeded by a younger brother, who has assumed the purple without opposition.

*Banka.*—It is reported that the Dutch intend to separate the settlements of Banka, Palembang and Rhio from the Government of Java, and to unite them under a separate Government, the head of which is to reside at Banka.

*The Philippine Islands.*—The Government of the Philippines have prohibited the importation of republican dollars into the country, fearful lest they might diffuse a republican spirit amongst the inhabitants. Newspapers of every denomination are amongst the interdicted articles in this well-governed country, and the penalty for receiving a newspaper without first submitting it to the Governor for his approbation, is expulsion from the country !

#### JAVA.

The private intelligence from Batavia (and no other is attainable, or to be relied on) gives great reason to believe that the

reign of the Netherlanders is there at least fast drawing to a close. The general opinion in the country itself, is, that the Dutch must be driven out of it shortly, unless large reinforcements of troops arrive from Holland; and after the recent disastrous expedition of the two Dutch ships of war, the *Waterloo* and the *Waalkner*, which were fitted out for that purpose, the required reinforcements are not likely to arrive in time. The Batavian Government have refused to pay any money out of their treasury except for the war expenses, and these even it is fast retrenching, having ordered all the troops to be withdrawn from the out-stations, leaving nothing but a civil resident and a few followers in the stations of Ponitana, Sambas, Macassar, Minto, Rhio, and the west coast of Sumatra, with orders for them to defend themselves as long as they are able, and when that is no longer practicable, to run away! It is said, that there was lately in the Padang Treasury only about forty dollars! and that the Resident of Minto, in order to enable him to pay the miners there, was obliged to send up to Singapore 2500 peculs of tin, which was sold for immediate payment at twenty-one dollars per pecul, and the money instantly taken back to appease the wants of the labourers. Under these circumstances, without a sufficiency of troops, and without money to pay even those they have, the Dutch appear to be in no very hopeful condition in their Eastern possessions.

#### NEW GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Nothing appears to be yet determined on with respect to the new Governor-General for India; nor have we heard during the past month any thing calculated to alter the opinions already expressed as to the several candidates for this distinction, and the relative probabilities of their success.

#### NEW DIRECTORS.

Since our last, Major Carnac has succeeded to the seat in the East India Direction, vacant by the retirement of Mr. Bosanquet; and it may be mentioned as a very striking proof of the new Director's general popularity, that he not only came in without opposition from any of the very many and powerful candidates still on the ground, but with a larger number of votes, as we have heard, than was ever obtained by any previous Director under similar circumstances. Believing, as we do, that this popularity is really deserved, and grounded on the best of all foundations, that of a character for liberal principles, sound judgment, tried integrity, and a firm adherence to justice, we congratulate the body on such an accession to their board, and only venture to hope that the individual will continue, under every temptation, to maintain the exercise of those virtues on which his reputation has been raised, and that he will be followed by others of a similar character on every occasion on which a vacancy may occur.

## THE HOUSE LIST.

Dr. Gilchrist's intention to oppose the re-election of the House List, is, on principle, entitled to support from all who complain of this practice, as an innovation upon the constitution of the India Company, and whether an innovation or not, in itself decidedly objectionable, from its destroying the greatest of all checks on misconduct, the fear of not being re-elected to office by the suffrages of the India Proprietors at large. If the India Proprietors really wish the Directors to be, as they profess themselves, their representatives and servants, (and no one will deny but that they are well paid in patronage for their service,) they ought to support this attempt to make them annually responsible. If they are ready to abandon their own privileges, and to acknowledge the Directors to be their masters, (which all usage and experience would seem to stamp them,) then, indeed, they will maintain the present system inviolate. The issue will show whether the majority wish to think and act for themselves, or consent to lay their rights and privileges prostrate at their servants' feet; in which case, the titles of these servants should be changed from Directors to Dictators.

## DEBATES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The Debates at the East India House on the Bombay Marine, and the Indian Press, will both be found at tolerable length in our pages; as well as the Debate in the House of Commons on the subject of the Barrackpore Massacre, the report of which last, we have taken from the Newspapers of the day. We have, according to our usual custom, appended Notes to each of these, where we deemed it necessary. But we cannot help remarking here, as a striking illustration of the character of the Honourable House, that one of the most trifling disputes that can be well imagined, which occurred between two persons attending in the lobby of the House as witnesses on an Irish Election Committee, drew forth more speakers, excited more interest, and elicited more energy, in the Senate of this *great* and *enlightened* country, than the massacre of some hundreds of British subjects, which came on to be discussed almost immediately afterwards: so powerfully does that which is *near*, however trifling in its nature, engage the attention of certain men, while that which is *distant*, however important in its character, is by the same class utterly disregarded.

To read the animated speeches given in the Newspapers on the quarrel of these Irish witnesses, (certainly one of the most harmless in which we ever knew two Irishmen to be engaged, and quite remarkable for the excessive civility of the party affronted,) one would have thought that the existence of the British constitution was at stake on the issue, and that unless the outrage offered to the dignity of Parliament (by one man refusing to shake hands with another in its lobby) were avenged, the Legislature of the country



could no longer hold together, all the bonds of Government would be loosened, and anarchy and rebellion would stalk the land.

After many speeches made on the subject, the Irish witness, who refused to take the hand of his fellow-witness when held out to him in friendship, appears to have been called in to the bar of the House of Commons, to detail minutely the particulars of this momentous occurrence, when the offended individual is said to have been desired to state, slowly and distinctly, for the information of all present, what had happened in the lobby. When his narrative was ended, such member as desired to have farther information, was requested to ask the witness any questions he pleased; and when all had done, the witness himself was ordered to withdraw. It was then proposed, according to the report in the Papers, that the other witness (the one who offered the hand which the other would not take) should also be called to the bar on the following evening, that both sides of the question might be fairly heard, and that no judgment might be formed on an *ex parte* statement.

All these forms of justice were, it seems, thought necessary to be gone through on a trifling verbal dispute, from which no evil whatever *had* arisen, and from which, having been already settled by the parties, no evil was even *likely* to arise. But when the House came to discuss the question, whether several hundred of their Indian fellow-subjects, slaughtered by their fellow-soldiers, were unnecessarily massacred, or justly put to death, much fewer members spoke at all upon the subject. No horror appears to have been expressed at the shooting of so many men in India, by those who were most keenly alive to the outrage offered to the dignity of the House of Commons by the mere verbal quarrel of the Irish witnesses in the lobby; and who conceived that justice could not be satisfied without farther inquiry, and hearing *both* parties tell their respective stories. Mr. Spring Rice, who, judging from the report of his speech, appears to have been indignantly eloquent upon the subject of the insult offered to the privileges of the House, and many other honourable members, who evidently thought this quarrel a most important matter, opened not their lips on the massacre at Barrackpore. To be sure, the slaughtered individuals were blacks! But, then, where was Dr. Lushington, Mr. Buxton, and many other of the enemies of cruelty practised in the *West Indies*, whose humanity is so sensitively touched when a negro is too severely flogged, or a slave too harshly treated? If we may credit the published list of the minority in the division on this question, they were actually *in* the House of Commons on that very night; but yet, unless their speeches have been suppressed by the newspaper reporters, they do not appear to have said a word on the bloody doings which had been so forcibly and feelingly detailed as occurring in the *East*. And although all that was asked by the motion of Mr. Hume was, that the Report of the Court of Inquiry held on this transaction in India, and sent home to this country.

should be produced, in order that the House might hear both sides of the question; and come to a just conclusion on the evidence it might contain; yet the same speakers are reported to have argued against its being produced, not an hour after they themselves had required, in the case of the Irish witnesses, that *both* the quarrelling parties should be called to the bar, in order that each might be equally heard, as the only mode of coming to a just decision on the merits of the case! It seems, therefore, that while in India there is, as Sir Charles Forbes very justly observed, one law for the Natives and another for the Europeans: so, in England, there appears to be one law for hearing evidence on *both* sides of a question, when it relates to any contemptible matter not worth a moment's attention; and another law for hearing evidence only on *one* side of a question, when it relates to the massacre of hundreds of our fellow-subjects, whose blood has been, as thousands think, unnecessarily spilt, and which impression must be strengthened, rather than weakened, by a refusal to produce the only evidence which could remove all doubts upon the question.

It is remarkable also, that none of the daily papers that we have seen (excepting only one which we shall quote) took the least notice of this subject in what are called their leading articles; though almost all of them, according to the party whose interests they advocate, took especial notice of Mr. Hart Davis's ill-timed and impertinent allusion to Mr. Hume's connection with the Greek funds, and Colonel Davies's spirited and merited reproof in reply. This was a matter that could not be passed over either by the 'Chronicle,' the 'New Times,' or the 'Courier;' but the higher object of the massacre itself, in the debate on which, this diversion arose, was not worthy their attention. The exception among the daily papers to which we allude, was in the 'Globe and Traveller' of the evening following that of the debate; and the observations it contains on this subject are so just and unanswerable, that we with great pleasure transcribe them here. The Editor says:

\* Mr. Hume last night brought forward a motion for the production of papers concerning the mutiny at Barrackpore, and the means taken to suppress it. The motion was opposed by the Ministers, and negatived. The principle adopted in the Government of India seems to be the reverse of that which is deemed the security for good conduct in all other parts of the world—it is supposed that good conduct is best ensured, not by publicity, but by secrecy. In the unfortunate affair at Barrackpore, "only 160 or 180" of our own troops were, according to Mr. Wynn, slaughtered by their comrades; but surely, though the lives of 160 or 180 men may be of little importance to those who look at the administration of affairs in the gross, they are of importance enough to justify Parliament in begging to look at the account that has been given of their destruction. Though, when a Government undertakes to manage, by its agents and sub-agents, to the third and fourth degrees of delegation, uncounted millions in a distant quarter of the world, it would be absurd to affect or to feel any particular horror at any blunder or rashness by which a hundred or two of the beings whose very form and colour are almost unknown to us, are sacrificed, it would have been decent to have given the matter the same degree of attention which a master would bestow on the cause of

the death of his dog. Mr. Wynn went into some discussion on the merits of the question—that is, on the circumstances which in his opinion, justified the course that was taken for the suppression of the mutiny. But in discussions of this kind, when information is withheld, there is always a gross impropriety, and a reasonable ground for a suspicion of bad faith. If a man take upon himself to discuss a subject, of the details of which he is exclusively in possession, he takes an unfair advantage of his opponent. An official man stating, from documents in his possession,—parts which, in his opinion, justify a transaction, the propriety of which has been questioned, can scarcely with decency refuse the production of the whole; because, if in this complete form they bear out the same conclusion, they ought, in justice to the parties implicated, to be produced; if not, the statement drawn from them must have been garbled and unfair.'

#### BURNING OF WIDOWS.

We rejoice to find that Mr. Poynder has taken up this important subject with a zeal which does him honour; and we trust he will carry his motion successfully through the Court. We have heard that his introductory speech was one of great ability, and his proofs and authorities numerous and powerful. We regret that the adjournment of the question to so late a day in the month renders it impossible to give a report of the whole Debate in our present Number; but, as the pleasure as well as utility of its perusal must be greatly increased by having the whole subject before the reader at once, we defer giving any portion of it in our pages till the whole is complete, which will be in time for our ensuing Number. We doubt not the Directors will say that Mr. Poynder's wish is already complied with, as every means are already taken, *consistently with the safety of the country*, to abolish this horrid sacrifice; and on this ground they may, perhaps, support the motion themselves. But it should be remembered, that the ground of limitation on the score of *safety* is so vague, and leaves the whole matter, after all, so entirely at the discretion of the authorities in India, that even the carrying the motion in its present form will not advance the abolition of the practice in the smallest degree. Nothing short of a motion to put an entire stop to these horrid rites, after a given date should satisfy the abolitionists; for, having already the testimony of the ablest men in India as to its perfect practicability and safety, the motion should be, for a prompt and peremptory prohibition, except under such circumstances as should make the sacrifice wholly and entirely the victim's own, by withdrawing all exciting causes, and letting the suicide prepare her own pile, light her own fire, ascend it unaided, remain on it unbound, and permitting no individual whatever to *profit* by her death. A law prohibiting people from committing suicide would be inoperative; because, all who really prefer death to life may inflict it on themselves at any moment they please. But a law to prevent all persons from aiding and abetting self-murder, from assisting at its rites, and sharing in its benefits, cannot be considered as an infringement upon the liberty of any individual to die whenever he pleases, any more than the prohibition of all spectators, seconds, and betters, from attend-

ing at prize-fights, could be considered as taking away from any man the right of settling his dispute with his opponent by boxing, if he chose. But, in both these cases, if the law stripped the heroes and heroines of the scene, of the surrounding excitements, honours, and applause, with which their several exhibitions are now crowned, there can be no doubt but that the practice in both cases would equally decline. In short, if the disposition in the East India Company to abolish these horrid burnings be really sincere, there is no case in which it might with more truth be said, 'Where there is a will there is a way,' and the world will judge, from their conduct as to the adoption of such a way, whether the will exists or not. But the passing of the present motion will, we repeat, not advance them a step farther than they are already. We trust, therefore, that either Mr. Poynder, or some other equally zealous and humane advocate for the abolition, will move for some pledge or measure more defined and more specific.

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NOTES ON DR. GILCHRIST'S SPEECH.

WE have received a communication from Dr. Gilchrist, with reference to the notes made on his speech, delivered at the India House, on the 7th of February, and reported in our last Number; and as we desire to do equal justice, as far as may be practicable, both to the objections urged by this gentleman, and to the reasons which can be offered for our own conduct, we shall proceed to state, as briefly as possible, the substance of the objections urged, and the observations that suggest themselves in reply.

1st, The great brevity of the whole report of this speech is complained of, as giving but a very imperfect statement of the facts and arguments urged by the speaker in support of his positions; and it is asserted, that in many portions of the speech which were omitted, were to be found qualifying matters which give an interpretation and a meaning to many of the parts reported, different from that which they now appear to possess.

The answer to this is—an admission that the whole speech of Dr. Gilchrist is very briefly reported; and the reason for this step was this:—The great object of reporting what is *spoken* in public assemblies is, that it shall be *read*, and this not merely by the speaker and his friends, but by the *generality* of the reading public; otherwise, its being reported at all is useless: Now, if a speech is prolonged for upwards of four hours on a subject which might, with ordinary condensation and method, be exhausted in *one*, it becomes tiresome even to *hear* it, but much more tiresome to read it through; nor will persons in general enter upon the perusal of a decidedly unattractive subject, when treated of at inordinate length and in an irrelevant manner by those who discuss it. Reporters for the public press, when not particularly instructed to take the speeches *verbatim*, exercise their discretion on such occasions; and the consequence is, that the public journals generally contain what the reporters deem the essentials of the speeches publicly delivered. Nor could it well be otherwise, for no newspaper or periodical could contain *verbatim* reports of such long speeches, unless they excluded all other matter, when they would neither be purchased nor read, and this would reduce things to the same standard as if there were no reports of the speeches at all. This is the true reason why the newspapers never contain more than a bare

skeleton of what is spoken at the India House; because they know that if the speeches there delivered were reported at length, they would not be read by the community; and this is no doubt the principal reason also why the 'Asiatic Journal,' which generally gives the debates at great length, to the exclusion of other equally useful and more attractive matter, is so little sought after either in India or in England. There are particular occasions when an editor may deem it of importance to afford great space, and to incur great expense for the reports of public debates, (as was done by this Journal in the case of the late discussions on the transactions at Hyderabad, at a cost of more than £300, and the publication of two supplemental numbers, and as is done by the editors of other public journals, who send express to procure full reports of speeches made at Dublin, Edinburgh, and Manchester.) But this is always a matter of discretion with the editor, and must rest with himself alone. The remedy for the speaker who thinks his speech ought to be given at length, when an editor, from thinking differently, has neglected to do so, is however a very easy one; and is now commonly resorted to by the greatest men of the day, Mr. Canning, Huskisson, Peel, Brougham, and others, who publish corrected reports of their own speeches, under their own name, and at their own expense. Our reporter and ourselves may have erred in judgment in giving too brief a report of Dr. Gilchrist's speech; but we can confidently disavow, both on his part and our own, any wish or intention to omit anything which either of us considered material to the question at issue, desiring only to get the sum and substance of the subject, as far as it could be collected, into the smallest practicable space.

2d, The next principal objection is, that even in what has been retained of the speech of Dr. Gilchrist, which must be a very small portion, (seeing that a speech of more than four hours in length is condensed into four pages,) there is great inaccuracy; and that statements are made in the report, in a manner so different from that in which they were uttered at the time of speaking, that they no longer represent the speaker's real sentiments or meaning.

The answer to this objection is,—an expression of sincere regret on our part at any inaccuracies which may have created the wrong impressions adverted to. As we were not present at the debate, (having no longer the means to hold stock as a proprietor, and being therefore inadmissible to the Court,) we cannot aver or deny any thing on this subject, from our own knowledge; but we must say, that on reference to another work, where the speech is given at much greater length, we find most of the passages complained of as inaccurate, in the 'Oriental Herald,' reported in nearly the same language in the 'Asiatic Journal.' In this, however, it is necessary to particularize. The first passage on which any note is given in the 'Oriental Herald' is as follows:—

*'For his attempt to point out the ignorance of the Native languages that prevailed among the officers, he was afraid he should be exposed to the same punishment which a member of another Joint Stock Company had suffered; and a young officer would perhaps come from India, with a horsemanship in his hand, on purpose to horsewhip him. But if any person were to make such an attempt, he would take up a pistol and shoot him through the head.'*—*Oriental Herald*, p. 535.

This is the paragraph on which the note was made in the 'Oriental Herald,' and which passage Dr. Gilchrist contends was incorrectly stated. The report of the same portion of the speech in the 'Asiatic Journal' is as follows:

*'What must Mr. Hume or himself feel, were officers, knowing their opinions on this subject, and believing that they had been libelled by the promulgation of those opinions, to call on them in a threatening manner, perhaps with a horsemanship in their hand? (Laughter.) There was an instance, he believed, where a Mr. Clarke, who had overhauled a Court of Directors for highly improper conduct, was thus threatened. Mr. Wilbraham declared that he would horsewhip Mr. Clarke; but the latter was too strong to permit such an indignity. Now he (Dr. Gilchrist) was not a very strong man; but*

*(if any of those who thought themselves aggrieved by the honest expression of his sentiments, came to him armed with a horseship, he would shoot his assailant through the head at once. (Laughter.) So he warned them not to molest him.)*—*Asiatic Journal*, p. 416.

There is sufficient difference between these two versions, to show that they were not the work of any collusion between two different reporters; and yet, in the closing expression, on which our comment was made, they both agree. Is it not probable, therefore, that they are correct? and that the speaker's memory is not so much to be relied on as two rival reporters' notes? Dr. Gilchrist may not have exactly *meant* to say this; but reporters attend only to what is actually uttered, which, in the hurry of speaking, is often very different, it is admitted, from what a man would deliberately write. It is this very circumstance, however, which makes corrected reports of public speeches, published in pamphlets under the speaker's own personal responsibility, so valuable, and indeed so indispensable, wherever the subject is deemed by the speaker to be important, and when he thinks it of great consequence that his sentiments on it should be clearly and fully understood.

The subsequent instances of alleged misreporting are too numerous to be recapitulated; but it may perhaps be fairly conceded to Dr. Gilchrist, that it is not strictly just to remark with too critical a spirit, on expressions escaping in the heat of debate, or on the imperfect versions of them, which an abbreviated report must necessarily contain. We believe, however, that though our reporter may have *omitted* much that he thought irrelevant, (and the repeated suggestions offered to the speaker himself, by persons of all parties in the Court, to confine himself to the question, furnish sufficient evidence that the reporter was not singular in his opinion of such irrelevancy,) he has, in whatever he has retained, given what his notes taken on the spot fairly warranted his doing, without the slightest bias to one particular side of the question, or towards any particular speaker; and this is all we think that can be reasonably expected. We give one other example. In the 'Oriental Herald' is the following passage:—

*'Whilst on this topic, he (Dr. Gilchrist) could not help expressing an opinion, that in the examination of the young men who were not students at Haileybury, too much importance seemed to be attached to their knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. He had always found that the more a man knew of Greek and Latin, the less he possessed of common sense.'* p. 540.

This was accompanied by an editorial note, expressing regret that such a sentiment should have fallen from the speaker: showing its fallacy, and still indulging a belief that it could not be entertained to the extent expressed. Dr. Gilchrist observes, that this observation of his, respecting learning and learned men, is most inaccurately given. And yet, on turning to the 'Asiatic Journal,' we find the same sentiment thus expressed:

*'For his own part, he (Dr. Gilchrist) thought that those who were well skilled in their own language, always turned out to be the most useful members of society; and, indeed, he had often observed, that the more Greek and Latin a man had, the less was he remarkable for common sense.'* p. 426.

In this, as in the preceding instance, there is sufficient difference to show the reporting to be by different hands: yet sufficient resemblance to prove a general fidelity; and especially in the closing sentiment, which was the one subjected to the comment complained of. There is one case, however, in which a still greater misapprehension exists in Dr. Gilchrist's mind. In the written communication received from this gentleman, as stated at the commencement of this article, complaining of the brief report and unjust comments on it, is the following passage:

*'As another expedient for getting rid of Oriental instruction in this country, you propose that the individuals engaged in it, two of whom you inviously name, should transport themselves to India, and pursue their vocation there. It may be sufficient to state in reply, that neither of these individuals can*

'establish themselves (himself) in India; the first of them you have named having been removed from it, owing to circumstances to which you are no stranger; and the others to which you alluded, by bad health, which compelled them, after a residence of some time in the East, to relinquish much better prospects than they can now ever hope for in their present useful occupation. While they are laudably endeavouring, however, to repair their misfortunes by employing their Eastern acquirements in a way acknowledged, by many experienced persons, to be highly beneficial to the public, it does not appear very *liberal* on your part, on grounds so *slender* as you assume, to represent their labour as *superfluous or useless*; or to talk of sending them back to India, which, as regards one of them, is but a cruel mockery, and in the other cases equivalent to sending them to their graves! Though I cannot suppose you mean to carry your views to this extent, your endeavours to *persuade* the public of the *inutility* of their services, may go far to deprive them of the means of a livelihood in this country.'

In the speech of Dr. Gilchrist, at the India House, one of his objects was to show that every facility existed for learning Hindoostanee in *this* country, where there were now many institutions at which it was taught. Among others, he mentioned that of Messrs. Arnot and Forbes, in Leicester Square; in doing which, he expressed great satisfaction at Mr. Arnot's losses being recompensed, and stated, that he had given up his (Dr. Gilchrist's) department of teaching entirely to Mr. Arnot, devoting, however, himself, one day a week to the examination of the pupils. This was, no doubt, meant, and very generously, to bring this institution forward into particular notice; and if any design of a hostile nature could have existed with us, the best mode of indulging this, would have been to omit this notice and eulogium altogether. On comparing the report of this part of the speech given in the '*Oriental Herald*,' (p. 523,) with the report of the same portion in the '*Asiatic Journal*,' (p. 423,) we find, however, that the *former* contains, at great length, both the notice of, and eulogy on, Mr. Arnot and his language institution; while the latter omits all mention of his establishment or his name! And yet Dr. Gilchrist conceives, that *we* have named them both *invidiously*, that we wish to undervalue them, and to bring the establishment into odium, and its assistants into distress!

There is really so much of misapprehension, to say the least of it, in this, that we have some difficulty in crediting it. But we do not now speak from a reporter's version of a speech; we have the long paragraph we have quoted, from the complainant's own hand, deliberately written, and now lying before us: and we must say, that if Dr. Gilchrist could fall into such a misconception in his cooler moments, and while writing with all the advantage of deliberate reflection, we can well understand how he might fall into much greater, in the heat and hurry of debate. Nothing, however, can be farther from the truth than that we wished to get rid of Oriental instruction in this country: we say, let it be taught here as well as in India; and let people choose freely where they will learn it for themselves. Nothing can be more untrue than that we mentioned the names of Mr. Arnot and Mr. Mortlock *invidiously*; we merely repeated them after Dr. Gilchrist himself. Nothing can be more strained than to say, we proposed that they should *transport themselves* back to India, nothing more forced than the accusation, that while *they* were endeavouring to gain a livelihood by teaching Hindoostanee in England, we were illiberally representing their labours as *superfluous or useless*; and talking of *sending* them back to India, the one in mockery, and the other to the grave! and by thus endeavouring to *persuade* the public of the *inutility* of their labours, going far to deprive them of their means of subsistence!!

§ It would have been quite as rational for us to accuse Dr. Gilchrist of a design to ruin *all* the teachers of Greek and Latin in the world, when he really represented *their* labours as not merely superfluous and useless, but actually pernicious, and hostile to common sense! But, for ourselves, every word we uttered with respect to Mr. Arnot and Mr. Mortlock, (whose very names, be

it remembered, we gathered from the eulogies on them, published in our own report of Dr. Gilchrist's speech, and no where to be found in any other publication.) was this: It had been asserted by Dr. Gilchrist that Hindoostanee could not be well taught in India, though it could in England, at the several places named, (by Mr. Arnot and Mr. Mortlock among others.) In a note on this, we merely asked this question—'IF Mr. Arnot, Mr. Mortlock, and others similarly qualified, were PERMITTED to establish themselves as teachers of Hindoostanee to cadets and writers, on their first arrival in India, what could prevent them from doing as much justice to their pupils THERE AS HERE?'

The whole drift of the observation was grounded on the admission that they were well qualified to teach; that being so, they, or any others similarly qualified, could teach it as well in India as in England; and that, if this were true, Hindoostanee might be taught as well in one country as in another, provided competent teachers were freely permitted to establish themselves in each. If any one, therefore, can draw, or rather wrest, from this passage, the forced, and we must add, harsh construction given to it in the paragraph quoted from Dr. Gilchrist's written communication to us, we must despair of ever satisfying such a mind.

Lastly, It is urged, as an aggravation of the offence given by the notes or comments on the speech in question, that 'they came from a work, which the speaker so commented on, had done every thing in his power to support, not anticipating that the influence it might acquire over the public mind would shortly be employed to oppose the objects which he had spent so great a part of his fortune, and so many years of his life, to promote.'

The best answer to this is,—that neither this, nor any other public journal, deserves support from any individual but on one ground: namely, that it is an independent work; that it will commend the wisdom and the virtue of its bitterest enemies, whenever those good qualities are displayed by them, and that it will equally censure the errors and follies of its warmest friends, whenever these may seem to deserve it. A work conducted on any other principle than this—a work which would admit no good to be done by those who were its enemies, nor evil to be committed by those who were its friends,—would be such a work as we could never consent to edit; and if there be any individuals who have given the '*Oriental Herald*' their support, under the impression that, in return for this, it would spare their public errors any more than those of other men, they have committed a very great mistake, for which, however, we have never given ground, and should undeceive themselves without delay.

To conclude.—We admit the report of Dr. Gilchrist's speech to have been extremely brief; but a speech of more than four hours long, whether delivered by him or any other individual, can never be reported fully in our pages. The remedy is, either to speak within a reporter's compass, (half an hour for each speaker at furthest,) or to publish a corrected report in a pamphlet at the speaker's own risk and expense. We have no doubt, but that some portions, even of the parts reported, are not as Dr. Gilchrist actually meant to express them, though as near the truth as the imperfections of a condensed report will allow, at least that nothing is intentionally misstated. We are willing to give him credit, therefore, for a better case, and better arguments to support it, than appeared in this imperfect report. And, lastly, we can assure him, that so far from having the slightest feeling of hostility to any undertaking in which he is engaged, or to himself personally, we highly applaud his unwearied zeal; we respect his integrity and benevolence; we believe him to be one of the most disinterested labourers in the public cause; and we should be most happy to see him in the East India Direction;—but, if we do not deem his judgment infallible, it is no more than we think of men whom he himself would rank among the greatest of the age; for all are at least liable to fall into error; and no good or honest man can be really injured, or ought to be displeased, by having those errors commented on and corrected by his fellow-men.



## DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

Wednesday, March 16, 1827.

The minutes of the last Court having been read,

The CHAIRMAN informed the Court, that it was made special in pursuance of the following requisition:

'We, the undersigned Proprietors of India Stock, being duly qualified, request you will convene a General Court of Proprietors, for the purpose of considering the following propositions:—To inquire, whether, in the present state of the Hon. Company's Empire in the East, the condition of the naval force, called the Bombay Marine, is such as the welfare of the country and the interests of the Hon. Company demand. We are, honourable Sirs, your most obedient humble servants,

' JOSEPH HUME	JAMES PATERSON	JOHN ADDINELL
' LEICESTER STANHOPE	W. MAXFIELD	J. B. GILCHRIST
' W. MASON	JOHN LEDGER	W. THORNTON.'

GENERAL THORNTON, before the business of the day commenced, handed to the Chair a notice of a motion he meant to bring forward at the next General Court.

MR. POYNTER moved for a copy of the statement laid before the Directors by Mr. Huddleston, previous to his quitting the Direction.

The CHAIRMAN considered it essential to the proceedings of that Court, to go on with the regular business of the day, and declared his opinion, that it was irregular for any motion to be entertained, until the regular business of the day had been disposed of.

DR. GILCHRIST wished to know, whether the Proprietors were prevented from putting a simple question to the Chairman, by act of Parliament or by any bye-law; or whether by the *ipse dixit* of the Chairman only? He wished to put a question—

MR. WEDDING rose to order. The Chairman was a better judge of forms than any other Proprietor, and he, therefore, moved for the order of the day.

DR. GILCHRIST hoped, that as a gallant General, near him, had been allowed to give notice of a motion, the same indulgence would be extended to him.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that the requisition before the Court had been read, and if the hon. Proprietor chose to bring forward his motion when that business was disposed of, he was at perfect liberty so to do.

## THE BOMBAY MARINE.

Captain MAXFIELD then rose and said: Before we proceed to the order of the day, I beg to call the attention of the Court to an anonymous letter I have received; it is the second letter with which I have been favoured; and, as I have no other way of answering it, and it refers to the business of General Courts, it may not be quite irrelevant for me to read it. It is as follows:

' Sir,

London, March 7, 1827.

' If you persist in the course you are now pursuing at the India House, you will soon have cause to repent it; the following the example of Mr. Hume may involve you in difficulties to which he is not exposed. It is said, you pique yourself as being a good shot, but be not too confident, it will not be sufficient to save you, and you had better reflect in time before it is too late, and take the warning of an

ANTI MEDDLER.'

On this letter I have only to remark, that I have not, in the whole course of my life, ever met with or known any man of whom I can form so con-

temptible an opinion, as to believe him to be the author of it, and whoever he may be, he must know but little of me.

I asserted some time ago, in the Court, that the Bombay Marine corps was neglected, degraded, and persecuted; and the hon. Proprietor on the floor, the Member for Aberdeen, justly remarked, that if such were the case, it would be better to bring the subject under consideration, and offered to second a motion to this effect; I pledged myself to do so, and I now proceed to redeem my pledge.

I commence with the charge of neglect. If I were to say, that since the orders of 1799 the Court has been obnoxious to that charge, I should be borne out by evidence; but to save time, I shall commence with a few extracts from a letter addressed by Mr. Money, the late superintendent of marine to the Bombay Government, in reply to some sweeping censures passed by the Directors on that unprotected service, in their letter of the 8th of April 1806. The superintendent's letter is dated the 17th of Oct. 1807, is to be found on the records of this house, and unless evidence can be produced of orders having been issued to remedy the evils he complains of, the charge of neglect is fully proved. The following are paragraphs of Mr. Money's letter:

'Permit me, on a subject so materially interesting to the department committed to my trust, to state with all respectful deference to the opinion of the Hon. Court, what I conceive to be the causes of every defect and deficiency in the marine character and institution.

'The want of a code of laws enacted by legislative authority, has been, and continues to be, the prominent defect of the marine establishment; such a code would raise it from that state of degradation, to which its legitimate character is too generally consigned by the contemptuous opinion of mankind; it would infuse into its feeble system, sustained with much vexation and with little credit, those energies which all other military corps possess, and which lead them to distinction and renown.

'It is only necessary, I humbly conceive, to refer to a description of the duties expected from the Marine, as given by the Hon. Court, in their public letter under date, Aug. 1, 1798, to render it manifest, without a waste of argument, that a corps having such services to perform, should be vested with legal authority, and its discipline upheld by the power of a legal tribunal. The Hon. Court, in the second paragraph of the letter referred to, have stated the following to be objects of the establishment of their marine force. 1st. To protect the trade from port to port, &c.; 2nd., to defend the Company's trade and possessions; 3d., to transport troops, &c.; 4th., to make nautical discoveries; 5th., to convey packets. It must be very evident, upon the most superficial review of these duties, that their effective and creditable execution depends upon professional knowledge, public zeal, and strict discipline and subordination.

'The next principal defect in the marine establishment results, in my humble judgment, from the low state to which the officers' comparative rank is reduced. By the old regulations of the Hon. Company, yet unrepealed, the commanders of their regular ships from Europe take their rank between a captain and a major in the army. By the orders of the Hon. Court already referred to, it is directed, that in order to preserve due respect and attention to the officers of the Marine, who, on important occasions, are associated with the military, corresponding rank should be assigned as follows:—The commodore to rank with a colonel in the army; captains of ships, of 28 years and upwards, or senior captains, with lieutenant-colonels; junior captains with majors; first lieutenants enrol with captains, &c. This distinction, supported by a code of martial law, would give to the marine corps all the vigour and spirit which it would be rendered capable of possessing; but by subsequent resolutions, the corresponding rank was virtually abolished, and the code of laws which the Supreme Government so strongly recommended, and the Hon. Court declared, upon a conviction of its necessity, that it was their intention to procure, has never been obtained.

' On the 22d of May 1804, the Hon. Court was pleased to direct that the commanders of their regular ships, whose corresponding rank with the military rated between that of a major and a captain, should precede all the captains of the Marine, having the comparative rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army. I ought to be one of the last to impugn any resolution tending to honor a service, in which I passed a great portion of my life, and to which, from connections and friendship, I may be supposed to be naturally attached; but if now belonging to that service, I feel persuaded that my sentiments of justice would be the same; while I am satisfied, from the principles of discipline imbibed in the course of many years' service in the navy, my sense of public expediency would concur with those sentiments of justice; and in the situation which I hold, the expression of these opinions appears to me an act of indispensable duty.

' Whatever of respect and attention the orders of 1798 were calculated to produce, has been completely extinguished by the regulations of comparative rank of 1804. By these, an officer who has served the Hon. Company, in a profession strictly confined to arms, and from which the advantages of trade of any description are rigidly excluded, who has arrived at a rank corresponding with that of a lieutenant-colonel in the army, &c. which he has held for a period of 14 or 15 years, finds himself compelled to yield precedence to the commander of a regular ship, ranking below a major in the army, who, perhaps, has not been 10 years at sea, who, but a short time before, may have been (and I believe it has been the case) a mate of a ship at this very port, and whose ship at present the captain of the Marine may be destined to convoy.

' These circumstances, combined with the want of a code of laws, precludes the mind from aspiring to a respectable rank in society, they tend to depress every feeling of laudable ambition, and blight, by their natural operation on the character of man, all that *esprit du corps*, which it is so much to the public advantage to encourage and cherish, and which has led to the aggrandizement of all other military services.'

The letter then exhibits a comparative statement of the pay and pensions of the Marine and the Army, no less creditable to its amiable writer, than illustrative of the neglected and depressed state of the Marine; but as mere pay is not all that an officer attaches value to, I shall not quote it. It may now be said, perhaps, that the Directors were desirous of obtaining a code of laws for the government of the Marine, but they had not power to effect it; I will in charity suppose so, and then ask if the Directors were sincerely disposed to render the Marine efficient and respectable, how they happened to avoid doing what certainly was in their power? Did they frame any regulations for its better management? Did they issue any orders to construct vessels adapted to accommodate the crew crammed on board, or to bear the guns thick into them? Did they repeal or explain the inconsistent order regarding rank of 1804? Or did they adopt any measure whatever to remedy the palpable evils pointed out in the superintendent's letter?

That manly and feeling letter of the superintendent had, I believe, no other effect, than to reduce his interest in this House; and he shortly afterwards resigned his office in disgust, and another was appointed in no way resembling him; from which hour the Bombay Marine has met with continual degradation and persecution.

Mr. Money's retirement from the office of superintendent was no less a source of regret to the officers of the Marine, than of injury to the public interest. With talents the most useful, he possessed an activity of body and mind which afforded him no leisure; every hour of his time was devoted to the public; he undertook business of every description, and always performed it well; he infused a portion of his own spirit, energy, and pride, into the breasts of those employed under his authority, and confided in ability and worth where he found it; he had no illiberal prejudices to gratify, and the best recommendation for his favour and support was zeal and activity. Envy may revile and

self-interest seek to blacken, but his fame as a public servant will survive every effort to blast it, in spite of all the efforts of low and little minds; and the attachment of the Marine corps to him after his retirement, testifies their high sense of his virtues and worth, while their affection does honour to their gratitude.

The pay of the marine officers admits of no comparison with the other branches of the service; it is enough to state that a captain of Marine's pay and allowance is but 300 rupees per month, while that of a branch pilot at Calcutta is 700 per month, or 850 if sent beyond the Sand Heads. Yet such pittance of the captains of the marine is not secured to them, as, by the orders of the Marine Board at Calcutta, dated March 30, 1814, the captains of the marine are held responsible for all advances made to any of the crew on the Company's account, and the loss sustained by desertion deducted from the pay of the captains; such illiberal rule is not applied to any other branch of this service, or of any service whatever.

As every liberal-minded man must naturally suppose the officers of the Bombay Marine were governed by some reasonable and specific regulations, I must entreat attention to the capricious absurdity, cruelty, and injustice to which they were exposed by the neglect of the Court of Directors to establish a specific and impartial regulation for their management. A commander and all the officers of one of the cruisers were placed under arrest early in April 1818, on charges framed by Mr. Meriton, superintendent of marine; and having gone through the usual forms of trial, the proceedings were sent up to Government on the 8th of the month; but not being satisfactory, the Court was directed to re-assemble and put certain questions, which was accordingly done, and the second proceedings were forwarded to Government also. From this time until the 28th of November, the prisoners were kept in suspense, when they were again called before the court, who informed them that the Government had directed certain questions to be put to them, and that they were expected to give implicit answers to them; the commander begged to know if he stood before that court as a prisoner, which plain question the court could not answer, but simply repeated the purpose for which they were assembled; the commander testified his willingness to answer any questions the Government might wish to put to him, after they had given their final decision on his case; but whilst he stood before that court as a prisoner, he must decline giving any answer. The proceedings were then closed, and a third time sent to the Government, who gave their final decision some time after; and notwithstanding the punishment already inflicted, the commander was suspended until some time in 1819. It is hardly possible to conceive that any public authority should have descended to such capricious measures,—measures no less repugnant to every sort of judicial procedure, than to every liberal or honourable feeling; but the sweeping measure of placing commanders, lieutenants, and even midshipmen, all in arrest together, could only be borne out and countenanced by a Government exhibiting a total disregard for even the shadow and forms of justice.

The following circumstance will be found in the public records, and will therefore, I trust, be admitted as evidence: In 1812, Lieutenant Boyce of the ship *Mercury*, was put under arrest by his commander, Lieutenant Blort; and in order to try him, the superintendent assembled a court, in which he placed two of the officers of Indianmen as members. Lieutenant Boyce held a commission, those gentlemen had no commissions, and belonged to merchant ships, they could not be expected, from such habits and the duties they had to perform, to be proper judges, while the degradation and injury offered to the marine officer was evident and studied, as there was no want of marine officers in port to form such court. Such, however, is the undefined and forlorn state in which the marine corps is left, that if an assemblage of boatswains or gunners, or even if serjeants and corporals, had been selected by its superintendent to form such court, the marine officer had no remedy.

Although there was but one ship in the service large enough to carry the

guns put on board her, to offer ordinary accommodation to the crew, or be held in the least respect by the pirates in the Persian Gulph, that solitary ship did the superintendent induce Government to sell, and sold she was at auction for not more than two-thirds of her value. This threw an old officer out of employ, and blasted the hopes and prospects of every officer in the Marine, while he induced Government to suspend all promotion by the overplus of officers thus created. The ship I have alluded to, was the *Mornington* of 20 guns, and the largest vessel remaining after her was the *Teignmouth* of about 250 tons, which, in his Majesty's service, would have had on board at the most only 10 or 12 guns, but was, in the Marine, absurdly crammed with 18 guns, and at one time with 20. It was as injudicious as cruel so to equip her, as it rendered her unsafe, and, in the event of capture, ensured the disgrace of whoever commanded her. The rest of the vessels were of the same stamp, except that they were much smaller; and one, the *Ariel*, a brig of 180 tons, carrying 14 guns, was so crank that she overset and sunk in a squall in the Persian Gulph, although her foresail only was set, and of her crew only three men were saved.

In October 1814, the *Vestal*, being under orders to carry despatches to Bus-sora, her Commander, Lieutenant Phillips, was directed to receive on board by the superintendent a certain number of bales, belonging to private merchants at Bombay, as freight. That officer represented respectfully the utter incompetency of his vessel to carry any cargo, as it was with difficulty he could carry provisions and water for the crew; his objections were overruled, and the bales sent on board, which he, sooner than deprive the crew of their wretched accommodation, stowed in his own cabin. By the Court's orders of 1798, all freight except bullion was prohibited to be carried in cruisers; but the disregard of orders by the superintendent, brought into the Bombay treasury the pitiful sum of 160 rupees. The *Vestal* was a small shap brig, of 160 tons burthen, scarcely able to carry 10 cwt. of water and provisions; and as the superintendent of marine had commanded an Indianan many years, he could not plead ignorance of the inability of the *Vestal* to carry any cargo whatever. What was the consequence? not mere discontent and degradation to the unfortunate commander, but death. The *Vestal's* cabin was very small, and had neither port nor scuttle; the Persian Gulph is dreadfully hot and unhealthy; such stowage produced a violent attack of the liver, and an officer of distinguished merit, who had served nearly 20 years, fell a victim, not to the cause of his country, but to injustice and cruelty. There is no fear, however, of the recurrence of such a pitiful error! again, as a recent act of the Legislature renders any cruisers which may be so stuffed, a prize to any of his Majesty's ships that will seize her.

It is well known, that in every sort of ship, merchantman or vessel of war, some difference of accommodation is allotted to the persons serving on board, but the superintendent, to give a deathblow to the service at once, sought to confound all ranks; he therefore ordered that the bunks allotted to the midshipmen of the *Vestal* should be taken away, and the midshipmen crammed into the lieutenants' cabin. The lieutenants' cabin on board the *Vestal* was only 9 feet by 7, and as there was no other, the surgeon was necessarily obliged to live and sleep in it also; such was the wretched den into which the superintendent ordered the midshipmen to be crammed. Putting rank, health, and comfort out of the question, the thing was impossible; but the officer had no remedy; and if he had ordered the pigs to be put in also, he must have submitted or resigned the service. It happened, however, that the surgeon belonged to the army, and was protected by its rules and regulations from such injustice; he wrote to Government complaining that the accommodation allotted him in the *Vestal* was worse than that provided by Act of Parliament for horses during the Slave Trade; the superintendent took fire at the reflection, and preferred charges against him, but as a military officer could not be tried and punished without sufficient grounds, a court-martial saved him, and very properly remarked on the conduct and evidence of the superintendent, the details of which are to be found in the records of this house.

It may be supposed by some, utterly ignorant of the merits and claims of the Bombay Marine, that it deserved such treatment, or that it had forfeited all claim to attention, it is therefore with reluctance that I am compelled to advert to its conduct as a public body, of which I was probably one of the least worthy members. First, then, on the score of fidelity and attachment to their country, the marines are eminently conspicuous, and it cannot be denied that they stood aloof and declined joining with the army, who invited them, when they, with arms in their hands, urged their claims to equal rank with his majesty's troops; the marines declined so doing, and were left unnoticed, while the army obtained the most liberal consideration. I have heard it said, that the marine deserved to be so neglected for not joining the army; if so, it will serve as a lesson to regulate the claims of military bodies in future, and teach them the just value of claims unsupported by power. For patriotism, in 1790, a subscription was set on foot towards carrying on the war as a test of public opinion, and was liberally supported in this country; it was also carried on in India, and most of the members of the service, civil, military, and marine, subscribed towards it; but Captain Selby of the Bombay Marine subscribed the whole of his pay during the war; he stood a solitary instance of such devotion, and continuing his career, he at last sacrificed his life in the service of the Company.

In no one solitary instance has the British colours ever been lowered from the peak of one of these miserably ill-manned cruisers, to any enemy of inferior or even of equal force, while they have often proved successful in combating a powerful superiority. But, supposing military ardour and patriotism of no value in the estimation of the Company as regards its marine, let me address them simply as merchants, and ask if disinterestedness on the part of its marine officers in preferring the Company's interests to their own, could establish any claim? When the expedition was proceeding against Java, two cruisers, the *Mornington* and *Malabar*, fell in with two large Chinese junks, in the Straits of Gaspar, from Batavia bound to Amoy. By the orders of Council, Batavia being in a state of blockade, they were good prizes, and were in fact laden with Dutch property, by their manifest and papers valued at 600,000*l.* sterling; they were taken by the cruisers, and the Captains Dean and Maxfield, would have sent them to Prince of Wales island for condemnation, but were prevented by Commodore Hayes, who commanded the marine force on that expedition. His order was short, and, in justice to him, I shall read it.

'To Captains R. Dean and William Maxfield, Commanders of the Honourable Company's ships of war, *Mornington* and *Malabar*.

'Honourable Company's ship of war, *Malabar*, Java Sea, July 31, 1811.  
Lat. 5° 41' S., Long. 103° 46' E.

'GENTLEMEN,—As the Government of China seek every pretext to embarrass the Honourable Company's commercial transactions at Canton, I am induced to believe the captured junks, taken possession of by the respective ships under your immediate command, may be made a plea to interrupt the important trade in that quarter, which is now not only considered of vital interest to them, but to the state generally. I feel myself imperiously called upon to prevent any occurrence which may be productive of such destructive effects; I am therefore impelled to direct you to withdraw the prize masters and crews from the junks in question, and to command you to permit them to proceed towards their original destination. In thus exercising my authority, (perhaps exceeding its legal bounds,) I am not insensible of the great sacrifice which must be made by enforcing the foregoing commands, but I trust we alike feel we have the honour to serve the most liberal masters in the world, and I congratulate myself upon the conviction that the officers to whom these commands are addressed, know how to appreciate the acquisition of wealth, when placed in competition with the interest of their employers, and of their country. I am, Gentlemen, your faithful servant,

'JOHN HAYES, Commander of all the Honourable Company's ships and vessels on the Java Expedition.'

This letter affords a good illustration of the impolicy of the Company's orders of 1804. Suppose, for a moment, that Commodore Hayes had not been present, but that one of the China ships had been in company, it is not possible to believe the commander of any of such ships would have issued such a letter as this, and still less likely that any captain of the marine would have paid the least attention to it if he had. The man who made this vast sacrifice then (I mean Commodore Hayes) was not worth one shilling, nor do I believe he is now. This disinterestedness and gallantry, of which the records of this house contain abundant proof, would, in any other service but the Bombay Marine, have obtained for him honour and distinction. The two officers to whom the order was addressed to release the junks, submitted a memorial to this Court on the subject, which shared the fate of other marine memorials sent home to this country. As to the Commodore, I am not aware that the Court ever condescended to remark upon his conduct on that occasion; unless it induced them to take a more liberal view of the question of precedence, when Lord Amherst was guilty of handing the wife of this old and distinguished officer to table, before the lady of one of the Bengal Civil servants, Mr. Udney. I think indeed that this offence placed the Commodore in considerable jeopardy, from which he was probably exculpated by the Directors; and not improbably, in consideration of the disinterested manner in which he executed the duty of Commodore in ordering the release of the Chinese junks.

If the feelings of the marine officers, and their character and efficiency is of no value in the estimation of the Court, it may be worth while to estimate the importance of the corps by some other test; let us therefore try it by pounds, shillings and pence. From what has been stated, I trust it will not be asserted that the Bombay Marine was efficient, or even available for any good purpose, since 1812; but if such an assertion is made, I shall readily meet and confute it. And yet, the expense of this corps, from 1812 to 1826, was not less than 1,200,000*l.* The decadence of the marine induced the growth of piracy in the Gulph of Persia, which compelled Government to equip expeditions against them, entailing an expense of 1,000,000*l.* sterling; the mere interest of which would have provided and paid an efficient naval force of double the nominal force called the Bombay Marine, for ever. In 1812, the presence of a single cruiser of 20 guns prevented a war with the Burmese, and obtained ample reparation for an insult offered; at that time there was as good an occasion for war as since, but Lord Minto had the *Malabar* of 20 guns to support the arguments of the British Envoy at Rangoon; the Burmese Government were ripe for hostilities, and the Viceroy received orders from his court, which were published in the streets, to send the British Envoy as well as the captain of the cruiser up to the capital in iron, and on the Envoy attempting to embark with his escort, &c. on board the *Malabar*, two of the Burmese war-boats, out of about twenty that were in motion round the cruiser, seized one of the *Malabar's* cutters, and attempted to tow her off; the commander of the *Malabar* instantly ordered the guns of the *Malabar*, then within pistol shot, to be pointed at the two war boats and cutter, but not to fire, as the Envoy, who was still in the boats, might have been sacrificed; he at length reached the *Malabar*, and a message was instantly sent to the Viceroy, demanding instant reparation for the outrage by his delivering up the commanders of the war-boats in iron, and disavowing the act on the part of his Government; he was given half an hour to consider of it, at the expiration of which time, if they were not sent on board the *Malabar*, she would commence hostilities; the commanders of the war boats were sent off handcuffed, and every atonement made by the Viceroy.

The want of a respectable cruiser at Bengal in 1823-4, previous to our rupture with the Burmese, compelled the Bengal Government to equip and send a pilot schooner into the river Naaf, as a measure of naval defence; but its feeble and unwarlike appearance encouraged rather than repressed the aggressions of the Burmese, who seized the commander and carried him off, and then augmented the grounds of dispute, and precipitated us into a

war which has cost us probably twenty millions sterling, and the lives of thousands of our brave and valuable troops.

On the conduct of the present superintendent of the Bombay marine, Mr. Buchanan, I shall offer but one observation: he has just given the command of the *Hastings* frigate, and the *Ernaud*, the two largest ships in the Bombay marine, to two mates of the Country Service, which is no less an act of injustice to the marine officers, than of disregard for the interests of the Company. As there are plenty of marine officers, of all grades, unemployed, though still on pay, why should the expense of Government be thus increased by employing persons not in the service, to say nothing of the injustice offered to the officers of that corps: Would the Commander-in-Chief at either of the Presidencies give the command of any of the battalions, or even of a company of sepoy, to a mate of the Country Service, or even to a meritorious officer of the King's service? It is well known they would not; but the Commanders-in-Chief of the army are all King's officers, and imbued with military feelings, and the credit and efficiency of the corps entrusted to their charge are in their estimation no less objects of duty than of pride.

I now beg to move that the following papers be laid before this Court: 1st, The old, but unrepented regulations of the Court of Directors, establishing the relative rank of the Commanders, &c. of their regular and chartered ships, &c. with the Hon. Company's Army. 2nd, The Court of Directors' orders establishing the relative rank of the officers of the Bombay marine with the officers of their army, in their letter of August 1st, 1798. 3rd, The Court of Directors' orders, respecting the rank of commanders of their regular ships, with reference to the officers of the marine, dated May 22d, 1804. 4th, Mr. Money's (superintendent of marine) letter to the Bombay Government, in reply to an extract from the Court of Directors' letter of April 8th, 1806. 5th, The memorial of the officer of the Bombay Marine collectively, urging the Court of Directors to consider the condition of the corps, submitted since the year 1814. 6th, The letters from the Government in India to the Court of Directors, urging the Court of Directors to obtain a code of laws for the Government of the marine, and to render it efficient since 1798. 7th, A return, exhibiting the number, size, and tonnage of the ships and vessels, composing the Bombay Marine, in the year 1800, 1807, and 1821. 8th, A return of the officers employed either as agents for transports or in the command of ships or vessels fitted out by the Company during the Burmese war, with the salaries, viz. pay and allowances granted them per month, with the names and force of the vessels they commanded. 9th, A statement, exhibiting the pay and allowances of each grade or rank of the officers in the Bombay Marine. 10th, A return, exhibiting the pay and allowances of said rank or grade in the Bengal Pilot Establishment. 11th, The superintendent's orders to Lieutenant Phillips, dated Bombay, 26th of October 1814, and the 29th of October 1814, and the replies of Lieutenant Phillips of the same dates. 12th, The Court Martial on Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Lewellyn, of the *Vental*, on charges dated 12th of June 1818. 13th, The Memorial of the Commander of the *Mornington* and *Malabar*, relative to giving up the *China Junks*, dated 8th December, 1814, at Calcutta. 14th, A statement, exhibiting the pay and expense of the Superintendent and his office establishment per annum. Also, the annual account of the pay and allowances of all the officers of the Bombay Marine, doing duty with the corps, per annum, or for one year. 15th, The actual expenses, designated Marine charges at Bombay, from the year 1806 to 1826. 16th, The expense incurred for the expedition sent against the pirates in the Persian Gulf since 1806.

Colonel STANHOPE rose to second the motion. The honourable Chairman had stated that it was—

The CHAIRMAN understood that the hon. Proprietor seconded the motion. In point of form it was necessary that it should be first read.

The motion having been then read:



Colonel STANHOPE confessed that as the hon. Chairman had mentioned the intention of the Directors to take into consideration the subject introduced to the Court that day, and also intimated a desire to redress the wrongs of the marine service, he had not conceived it to be necessary to have made the present requisition, and he was much annoyed when he saw his name attached to it, but he had subsequently had a communication with the gallant Proprietor, who informed him that the subject had been for three years under the consideration of the Directors. That, constantly, promises had been made, and as constantly broken. With respect to the hon. Chairman himself, he placed the greatest reliance on his intention to consider the subject, but the Court was very shortly to be deprived of his useful services in the Chair, and he therefore thought that his gallant Friend was wise and warranted in bringing forward his motion. He would premise one or two words with respect to the conduct and character of that gallant Proprietor. He was no factious character, no disappointed officer, whose only object was to oppose the course of the Directors. He had nine or ten times publicly received approbation, and had had stars bestowed on him. With respect to the disinterestedness of Commodore Hayes, which his gallant Friend had mentioned, let it be remembered, too, that his gallant Friend was also present on that occasion, and lost a considerable share of the prize money. The Bombay Marine service was one of the oldest branches of the service, and his gallant Friend had truly stated, that there never was an instance of any ship having lowered its colours to an enemy of equal force. Under these circumstances, he thought that service was entitled to the consideration of the Court of Proprietors; and he could not help observing that indignities had been offered to it. In the first place, it was very unfair that the officers in the Marine service were deprived of the rank which they formerly possessed. A captain in the Marine service used to be equal in rank to a colonel in the army, but now a captain in that service was between a major and colonel. This circumstance led to the ridiculous occurrence alluded to by his gallant Friend. It appeared that Commodore Hayes and his wife were invited to dine with the Governor-General, who led to the dinner table the wife of Commodore Hayes before Mrs. Udney. Upon this, long minutes of the transaction were sent home to the Court of Directors, who pondered for a long time over the weighty matter, and at last came to the decision—was it of punishing Lord Amherst or the amiable and charming lady? No!—but they came to the resolution of uncommemorating Commodore Hayes. Mr. Wynn, however, considered that decision unfair, and had thought proper to reverse it. The Bombay Marine service had been left without any law to regulate their conduct. He would ask the Court of Proprietors if they ever saw a civilized state or military government left without any law? In the latter, it was thought in another place, that the discipline must be much more vigorous; that there was something in the conduct and character of Englishmen that made flogging necessary; a practice which was abolished on the Continent. In the Bombay Marine service there was no martial law. It was sometimes governed by the rules of the navy; and, at other times, by the regulations of the Court of Directors. Every thing was left vague and uncertain, and, in point of fact, the service was under the dominion of no law but of arbitrary power. He would ask the Court of Directors if they approved of such a system? They say that they do not approve of it, but were going to redress the grievances complained of. Three years had been delayed in electing that object, which, in his opinion, almost amounted to a denial of justice. It was an unjust thing to place, as had been done, captains of the Marine service under the command of commanders of Indian ships. It was quite as indignant a thing as to place a ship of war under the command of a captain of a merchant vessel. He would, however, tell the Court the reasons why these practices were allowed. The fact was, that the Bombay Marine service was not represented on the other side of the bar, while the merchant's service *was* represented there. There were no less than four Directors who had belonged to the East India trading service; but not one who belonged to the Military Marine.

Another reason was, because East India trading captains came in contact with the Directors, but the commanders of the Military Marine were quite beyond the reach of this intercourse. One great advantage to the captains of East Indianmen being put over the Marine commanders was, that they could go into port whenever they pleased to sell their portion of the cargoes. Under these circumstances, it appeared to him that nothing could be worse than the system at present in force, and he trusted that the hon. Chairman would do his best to amend it; otherwise it would be better to do away with the Bombay service entirely, to reward the officers by pension, and give the remaining money to his Majesty's navy.

Sir JOHN DOYLE said, there were two things that struck him. One was, that if the Proprietors had a marine at all, it ought to be in the most efficient state possible; and the other was, that as the Company had the control of managing the vast Empire of the East, it ought also to have the power of defending it; and not be subject to the caprice of any accidental men. But he thought that if the Chairman and the other Directors were endeavouring to place the Bombay service on the most efficient footing—giving the honourable Mover and Secondor the fullest credit for the motives that actuated them—yet he submitted that if the Directors at this very moment were endeavouring to get the best advice to effect that worthy object, it would be more eligible to leave it in their hands.

The CHAIRMAN had listened with great attention to the statement made by the gallant Officer, who had proposed the motion before the Court. He had also listened with equal attention to the gallant Colonel who seconded that motion, as well as to the suggestion offered by the gallant General on the floor; and he confessed that he was most gratified with that suggestion. He had on a former occasion stated in the most explicit terms, that the Court of Directors were earnestly intent on the improvement of the Bombay service. He admitted, for a long time, that many difficulties had occurred in the progress of their efforts from that peculiarity which existed in the naval service, of a kind of jealousy of interference with any naval authority. It was a kind of jealousy to which much of the respectability and benefit derived from that service was owing, and which ought to be encouraged rather than otherwise. He had great pleasure in saying that, as far negotiations had passed with the naval department of this country, he had every reason to be satisfied with the great disposition shown to afford every assistance to the Company in the object they had in view, namely, placing the Indian Marine Service on a respectable footing, and he thought that he should be doing great injustice to the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, if he did not state, that there seemed to be as strong a desire on his part to further the views of the Company, as if he had a personal interest in their affairs. Such being the case, he certainly did think that it would be desirable for the Court to adopt the suggestion tendered by the gallant General; but with the expression of that wish he could not allow the honourable Mover's speech to pass unnoticed.

The leading object in that speech seemed to him to be, to cast reflections on the memory of the late Superintendent of the Bombay Marine, (Mr. Meriton.) He therefore thought that there was a peculiar degree of justice due to that Superintendent, to bring to the recollection of the Court the gallant services which recommended him to the notice of the Court of Proprietors. The gallant conduct of Captain Meriton and Captain Stewart, in an action with the French, and in which the former was very severely wounded, would be in the recollection of many Members of that Court. When the post of Superintendent to the Bombay Marine service became vacant by the resignation of Mr. Money, Captain Meriton became a candidate for the office, and he (the Chairman) had taken great pains to bring his services to the notice of the Proprietors, and he believed he was instrumental in getting him appointed. If his subsequent conduct rendered him liable to such observations as had been made, he certainly should not attempt to defend it; but he had no reason to believe that his conduct as Superintendent deserved those strong animad-

versions. At any rate he was gone to render an account, which no doubt would be a just one, but it was rather hard on that man that he was made the subject of discussion, where neither he nor his friends were present to vindicate his conduct. (1)

With respect to the observations which had been made on the conduct of the present Superintendent, he could only say, if he had given preference to naval officers serving in merchant ships over those of the Marine service, he had done wrong, and he would have no hesitation, if the fact were established to his conviction, of proposing to the Court of Directors to express strongly their opinion on such conduct; but he should like to look into that part of the story, before he pronounced the Superintendent to be guilty of the misconduct imputed to him.

He was free to admit that the Bombay Marine service had laboured under many disadvantages. The gallant Officer had said that it was neglected by the Court of Directors. To that assertion he begged leave to give a most complete denial. As far as it had been competent in the Court of Directors to better the situation of the Marine service, it had been done; where it was not in their power to do so, they had not been negligent in making application to that quarter, without the concurrence of which it could not be done. The Court of Directors had done every thing to make the officers of the Marine service comfortable in a pecuniary way, and it was in that way only that they could afford encouragement to that gallant corps; but he believed that at the time the officers entered the service, they entered it with an understanding, that as long as they continued in that service they were to receive certain portions of pay. What had been done since, therefore, by the Court of Directors, had been done gratuitously and without obligation, though, he confessed, not without being well deserved. It could not, then, be said that the corps had been neglected as far as that Court had it in their power to act. Two or three times an increase had been made in the allowances of the officers, placing them on the same footing with those in corresponding rank in the army. He believed that if the allowances made, were compared with those of his Majesty's naval service, it would be found that the Bombay Marine was any thing but neglected by the Company;—degraded it had never been. To keep themselves from degradation was entirely in the power of the officers themselves, and it was impossible for any class of persons to have more distinguished themselves or supported themselves from the idea of degradation.

With respect to what had been said of the Superintendent, Mr. Money, it was not his intention in the least to detract from the praise of that officer. The hon. Proprietor, who had proposed the motion, had taken upon himself to say that Mr. Money resigned his office in disgust. He (the Chairman) had no means of knowing the motives which induced him to leave his office, but he knew that when he resigned, he went into a very profitable mercantile partnership. He therefore supposed that Mr. Money quitted the service with a view to his own interest, and that disgust at the service had nothing to do with it.

Something had been said on the subject of un-commodoring Commodore Hayes. If he understood any thing of the nature of the naval service, he had no hesitation in saying that the conduct of Lord Amherst might have been spared. With respect to naval rank, the Commodore does not exist on shore, but only where his pennant flies—at sea; and according to the established

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(1) This is the thousand times repeated and thousand times exposed fallacy of saying nothing but praise of the absent and the dead, a rule which, if adhered to in practice, would destroy all history, and put an end for ever to discussion and animadversion, on any subject on which the characters of individuals were concerned. It is marvellous that the absurdity of this fallacy should not prevent its eternal repetition.

rules of society in India, and of the service in general, he thought that it was stepping a great deal beyond that line of prudence and propriety, to have given to the wife of Commodore Hayes that rank and precedence which Lord Amherst did.

He wished to say one word on the subject of the Chinese junks. He would put it to the Court to say whether, under the circumstances stated, it would have been just, upon the principles of naval law, to have imposed the same regulations on the subjects of an empire like that of China, who were totally ignorant of the existence of such regulations, and were employed in their ordinary traffic, to which they had always belonged. But if, in consequence of war, we had put into rigid force those regulations, what would have become at this moment of the Chinese trade? and if there had been any interruption to that, what would have become of the East India Company? (2) He had no wish to detract from the disinterestedness of Commodore Hayes; but if he had not given up the junks in question, he would have been extremely regardless of the interests of this Company, of which he was a servant.

With respect to the promises he had made, he could assure the Court, that they had not only not been broken, but not at all neglected. Farther, and very material progress had been made towards the attainment of the object he had in view; and he was thoroughly convinced that was so likely to impede that progress. As for the subject to be taken into premature discussion, he certainly had expected that some more attention and credit would have been given to a statement coming from the place in which he stood; and he could not say but that he felt something of disrespect shown to himself on the part of those gentlemen who had signed the present requisition. He felt himself therefore called upon to ask of the Proprietors for a declaration of their opinion, that he was entitled to their confidence in the statement he had made; and he begged leave, therefore, notwithstanding the declaration of an hon. Member on a former occasion, that he thought it not decorous for any thing like praise to be moved from that side of the bar, to take the liberty of moving an amendment upon the proposition before the Court, which could not be looked upon as praise, but as justice due to himself in calling for a confirmation of that confidence to which he considered himself entitled, when he made a public statement from the Chair. He therefore moved the following amendment on the original motion:

‘It having been declared from the Chair, that measures are in progress for improving the condition of the Bombay Marine, and for placing it on a footing more consonant to the merits and services of that distinguished corps, this Court is disposed to give confidence to the correctness of the statement thus given from the Chair; and considers it, therefore, both injudicious and inexpedient to force a premature discussion of the subject on this Court, until the details of the proposed plan come regularly before it.’

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN (Hon. Hugh Lindsay) rose to second the amendment. He certainly thought that the gallant Officer, when he heard the statement from the Chair that a measure upon the subject was in contemplation, would have been satisfied to leave it in the hands of the Directors. He gave all due credit to the merits of the Bombay Marine service; he was aware that they had performed their duty in a very able manner. He concurred also with the hon. Proprietor as to the character of Mr. Money; but it was within his own knowledge that that gentleman did not retire from the service with disgust. A gallant Officer had stated, that the Bombay service was not repre-

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(2) This is an admission, on the part of the Chairman, that without the monopoly of the China trade, the East India Company would soon be annihilated. In a commercial point of view, it is undeniable that they could do nothing without this monopoly. It will as undeniably be taken from them at the expiration of their present charter, as they themselves already know. We shall then see how they will support themselves.

seated behind the bar; but he must observe, that the door was as open to officers of that service as to any other Proprietor.

Sir CHARLES FORBES hoped that the gallant Proprietor would withdraw his motion. He gave him all credit for the purity, honour, and disinterestedness of his motives; but he could not help regretting that under the circumstances of the case, the motion had been brought forward. With respect to Mr. Money, he knew it was several months before that gentleman made up his mind to retire; and so far from his retiring in disgust, he deliberated for many months before he made up his mind to do so, and even then did it with great regret. He thought that the conduct of Commodore Hayes in giving up the junks was highly praise-worthy, and the officers in obeying so promptly the orders of that commander, recommended themselves strongly to the consideration of the Proprietors.

Mr. S. DIXON trusted the gallant Officer would follow the suggestion offered by the hon. Proprietor who spoke last, to withdraw his motion. If he did so, he supposed the amendment would fall to the ground as a matter of course.

Dr. GILCHRIST said, that the hon. Proprietor need not suppose that his speech would be the finishing one. His gallant Friend stood before the Court to claim their attention. He could not be taxed with being a growler; for his accounts had been settled with astonishing rapidity. The arguments employed by the hon. Chairman were quite unreasonableness, and equally unseasonable. The Bombay Service had received both insult and degradation. The hon. and learned Gentleman, after being twice called to order for not keeping to the subject of debate, concluded by stating, that the Bombay Marine and the Medical Establishment were the only two interests not represented behind the bar.

Mr. TWining supported the amendment, as he felt it to be an act of justice to the Chairman so to do. Without imputing unfair conduct to the persons who had signed the requisition, he must say, that he was surprised to see the subject pressed on, after the declaration made from the Chair.

Mr. WELING thought it both frivolous and vexatious for the Court to be summoned two or three times for such purposes as the present. He would support the amendment if the language were stronger than it was; and he hoped the Court would not allow the original motion to be withdrawn.

Captain MAXFIELD, in reply, said—The hon. Chairman's unequivocal acknowledgments of the Bombay Marine, and his assertion that the honourable Court are using their utmost efforts to render the Marine efficient in every respect, are sufficiently satisfactory to me, and would operate to induce me to follow the suggestions of the hon. Baronet on the other side the Court, to withdraw the motion for papers, since the object I had in view was nearly accomplished. The high respect and deference I entertain for the hon. Baronet, would at all times induce me to attend to any suggestion of his; but on this occasion there is a difficulty in the way, which it is requisite I should explain ere I can adopt the course suggested. In the observations I have made, which, as far as the knowledge of the hon. Baronet goes, who resided at Bombay, have been most handsomely corroborated by him, I have referred to documents and orders, to be found in the records of this House, in support of such assertions. The hon. Chairman has contented himself by merely contradicting those assertions, although he neither attempted, nor was it in his power, to confute a single position; he, however, moves an amendment, which he is certain of carrying, and rests content to meet stubborn facts, supported by the undeniable evidence of the Company's records, by such a procedure. Under such circumstances, if I was to consent to withdraw my motion for papers, I should be shrinking from the proofs; and it is essentially requisite that I should avoid the possibility of such an imputation; I, therefore, beg to say, that if the papers are produced, they will furnish incontrovertible proof as to who is in error, the Chairman or myself. I have no hesitation in saying, that if they do not fully establish all the assertions I have made as to

neglect, degradation, and persecution of the Marine, I pledge myself never again to raise my voice in this Court. The option, therefore, is with the hon. Chairman. I have moved for evidence; I shrink not from it, I ask it, I court it, I solicit it, and the public will judge between us.

The Chairman adroitly endeavours to avoid much of the powerful evidence I adduce, and to which he cannot oppose a single sentence by adverting to what he terms reflections on the late Superintendent of Marine. Now, I distinctly in the outset declared, I should not offer any comments on the conduct of that officer, but I could not intend to be weak enough to refrain from adducing facts in proof of his conduct. The hon. Chairman knows those facts are undeniable, and he must be aware they are to be found in the records. I am not answerable for the orders or conduct of the Superintendent; they are powerful proofs of his conduct, and I have an undoubted right to adduce them, and I think it were sufficient that I did not comment upon them. The hon. Baronet (Sir Charles Forbes) has stated, that from his intimate acquaintance with Mr. Money, he begs to assure me, that gentleman did not resign in disgust, but that he had recourse to such a measure to promote his own advantage. The hon. Baronet is no doubt better acquainted with his motives than I could be, and I am therefore thankful for being put right in that instance. I was induced to believe Mr. Money had resigned in disgust, because I was aware that the Court of Directors had twice sent out some orders about that time, which were very unsatisfactory to him; at the same time it is easy to conceive, that Mr. Money might not be readily induced to resign in disgust a situation yielding between 5000*l.* and 6000*l.* per annum, although the Court of Directors might determine the corps entrusted to his charge should not be rendered efficient, and when the executive authority were satisfied with a branch of their service in such a state, it is too much to expect that any individual, however public-spirited, should resign a lucrative office merely on that score.

The hon. Chairman states, that Commodore Hayes, in ordering the release of the junks, performed a duty he owed the Company, and acknowledges that he probably thereby saved the Company from destruction, and the consequences attendant on the ruin of their trade at China. I ask, was the treatment I have described the Marine as having sustained, likely to inspire such devotion; and have the Court ever acknowledged such service rendered by Commodore Hayes? The Commodore, in issuing such order, extended his authority. He was not warranted in compelling these officers to release the junks; they did so out of respect and esteem for the man, and not from a belief they were bound to do so. The orders of Council, which were paramount to the orders of the Commodore and the commercial interest of this Company, were imperative; and if those junks had been sent into any of the Admiralty courts, they would have been condemned. Yet, after such acknowledgment of the hon. Chairman, as to the Commodore's disinterestedness and devotion in making such sacrifice, he in the same breath tells us, that he voted in this Court to deprive that Commodore of his rank, and to reduce him to the rank only of Captain. The hon. Chairman and the Court of Directors did so in order to prevent Lord Amherst from again handing the wife of this old meritorious officer before any of the ladies of the Civil Service; and as an apology for doing so, he says he cannot conceive how the Commodore could be properly so designated on shore, and that all Commodores in the navy are only so for the time being when afloat. Then, again, the hon. Chairman evinces how little he knows of the Bombay Marine, as, by the Court orders and regulations, the Marine Commodore at Bombay is seldom or ever afloat, and yet he has a commission given him as Commodore with a position, rank, and pay; and, I believe, neither Commodore Beatty, Commodore Mainwaring, or Commodore Hakes, ever served afloat since they were promoted to that rank; while of all the officers of the Bombay Marine, no one, young or old, ever served so much afloat in every rank as Commodore Hayes, who served for years afloat in this capacity, and has three different commissions conferring on him the rank of Commodore. But the hon. Chairman also forgot, or perhaps never knew, that when the Court of Directors conferred upon him the appointment he now

holds, it was in reward of his gallantry; and on the records of this House it will be found it was conferred without prejudice to his rank, or standing in the Marine.

The hon. Chairman has expressed his belief that bringing the present subject of discussion forward was premature; but this must be measured by comparison, and if it is premature to bring forward the defects of a corps which have operated unnoticed and unremedied for twenty-five years, I am at a loss to guess what might be deemed a mature period for so doing. It, however, reminds me of a similar expression in a letter I once received from the Marine Board at Calcutta. The master of the ship I commanded died suddenly on shore, and some of my friends ordered his funeral. In the course of submitting the ship's accounts, the Board made me pay the expenses of the funeral, and deducted it from my pay, informing me that the ordering the funeral of the master was premature, and that I ought first to have communicated with the Board. It is unnecessary to say, that Bengal is not a place in which a corpse could be kept during such a correspondence; but I determined, if it ever happened again, to send the defunct body to the Marine Board, for the exercise of their judgment and discretion.

The hon. Chairman has expressed his concern that confidence should not have been reposed in the sincerity of his efforts to improve the Marine, and which, he had stated, he was actually engaged in doing. In reply to that, I beg unequivocally to state my entire confidence and belief in the sincerity of his efforts, as well as of those of his Deputy; but I am aware, that the Chairs go out in rotation, and that he will shortly quit that seat. I have also heard that the Marine was to be improved for the last twenty-five years, and I have been close watching the progress of such work for the last four years. In 1823-4, when there was one of the most able and distinguished Members in that Chair, a strenuous effort was made with every chance of success; the object was nearly attained, but that distinguished Chairman went out by rotation, and the Marine, by the same rotary effort, which has operated for the last twenty-eight years, still remains unimproved until time and opportunity shall offer.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that if the papers called for were produced, it would occasion a delay of more than three years longer, before the Bombay Marine could get any redress.

On the original motion being put from the Chair, only five hands were held up for it. It was negatived by a large majority.

Colonel STANHOPE moved that the amendment should finish with the word 'Court'; and that the latter part, beginning with 'considers it both injudicious and inexpedient,' should be omitted.

The CHAIRMAN thought that the motion of the gallant Officer could not be entertained.

Mr. WIGRAM thought that it could; for the Court had only decided that the original motion should be rejected.

Mr. S. DIXON wished the word 'injudicious' to be omitted.

Sir, C. FORBES hoped the Chairman would be satisfied with rejecting the original motion. The amendment seemed rather to carry the censure too far.

The CHAIRMAN observed that he would abide by his original motion, when he saw that requisitions were continually being signed by a set of gentlemen, whose names only varied in the order in which they were put down in the requisition. He did not wish to act in opposition to the desire of the Court, but he considered these motions to be equally inexpedient and inconvenient, and he was determined to regulate his future conduct by the result of his amendment. He put the question in that point of view, in order that, as he was about to quit the Direction by rotation, those gentlemen might exert all their efforts to prevent him from being re-elected. He would not give up an atom of what was due to his own character and credit, or to the character and credit of those

who were associated with him. He really thought it was necessary to put a stop to these interminable discussions, which tended to no good, (3) but merely to gratify some gentlemen who wished to make speeches.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN hoped the Chairman would persevere in pressing forward his amendment, for the reasons he had just stated.

Mr. PATTISON thought that the English language could not supply words of more mitigated censure, than those employed in the amendment. It was necessary to check motions of the description brought forward to-day, after the clear and explicit declaration which had been made from the Chair. There seemed to him to be a perverse determination of design in bringing forward that motion, when the discussion was so highly inexpedient. (4) He knew that both the Chairman and Deputy Chairman had bestowed their attention on the subject; and the hon. Chairman had merited the approbation of his colleagues, as he had commanded the applause of the whole body of Proprietors. Better it would be, if these practices were allowed to continue, to break up the Company at once, and let every man attend to his own private business. (5)

Sir CHARLES FORBES remarked that the Court was entering upon a question of great importance—it was no less than this, whether the privileges of the body of the Proprietary should be retained? (*Hear, hear.*) It was impossible, by the existing law, to prevent any nine Gentlemen from bringing before the Court any question, the discussion of which they thought might produce benefit to the Company. If the motion was to be pressed, in order to deter the Gentlemen who had called that Court from calling another, he apprehended, from what he had seen of human nature, that this attempt, so far from succeeding, would only redouble their exertions. (*Hear, hear.*) He regretted that the motion had been brought forward at all; and if he had known beforehand what had previously taken place, he would have recommended the gallant Officer, (Captain Maxfield,) to whom he gave all credit for his good intentions, to have withdrawn the motion. As it was, he entreated the Court not to push their angry feelings further. The conduct of the Court of Directors had been approved. The Chairman had received all the praise he was justly entitled to, and he (Sir Charles Forbes) thought, therefore, they might consent to leave out one single word, which, mild as it was, would be better

(3) This is the old fallacy of "begging the question." How can the Chairman possess so much more wisdom than all other men, as to determine at once, before even discussions are entered on, that their frequent occurrence or repetition can do no good? The truth is, that "good" and "evil" are terms on which the opposing parties are at issue. All discussion is a "good" with one, and an "evil" with the other. Who then can decide the question?

(4) The old fallacy of "begging the question" repeated.

(5) No doubt these discussions are very troublesome, because it is disagreeable for all men in power to be called to account; but if the affairs of the nation (which one would think to be quite as important and intricate as those of the East India Company,) can go on, and even benefit, under a Parliament sitting, for half the year, nearly every day; why should the affairs of the Company be deranged by a discussion once a month? What a burlesque on Government it would be if Lord Liverpool or Mr. Canning were to tell the Lords and Commons of England, that the Government of the country had better be broken up at once, than troubled with their interminable discussions!—And yet, what is the difference between the affairs of the State and the Company; but that the latter is infinitely inferior in interest and importance to the former? If the King's Ministers, therefore, can carry on their duties by day, and meet the representatives of the people almost every night; what a satire is it on the incapacity of the Directors to say, that they are unable to perform their duties, if they are called upon to meet their constituents, the Proprietors, once a month?



omitted; the motion would have more effect in accomplishing the object in view, so amended, than if they carried it to extremities. For his own part, he had no objection to double the number of Proprietors necessary to call a General Court, or even to raise it to twenty-five. (6)

The CHAIRMAN stated, that the number of Proprietors necessary to call a meeting, was fixed by the Charter.

Colonel STANHOPE said, that for the last half-hour neither the Chairman, the hon. Director (Mr. Pattison), nor his hon. Friend (Sir Charles Forbes,) had said a word to the question. He must, therefore, call them all, even the Chairman, to order. (*A laugh.*)

Captain MAXFIELD said, I am really sorry that the time of the Court has been occupied in endeavouring to qualify the terms of the amendment; I am quite indifferent as to the terms; I care little if it was made ten times stronger, or ten times weaker. Such amendments, unsupported by evidence, or even the shadow of argument, rather tell against the Court than for it. I leave the merits of the case to the public; and rely upon it, if the Directors were content to do the same, they would produce the papers instead of withholding them. The hon. Chairman has, I think, rather indiscreetly disclosed more than he intended, and I thank him for it; he has clearly evinced, that the words 'injudicious' and 'inexpedient' in his amendment, are to mark his aversion to General Courts, and to those who often call them. Whether such expression of his dissatisfaction is likely to render them less frequent, remains to be seen; while his freedom in even hinting such a dislike to his constituents, implies a disregard for the law as it now stands. If, therefore, the Court of Directors conceive the meeting their constituents occasionally in Court, to be irksome and unnecessary, they had better apply to Parliament to deprive us, the Proprietors, of the right of calling such Courts, and secure their own authority in perpetuity, without even the shadow or countenance of a Court of Proprietors. Until the act, however, which confers the right is repealed, I beg to assure the hon. Chairman I shall continue to exercise it, and I trust others will be found equally determined to resist all attempts to frustrate it. Had the hon. Chairman made such observations in a case where a Court had been called, and the movers had failed in making out a case at all, even then the policy or "expediency," to use his own words, of such remarks, would be very doubtful; but, in the present instance, where as strong a case as ever was brought before this Court has been made out completely, and remains unanswered and unanswerable, I think such remarks are as impotent as they are both 'injudicious' and 'inexpedient.'

Mr. S. DIXON again advised, that the word he had pointed out should be omitted. He found his suggestion was not attended to, and he feared that it was because he had got into a bad neighbourhood. (*A laugh.*) (The hon. Proprietor was sitting next to Captain Maxfield.)

Dr. GILCHRIST asked where these attacks were to end? One of the

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(6) The observations made in the previous note apply equally here. It would, however, we conceive, be a great improvement on the present system if the General Courts were monthly instead of quarterly; and then the necessity for calling Special Courts in the interval would be greatly obviated. The facility of calling them ought, however, to be rather increased than lessened; though the very fact of being unable to get nine persons to sign a requisition to call a Court on any given subject, must be taken as a proof of the great indifference of the Proprietors generally to such subjects; and, consequently, leave little or no hope of success in bringing it forward. A regulation or bye-law, to restrict all speakers at such Courts to a limited time, (half an hour at farthest,) for each speech, would also be a great improvement. It would teach speakers the art of condensation and arrangement, and give their speeches a chance of being fully reported and attentively read, neither of which, when they are extremely long, is likely to happen.

Directors had called the signers of the resolution a set of people. But what as well have called them a set of grown. (A laugh.) Another hon. Gentleman said, he had got into a bad neighbourhood. (Laughter.) But adversaries were themselves quite wrong, if they reckoned upon putting them down in that way. The more they were opposed, the more they would fight for victory.

The CHAIRMAN then put the amendment for cutting off the better half of the question before the Court. It was negatived by a great majority, only six hands being held up for it.

The amendment moved by the Chairman was then agreed to.

#### PATRONAGE OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Colonel STANHOPE gave notice of his intention, at the next General Court, to move for returns of all the writerships, cadetships, surgeons' appointments, nautical appointments, and all other patronage in the gift of the Court of Directors, during the years since 1820 to 1826, both inclusive.

Mr. POWNER wished to move at once for the production of the statement of Mr. Huddleston, to which he alluded before the business of the day had commenced.

The CHAIRMAN said, the motion would be irregular. He could only receive notice of the motion. The hon. Proprietor might attain his object by moving to have the paper read at the next Quarterly Court.

Colonel STANHOPE trusted the same concession would be extended to him, though he sat on the other side of the House. (A laugh.) All the returns he wanted might be stated on one sheet of paper.

Mr. WIGRAM said, it was impossible to know what was meant to be included in the return of the gallant Colonel, when he used the words, 'all other patronage.'

Colonel STANHOPE.—The difficulty of the hon. Director arises, I suppose, from the patronage being so vast, that he knows not to what extent it reaches. (A laugh.)

Dr. GILCHRIST gave notice of a motion for returns of the actual attendance in the Court of Directors, of all those gentlemen who are now on the list of candidates for re-election on the 15th of April, stating their respective ability, in regard to bodily health, to discharge their duties with private credit and public advantage. (A general laugh interrupted the reading of this notice.) The learned Proprietor was about to justify the terms he had used, when he was called to order by

The CHAIRMAN said the notice might be read, but he could allow no speech then.

We understand the learned Proprietor afterwards consented to exchange the latter part of the notice, relative to the bodily health of the Ex-Directors.

The Court then adjourned.

Wednesday, 21st March.

THE minutes of the last Court having been read,

The CHAIRMAN stated, that a variety of notices of motions had been made, and such as would occupy a great deal of the time and attention of the Court. He should, therefore, for the sake of general convenience, take the liberty of requesting those gentlemen who had brought forward the motions, to confine themselves strictly to the subjects of them, in order to afford a prospect of getting through the business in the course of the day. The first motion on the list was that of a gallant Officer, Captain Maxfield, respecting the sinking of the Company's accounts.

Mr. GANAGHAN wished to make a suggestion to the Committee of bye-laws, respecting the qualifications of candidates for the Directorship; but on account of its irregularity he deferred his intention.

Captain MAXFIELD stated, that owing to the mistake of his servant, who had put the wrong papers into his carriage, instead of the right ones, he was not prepared to bring forward his motion at the present time.

#### THE PRESS IN INDIA.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that the next motion was that of Colonel Stanhope respecting the Press in India.

Colonel STANHOPE rose once more to advocate the cause of a Free Press for the Natives of India, and to call upon the Court of Directors not to dishonour the character of Britain by placing bonds upon the Natives of British India, exceeding those which existed in France or Italy under the most frightful influence of the Inquisition. The Court of Directors had, in the year 1813, declared its determination to promote the intellectual, the moral, and the religious improvement of the Natives of Hindoostan, and he now called upon them not to counteract that wise decree by the establishment of a censorship on the Press. With respect to the history of the Press in India, he would sum it up in a few words. The Court was aware that the Hindoos and Chinese contended for the honour of the invention of the Press, but it was first brought into use in Asia by the Portuguese, who sent some presses to India, and thus it was that the press was first put into activity there. Under the Native Princes there were no regular restrictions on the liberty of writing freely. Every thing depended upon the character of the prince. If he were a bad prince then absolute restrictions were imposed upon this liberty; but if, on the other hand, he was a good and mild prince, then freedom was enjoyed even to licentiousness; and it was observed by the historian of Hindoostan, that, however surprising it might appear, it was no less certain that the philosophers of the East wrote with greater freedom concerning persons and things than writers have ever dared to do in the West. Under the British Government no restrictions existed on the Press in India up to the year 1798. The Press was under the same regulations in India as in England; but the Governor-General possessed the power of taking away the license of any individual to reside in India, and of preventing him from remaining in the country. The Press itself, however, was in all respects under the same regulations as it was in England. Many persons had been tried and convicted of publishing libels under the administrations of Warren Hastings, the Marquis of Cornwallis, and the Marquis Wellesley, the latter of whom established the censorship of the Press. The regulations he formed had never been registered in the Supreme Court of Justice, but the Governor-General having the power to banish whom he pleased, had, in fact, no necessity to pass these regulations through the Court. The censorship established by Lord Wellesley was abolished, in 1818, by the Marquis of Hastings. That censorship was imposed, it had been stated, because, though the Governor-General had the power to banish Europeans, he possessed no power to banish Natives. But was the mighty engine of the Press to be done away with on account of that paltry consideration? The restrictions which the Marquis of Wellesley imposed, having never been registered, were binding only through the power which the Governor-General possessed of banishing any individual whom he thought fit, by taking away his license to reside in India. That power remained a dead letter during the administration of Lord Hastings, the result of which was that the Press was perfectly free. A proof of this was the number of Native newspapers that started up; and another proof was the fact, that Mr. Buckingham had been brought into Court for a libel on the six Secretaries; and he thought that they had behaved quite right in instituting a legal proceeding if they considered themselves aggrieved. Mr. Buckingham was, however, fully acquitted by the jury before which the case was tried. Under Mr. Adam's administration, Mr. Buckingham was banished from India, and the licensing system was established. The regulation giving this power of licensing at

pleasure every press in Bengal, had been registered by the Supreme Court of that Presidency. At Madras, however, even during the administration of Lord Hastings, the censorship still prevailed, because it was agreeable to the existing Government of that Presidency; but at Bombay there were no restrictions placed upon it. At Bombay, the Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, had the merit of introducing a regulation which compelled the proprietors and editors of newspapers to register their names as in England. This was at first much disapproved by the Government of Bombay, but was at length yielded to by them and passed in the Court, and he must do the Directors the justice to say that they perfectly acquiesced in that measure. (1) They even went farther, and it was doubtful whether they were right in doing so, namely, to prevent any servant of the Company possessing any property in a newspaper. On the 10th of July 1836, the Supreme Court of Bombay were called upon to register the Press Regulations which existed at Calcutta. This they refused to do. The two principal Judges pronounced the proceeding to be both illegal and inexpedient, and even the third Judge thought the supposed danger of the freedom of the Press in India greatly overrated. He would take the liberty of reading one or two extracts from their judgments, giving their opinions on this subject. (The hon. Proprietor here read the opinions of the Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, of Mr. Justice Rice, and Mr. Justice Chambers, on the subject, which are given at length in the 'Oriental Herald,' for February 1837.)

He should now pass on to another subject, and call the attention of the Court to the state of the Press in India previous to the establishment of a censorship. Under a free press, as it existed in Bengal, it was necessary for a person desirous to go to India, first to obtain a license, which it was extremely difficult to get, because the spirit of a narrow Government was opposed to Colonization. Secondly, in order to set up a newspaper, he must have a capital of 6000*l.*, 8000*l.* or 10,000*l.* Thirdly, any editor, who opened his journal for general information was frowned upon by the Government, and consequently could never expect to obtain any place of emolument. Fourthly, he was subject to all the laws, with respect to the press, which are in force in this country, and after a second conviction, he was liable to banishment by the six acts. Fifthly, his license to remain in India might, at any time, be withdrawn and the person banished, which was worse than the Star Chamber proceeding of putting a man on his defence, without first knowing of what he was accused. Such were the shackles which were imposed on what was called a free press; and he would ask any person, whether they were not sufficient, without the addition of further restrictions. He would now endeavour to state a few of the strongest arguments generally urged against a free press in India. The first argument was because its Government was most despotic. But he would ask those who argued in that way, whether they meant to say that India was to be deprived of all the advantages of Native government, and have none of the benefits of British rule in return? They surely could not mean that; but he would let the Court see what was the state of the case, by reading a short but powerful passage, from a memorial which he had forwarded to Mr. Wynn, to be presented to his Majesty, and which was signed by the solitary, but well-known name of Ram Mohun Roy. It stated that

(1) This must, we apprehend, be an error of the gallant Colonel: for, had they acquiesced in the measure of Sir Edward West, which placed the Press in Bombay on the footing of the Press in England; they would never have sent out, as they did, orders to introduce the Bengal licensing system at Bombay also, as this would have destroyed the former, and, happily, still existing regulations. Their intention to enslave the Bombay Press, as Mr. Adam had done that of Bengal, was nobly defeated by the two Judges, Sir Edward West and Sir Charles Chambers, refusing to carry the proposed regulations into effect by registering them in the Supreme Court; there; so that it is no merit to the Directors that the whole Press of India is not equally enslaved.

the Hindoos, under their Native Government, enjoyed every political advantage, being eligible to the high offices of governors of provinces, counsellors of state, and generals of forces, as well as to numerous other situations of emolument; but of all these advantages, the Natives under British rule, had been deprived. The memorial then mentioned other disadvantages, among which was the putting down of the Native aristocracy. The system of the Company had been a levelling, a Jacobin system, which was condemned in others. The land-tax too, the great evil of this country, was higher than under the Native Government. One third of the produce of the land went to the landlords as rent; one third was the portion of the governors; and one third went to the Government as a tax. The principle of the East India Company, however, was to take whatever they could get, and they took half of the produce of the soil as a land tax. The memorial also complained of the religious superstitions in India—a system which could only be broken up by the press, as it had been put down in Europe. The superstition of the people was so gross that they made a practice of sacrificing children and burning widows. It might be calculated that two women were burned every day, and that those horrid fires were never extinct, but were kept up as if in order to make our Government despised by the whole world. The memorial next complained of the expenses and delays in the administration of our law, contrasted with that of the Native Government. With respect to the right of petitioning, the Natives were totally deprived of it, for their petitions were generally thrown by, or given to the very persons who were accused.

British India afforded the singular spectacle of a great empire depriving its subjects of every benefit. He would ask any person, if this was not a state of things calculated to bring the Government of England into hatred and contempt among the Natives? Many things were said to be inconsistent with despotism, which, when examined, would be found to be the contrary. The great principles of equality prevailed all over Asia. The principle of hereditary nobility was not allowed in Turkey, although it prevailed in one of the freest countries in the world. The power of petitioning, one of the greatest rights of the subject, prevailed to a great extent in Hindoostan. The Natives were allowed to present their petitions to the Emperor in person, who read them and redressed the grievances complained of on the spot. With respect to the education of the people, that which was considered the greatest principle of liberty, every person who had been at Madras could prove that the systems of Bell and Lancaster were drawn from India; and it was a fact, notorious in history, that the whole population of China could read and write.

It was stated, however, that free discussion was incompatible with despotism. Did not free discussion prevail under the Roman despots? Did not Tacitus write under a mild despotism, and under which half the people were said to be slaves? Had not the Court heard of Frederick of Prussia, and did they not know that Voltaire and all the great wits of the day wrote under the very nose of Frederick the Great, and published at Berlin what they dared not have published at Paris? There existed also a free spirit of discussion even in the journals of Berlin, and Frederick was decidedly in favour of it. Was there anything like a licensing system in the slave islands of Great Britain? In Hindoostan there existed no restrictions on the press under a good Government. Hume observes, that the liberty of the press was attended with so many advantages, and so few disadvantages, that it might be allowed in every country, and under every government, except an ecclesiastical one; but this objection did not apply to India. Even the English 'John Bull,' dated January 18, 1822, states that, however paradoxical it might appear, they would have no hesitation in saying that an unshackled press was more compatible with a despotic government, than with a government framed on the most popular principles, and that from the means which the government had always in their hands of silencing the press when it pleased. In Italy, under the Inquisition, it was not found necessary to license the press. Were not Machiavelli, and the other great wits who followed him, in the constant habit of the publishing their strong observations on law, government, religion,

and every thing connected with the press? And were we to be told after this of the dangers of the press? The idea of danger from free discussion prevailed in England, as House informs us; and according to the author of the 'Rights of Juries,' it had been suggested that all political works should be examined by the Secretary of State, and that all other books, such as treatises of philosophy and mathematics, novels and romances, and books of love, should be examined by the Archbishop of Canterbury! Even so late as the reign of George II. such was the danger apprehended from a free press at that time, that a censorship was about to be established in this country, and owing to the exertions of Thomson in his 'Aurea Politica,' and of Lord Chesterfield, that restriction was prevented from being imposed. Ever since the Revolution, there had been complaints made of treason and blasphemy, yet the Government had not been brought into hatred and contempt, and the press still remained free. In the time of Warren Hastings, when he was surrounded by dangers, when several months' pay was due to his soldiers, and when he was outvoted and deposed by Council, and even called out to be shot at by one of its members, and when in England, Burke, Sheridan, and Fox were exerting all their eloquence against him, their speeches being published and spread through India by means of the English newspapers, surely if there was a period so dangerous as to make the press to be feared, this was that period. But the Court might learn from the letter of Mr. Dowdswell, one of the most distinguished servants of the Company, that the freedom of the press prevailed even to licentiousness in India at the time of Warren Hastings. In the time of Mr. Adam, however, the licensing system was established. He, on the plan of a Turkish Bashaw, never held any communication with the Natives; and the banishment of Mr. Buckingham was the first act that distinguished his Bashawship. Let the Court look to the disastrous consequences of the licensing system under the next administration. Let them look to the mutiny at Barrackpore, and the war carried on in the unwholesome swamps of Arracan, which had added 20,000,000*l.* to the national debt of England. All the dangers, anticipated under a free press, had actually prevailed under a censorship.

The next argument against a free press was its licentiousness, and by that causing the Government to be brought into hatred and contempt. What were the Opposition and Ministerial Journals doing, but accusing and defending the Government on the charge of licentiousness? and yet the result was, that it *prevented* the Government from being brought into hatred and contempt. The 'Madras Gazette' had been allowed to accuse Lord Hastings. At Calcutta, the 'John Bull' had been convicted of libels on Mr. Buckingham, which the Judge characterized as too horrible to be thought of; at Bombay, the Judges had complained of the misrepresentation of the proceedings of their Court. But the way to come to a great result was to look to the condition of those countries, where a censorship prevails, and contrast it with the state of those countries where the press is free. France, South America, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, were countries where the press was shackled; while America, England, and Switzerland, were the only countries that had withstood those shackles on the press. Hurricanes had blown upon them from all sides, but they continued unmoved. Let the Court look to the history of Asia, Persia, Turkey, and Hindoostan, and they would find those countries had been exposed to perpetual dangers. That great philosopher, Sismondi, says that England is guilty of the inconsistency of promoting liberty in every part of the world excepting in her own colonies. There were many other admirable passages in his writings on this subject, but he would not take up the time of the Court in reading them. He should therefore conclude by moving:

'That as the King of England's most upright and learned Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, and his Majesty's Judges, Sir Ralph Rice and Sir Charles Chambers, have declared in open court at Bombay, that the licensing of the press at that settlement is unlawful and inexpedient, and have therefore refused to register the Calcutta Regulations; and as no censor existed during

the rule of Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, or Sir John Shore; and as the Marquis of Hastings, after having beat down the Mahratta Confederacy, did, on his triumphal entry into the metropolis, sacrifice the upstart monster, and set the public mind at liberty; and as Mr. Canning, when President of the Board of Control, prevented shackles from being again fastened on the press, and was thanked by this Court for his wise administration; and as no legal restraints on writing, under either Native or European Governments, were ever, till of late, enacted, except under the frightful Inquisition at Goa, this Court doth implore the Court of Directors not to extend this base monopoly over the mind, this curse, to Bombay. By enthroning the licenser in that Presidency, they would make Great Britain guilty of the inconsistency of depriving 100,000,000 of her own subjects of a blessing, which she has promoted in Portugal and in South America!

Captain MAXFIELD rose to second the motion, and in doing so, he should endeavour to confine himself to facts. He knew there was great inconvenience felt from the state of the press when he left India. The Government did not act the dignified part of standing aloof and looking on the workings of the press, but meddled with its conductors. What great Government would condescend to make itself a party against individuals? And with respect to the conduct pursued towards Mr. Buckingham, he knew that persons who were before indifferent about that individual, had since become disposed to admire the character of his writings generally. A great deal of valuable information might be given to the Government through the means of Journals, of which they were now deprived.

Some few individuals who felt that their proceedings were liable to animadversion, and who dreaded it, raised a clamour and induced the Government to discourage, as much as possible, the ablest, the most valuable, and the only impartial paper in Bengal, which was Mr. Buckingham's '*Calcutta Journal*.' Some of the public officers became the proprietors of papers, openly opposed to this journal, which was incessantly attacked; and there was no question that many persons who were employed in that way, had duties most important to perform, which may have been thus neglected to aid in such *lawdable and dignified* warfare. What was the result? why, the puny and impotent efforts of such numerous and influential assailants were easily and readily defeated by the simple and able expositions of the '*Calcutta Journal*.' Such defeat only increased the evil, and the worst passions of our nature were then let loose. Suspicion commenced her detestable operations; to *read* the '*Calcutta Journal*' was objectionable; to *take it in* was an offence to the Government; to *write for it* was little short of treason; and to *publish any thing whatever* in it was a gross and serious offence. Under these circumstances, many persons, perfectly innocent of any of those offences, suffered, merely from suspicion, and failed in obtaining situations which they would otherwise have had, from such causes, while others attempted to ingratiate themselves with certain persons, by furiously assailing the '*Calcutta Journal*,' its Editor, Mr. Buckingham, and even his family, although it was evident, in many instances, that some of those assailants were writing in direct opposition to their former opinions. He (Captain Maxfield) was himself informed by a friend that he was suspected of writing for the '*Calcutta Journal*,' and pointed out the consequences. But he would say most solemnly, that up to that very moment he had written in *defence* of the Government, and of every thing connected with its character and credit; and it was most remarkable, that Mr. Buckingham had, in the '*Calcutta Journal*,' at that very moment, copied some of the most flattering passages from his (Captain Maxfield's) letter, in the '*Hurkaru*,' in which the benefits derived from British sway had been fully and forcibly expressed.

The Marine Surveyor-General, Captain Ross, had just learnt that a ship had been nearly lost on a shoal, surveyed by him, in the Chium sea, from the commander having been ignorant of the existence of such shoal. To prevent the recurrence of such an accident, Captain Ross felt desirous, and it was his duty, to give the utmost publicity to the situation of such danger, and direc-

mons how to avoid it; and, as the 'Calcutta Journal' had ten times the circulation of any other paper, it was no doubt the proper channel for communicating it to the public. He sent it to the Editor, and it was published; for which Captain Ross received a severe reprimand from Government, through the Chief Secretary, who told him it being the wish of Government to discourage the 'Calcutta Journal,' they were surprised and offended at his conduct. Captain Ross expressed his regret and contrition; but that did not prevent his being severely reprimanded.

It had been urged by those who wished to stifle the press and prevent any thing transpiring which was not first coloured to meet the views and wishes of every self-elected despot, that if publicity were allowed, it would produce an unfavourable effect on the opinions of the Natives of India. To support such assertion, it should be first shown that they could all read, which will not be even pretended; and, it should then be shown that they, at present, entertain opinions most favourable to our Government. Now, those who can, or those who would read, are those only employed by the Government itself, whose interests are so closely identified with the stability of the British power, that so far from danger being apprehended from it, we may reasonably conclude it would add to our strength and security. No man who has had much intercourse with the Natives of India, not immediately in the Company's service, or closely linked to its prosperity, can believe them very generally attached to the Government, or that their opinions would change for the worse, even if they could read. Those who could and did read would see and comprehend that publicity offered a powerful security against oppression; and the most ignorant would be able, at least, to understand that. The publications which would, under a liberal press be permitted, would afford Government, as well as individuals, much useful information; but, when the restrictions on the press are such as to degrade, and render it only a vehicle for flattery, falsehood, and paltry advertisements, the descriptions afforded in such journals may mislead and delude, but will seldom afford that information which can either aid the exigency of the state, or promote the prosperity of the country.

It had been said in this Court that the Indian Government wanted no information, that they always had sufficient. If so, the blunders they have occasionally made in India have been most unpardonable. He (Captain Maxfield) remembered when the Government ordered the island of Perim, at the entrance of the Red Sea, to be taken possession of, when the French were in Egypt, believing that such island would command the passage into that sea; nor did they discover their error, until they had cut a road up to the highest part of the island, through the solid rock, preparatory to the erection of a fort, when they found out that it would not command the passage! The island was a sterile rock, which had not even a drop of fresh water on it; and yet, at an enormous labour and expense, tanks were excavated in this solid rock, and ships were employed in bringing water to fill them from the coast of Arabia! The expense was enormous, the loss of lives was considerable, and the most ordinary information which might have been readily obtained, if the press were free, would have prevented such waste of the public means. For want of proper information, the disturbances which happened at Bareilly and at Benares, took the Government by surprise; and that they did not prove more fatal, was only to be attributed to the fidelity and devotion of a handful of Native troops; it was too much, however, to reckon on the same good luck on every occasion; and it would be better to know the evil in time to provide against it, than to leave it to such an hazard. It is well known that those occurrences were varnished over; but if those troops had been defeated, there was no saying what might not have been the consequences.

It is said, however, that while the Press afforded information it might also detail many most unpalatable truths. It might, indeed, and so it ought, and in so doing it offered the best, the strongest, and the most effectual security against misrule. In looking at the Native Courts, and their composition, and giving the Judges due credit for the utmost honour, integrity, and



feeling, it was not of itself sufficient to secure those benefits which publicity alone could effect, surrounded as they are by the Native officers of the court, whose corrupt and profligate habits are too notorious to be denied. No man could entertain more respect and esteem than he (Captain Maxfield) did for many of the members of the Civil Service, who were generally distinguished, no less by talents and ability, than for a high sense of honour and disinterestedness; but no elevation of rank or presumed high character, should be urged as a reason for secrecy, where publicity would prove no less creditable to the virtuous, than operate as a check to the vicious.

Much valuable information might be obtained by the Government, as regarded the revenue, through the medium of the Press, and the extent to which smuggling prevailed. But it was only through such channel that the Directors in England could ever be able to obtain that constant supply of information which applied to different times and circumstances; in a word, the Government were no less interested than the public, in the question, and it only appeared singular that the Directors should reject means, which offer more than an adequate compensation for all the trifling objections which may be made against them.

There was another reason, why he thought the freedom of the press ought to be instituted in India. There were a great number of gentlemen, who went out annually to India in the capacity of free mariners. These gentlemen often went a long way into the interior, doing not much good either to the British Government or to themselves, but doing much serious mischief to the Native Indians. Great numbers of them were armed with no official power whatever—but that made no difference—for the Natives could not discriminate between those who bore the Company's authority and those who did not. Besides, these individuals, relying on their character as Europeans, often committed gross acts of outrage on individuals, which were regularly set down by the Natives as acts of the Government. Would the Court believe it? One of these gentry had absolutely held a Court, and, by his own authority, had decided controversies among the Natives. Another of them, who was by trade a sutler to ships, had given public notice at one place with which he was acquainted, that he had obtained, from the supreme Government, a monopoly of bullocks. He (Captain Maxfield) knew that this was not the case, but the Natives were not quite so wise as he was—(a laugh)—and, what was more, they did not know how to obtain redress when they were aggrieved. At this very place of which he was speaking, when any ships wanted bullocks the sutler bought the bullocks of the Natives, and then sold them, at his own price, to the ship captains. The mischief of such a system would never have continued, for any length of time, had a Free Press in India been permitted to expose it.

The gallant Captain then proceeded to point out other gross absurdities, which prevailed in different parts of India, and which he contended would long since have been got rid of, had the press been allowed to bring them under the consideration of those in authority. One of these was, that no petition could be presented to any of the Courts of the Company in India, without its being written upon stamped paper. On one occasion a gentleman, with whom he had become acquainted in the course of business, told him that he was going to petition one of the Courts on behalf of a poor Hindoo for some stamped paper, which the man was too poor to buy to write a petition on. He thought that this could not be the fact, and that the gentleman was only mentioning it as a slur upon the Government; but upon further inquiry, he found it to be the case, and that no man was allowed to petition the Courts in India, without first being compelled to pay for the privilege.

But though he thought all that could be adduced in favour of a Free Press in India would prove insufficient to obtain that boon for the population of that vast empire, which would contribute so largely to promote their happiness; yet he hoped it was not too much for him to ask, or too much for the Directors to concede, to permit the papers in India to publish the period of commence-

ment, and the termination of suits, in all or any of the Zillah or Native Courts, with the decision or sentence of such court, and to allow reporters to be present in the courts for such purpose. Such permission, against which no reasonable objection could, he imagined, be urged, would do more towards benefiting the suitors in the Native courts, than all the orders promulgated respecting them for the last ten years. Sincerely believing the Hon. Court to be actuated by an earnest and ardent wish to promote the security, happiness, and prosperity of the millions entrusted to their sway, he hoped that the feeble, although incessant efforts of those who laboured to aid them in so doing, would not be misinterpreted, when, he added, that it was no less consistent with the dignity, than with the parental solicitude of a great Government, that the Press should be regulated at the different Presidencies of India by some general rules; and that those rules should leave it as free, as is compatible with British law, and the true interests of the state.

Mr. S. DIXON complained of the uncourteous manner in which the Chairman had behaved towards him. As soon as he had got up to speak, the Chairman had turned up his eyes, and shrugged up his shoulders, as if he could foresee that what he was going to say was unworthy of notice. He was now a very old member of the Court of Proprietors; and he was not conscious of having done any thing whereby he had forfeited his claim to its respect.

Dr. GILCHRIST said, that he was waiting to see whether any gentleman would rise to answer the arguments employed by his gallant Friend, Colonel Stanhope. If any gentleman was inclined to do so, he would willingly sit down, and then, when the gentleman had finished, would rise to reply to him. [The Doctor here sat down. After a pause of a minute, he rose again.] No one seemed inclined to reply to his gallant Friend. He should therefore proceed to detail his reasons for supporting the present motion, though not at any great length, in consequence of the excellent speeches which had been made by the hon. Mover and Secunder on this most important of all important questions.

Not many days ago he had read a Gazette, published at one of the distant settlements of the Company—he meant Singapore. In that Gazette there was a paragraph, extraordinary on account of the place from which it came, and on account of the argument which was to be derived from it. It was said in that Gazette, that the Dutch Government had come to a resolution of establishing a Free Press in their Eastern settlements, in order that it might have it in its power to learn what was passing in the interior, at a distance from its own immediate superintendence. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) That was a new story for the edification of the Court. He would now turn back, and tell them an old story, connected not only with the subject then under their consideration, but also with the Marquis Wellesley, to whom he willingly admitted that he owed every thing—aye, even that he had not remained in prison for life. Grateful was he to the Marquis Wellesley for the benefits which that illustrious nobleman had conferred upon him; but his gratitude was not the gratitude of a spaniel. He was no fawner—no, though the Marquis Wellesley had behaved excellently to him, still he would not consent to hold up a veil to hide his imperfections from the world. He owed a duty, he allowed, to the Marquis Wellesley, but then he owed a higher duty to his country and to society. He should therefore state the facts to which he had alluded, and what was more material, he should tell them in that Court.

Much had been said in the course of the debate about the freedom of the Press in India, and also about the freedom of the Press in England. Now he stated boldly and at once, that there was no freedom of the Press in England. Every body who meddled with the Press in England was amenable to the laws; why should not that also be the case in India? He knew that at the time when Mr. Hickey was publishing libels against Warren Hastings at Calcutta, he was attacked by the law officers of the Company here, and was made legally responsible for what he had written. Under the administration

of the Marquis Wellesley, he himself had been the Editor of a newspaper, which existed to this day, entitled the 'Hurkaru.' At that time a very extraordinary circumstance took place in England, and excited in a very high degree the attention of the public. On reading the accounts of it in the English papers, he thought it right to the people of India to show them that no distance of time or place could screen a man from punishment at home, who had been guilty of oppression in any of its subordinate dependencies. The circumstance to which he alluded was the trial of Governor Wall. He had been a commander of a fort in Africa, and whilst there, had been a jobber in the stores necessary to the support of the men under his command. The men finding that these stores were very improperly dealt out to them, became vexed and dissatisfied; and at last were driven to a state of mutiny by the pilfering and avaricious spirit which their commander displayed. A drum-head court martial was held upon several of the mutineers. They were ordered to be flogged, and some of them were flogged so severely that they were within an inch of perishing under the lash. Twenty years afterwards, a man went into a barber's shop to be shaved. The barber said to him, 'Do you see that young man? He is the son of a man whom Governor Wall flogged to death.' From that trivial occurrence, the circumstances of the horrible military executions which Governor Wall had ordered, began to be bruited abroad. An investigation into them subsequently took place, and twenty years after the floggings had been inflicted, Governor Wall was hung for inflicting them! He conceived that the circumstance afforded an extraordinary occasion for reading a grand moral lesson to all governors, however exalted, and to all people, however debased. He put into his paper one or two comments upon it. He said, 'How advantageous is it to live under the protection of the British constitution; here is an injustice punished twenty years after its perpetration, and at a time when even the memory of it was likely to have perished;' and he added, 'if any governor here behaves ill, it will be a satisfaction to the people of India to know that he is liable to be called to account for it, not merely when he goes to his long home, but at any time after he has reached his native country.' He declared, before God, that in writing that paragraph he had no intention to reflect either upon the Marquis Wellesley individually, or upon the members of his Government collectively. Well, the paragraph was sent to the Government House, and to his great surprise, was returned to him entirely struck out. Thus an hiatus of a column was caused in his newspaper. How was he to fill it up? Fortunately he had something to fill it up—for he was one of those persons who were never found unprepared; he always took time by the forelock;—and so he was enabled to insert in lieu of the rejected article either a novel or a romance, or a praise of all governor-generals, past, present, and to come; (a laugh;) and the consequence was, that the 'Hurkaru' went on favourably, as he believed it did to the present day.

Now, if the Editors of newspapers were not to be permitted to mention in their instances of justice done upon great public offenders, he did not well understand what subjects they might be permitted to mention. He was not an advocate for the unlimited freedom of the Press in India, but he thought that it might be permitted to enjoy that partial freedom which it enjoyed here, with the six acts hanging over the head of every man who ventured to commit his thoughts to paper. (*Hear, hear.*)

The CHAIRMAN said, that the motion before the Court had for its professed object 'To implore the Court of Directors not to extend this base monopoly over the mind,' (meaning the Calcutta Regulations,) 'this curse, to Bombay.' If such were the sole object of the gallant Officer who had proposed it, he thought that he ought to have shown that the Court of Directors had an intention to do that which he implored it not to do. For his own part, he (the Chairman) must declare, that he had no knowledge nor suspicion of the Court's having any such intention; and therefore he deemed it unnecessary to implore the Court not to extend that monopoly of mind which it had no intention of extending. That declaration would account for his meeting the

present motion with a distinct negative. Though the professed object of the motion was such as he had stated, it had been the means of affording three different gentlemen an opportunity of dilating upon a variety of cases, which they considered as existing abuses, and to which they said that the Press could administer adequate correction. He was not then going to discuss the question of the great benefits derived from a Free Press. He admitted them as largely as the three gentlemen to whom he had before alluded, and even they admitted, that in India an unrestricted Press would be productive of no benefit. (2)

Colonel STANHOPE here interrupted the Chairman to observe, that no such thing as an unrestricted Press had ever existed in any part of the world. In England it was fettered over and over again with restrictions.

The CHAIRMAN.—If an unrestricted Press in India be admitted not to be an advisable measure, how was the Press to be kept within bounds? (3) The censorship was the first method thought of. He would shortly tell the Court the origin of it. It was imposed on India during the administration of the Marquis Wellseley at a period of great insecurity and danger to our power in the East, and shortly after the horrid massacre of Mr. Cherry at Benares.

(2) Here is a striking instance of the great importance of being accurate and definite both in thought and language. Sir Charles Forbes was among the first to qualify his vote and opinion on this subject, by saying that he was not an advocate for the unlimited freedom of the Press in India, though he deprecated the present system of making the Press entirely free to the Government and its eulogists, but shut against the people. Captain Maxfield has also disavowed any intention of recommending an unrestricted freedom of the Press, though he has pointed out the great advantages of equal discussion. And Dr. Gilchrist is also made to say, that he was not an advocate for the unlimited freedom of the Press in India, though he forcibly exposed the evils of a limited freedom of publication. On this, the Chairman, as is very natural, exclaims, 'Why, after all, even you, gentlemen, who complain most of the present system of restriction, do not think an entirely unrestricted Press either safe or proper; we think so too; and we only differ as to how much or how little this freedom should be restrained.' What is wanted, is a clear and intelligible definition on this subject, and then some conclusion might be come to. Our own definition has already been often given; but it may again be repeated. When the British inhabitants in India advocated their right to a Free Press, and endeavoured to show that such a Press would be as advantageous to the Government as to the people, they meant simply this: an entire freedom from all previous dictation, prohibition, or restraint, as to subjects, or the manner of treating them; freedom, in short, for every man to print *any thing*, and in *any manner* that he chose; giving only the securities on his part, as Proprietor, Editor, or Printer, of such Journal as the matter might be published in, for his entire responsibility to the *Laws of England*, administered under all the guarantees for impartial justice which are to be found in an open Court, with Judges, Advocates, and Juries, independent of the governing power. Whatever verdict might be recorded against him by such a tribunal, they would have considered no invasion of the liberty of the Press, any more than hanging a convicted felon is an invasion of the liberty of the subject. But what they deemed incompatible with the enjoyment of a *Free Press* in India, was the power which the Government of that country exercised, to be judges in their own cause,—to be the accuser, witness, jury, and executioner, in one: and to ruin any man, not because he had done an unlawful act, and been convicted of wrong, after a fair trial, but because he had said or done something which was not agreeable to some person, who, however wrong, might get the Government to take vengeance on the person of his opponent. This is the system that still exists; and nothing but the annihilation of the Company will destroy it.

(3) The answer is plain:—By the laws of England, and trial by Jury.

He recollected that at that time there were long publications in the Indian newspapers, showing how easy it would be for the Native powers, if they were dissatisfied with the British Government, to proceed to the massacre of all the Europeans in India. (4) The publication of such opinions, which was calculated at that time to shake the British power in the East, induced the Marquis Wellesley to enforce a censorship upon the press of India,—a measure which he (the Chairman) believed to have been productive of very beneficial consequences. (5) It remained in operation for a considerable time, and he did not pretend to say, that in the exercise of the power with which the Secretary to Government was invested under it, he might not sometimes have employed it in a manner which was not judicious—as for instance, when he struck out of the Native papers an account of a transaction, which had appeared at length in all the English papers, and which was therefore as notorious as could be to every man in Calcutta. (*Hear.*) The censorship, as the Court well knew, was abolished during the administration of Lord Hastings, and the present licensing system was established in lieu of it. Now, he could not think of any third means by which the press could be restricted; (6) and as an unrestricted press was not a benefit to India—

Colonel STANHOPE again interrupted the Chairman to state, that he had never said that an unrestricted press would not be a benefit to India. He was not aware that an unrestricted press had ever yet existed in the world.

The CHAIRMAN said, that he was not then replying to the arguments of the gallant officer, but to those which had been used by his friends. He was of opinion, with the gentlemen who followed on the same side with the gallant officer, that a Government like that of the British in India was incompatible with a Free Press. (7) It had been repeatedly said, by gentlemen who advocated the rights of the press at home, that a despotic power and a free press could not be established together; and if they could be established together, the latter would put

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(4) It is so improbable that any newspaper in India would ever venture to print such articles as these, that no man ought to expect to be believed, who should not accompany his assertion with the proofs, by extracts from the papers themselves. But even *had* it been so: was there no Court of Law, and no Jury of Englishmen, before whom these writers could be brought for trial? What other security do we need, but the laws and a jury, for protection against murder, treason, and every other crime in England? Nay, what other protection than these is asked against such crimes in India? A man who has actually committed murder, enjoys the benefit of a trial. A man who has actually headed a rebellion, would have the same privileges. But the man who merely points out that murder or treason would be practicable if people liked to commit it—is deprived of the very advantage given to those who actually proceed to the commission of the crimes themselves! There is something so monstrous in this, that it is scarcely credible. It is nevertheless undeniable.

(5) This account of the origin and cause of the censorship of Lord Wellesley, is, we believe wholly inaccurate. Dr. Maclean, one of Lord Wellesley's earliest victims, will, we think, give a very different version of the affair; and we shall turn to his pages on an early day, to illustrate this matter.

(6) The *third* means is clear and easy:—By a British Court of Justice and a trial by jury. Could not the Chairman think of this? It was not probably convenient.

(7) The gentlemen on the same side with Colonel Stanhope say no such thing: because such a Government and a free press *are* co-existent. But, even if it were so—if the Government in India is *bad*—and would be changed by a free press to *good*—though the bad government and the free press were incompatible, that is only a strong reason for setting the free press at once to effect the cure.

an end to the existence of the former. If that proposition were good for any thing in the way of argument, it must be equally as good in India as in Europe; (8) and it was upon that ground, and because the motion asked the Court not to do that which it had no intention to do, that he called upon it to meet the present question with a distinct negative. With respect to the establishment of a licensing system for the Press at Bombay, he had merely one word to say, and that was, that the Supreme Court of that Presidency had decided that it was not expedient for them to give effect to the Calcutta regulations. He regretted, he confessed, that they had come to such a decision, because he was of opinion that the same system ought to prevail in all the three Presidencies. The regulations to which he alluded, had been established in Bengal, after a solemn argument before the Supreme Court of that Presidency, and had afterwards been confirmed as legal by the highest Court of Appeal in this country. Such, being the case, he could not believe that there was any good reason why one rule should be established in Bombay and another in Bengal. He regretted that the Calcutta regulations did not prevail in all the three Presidencies, but gentlemen might be quite satisfied that 'that curse to Bengal' would not be imposed upon Bombay, inasmuch as the authority, whose consent was necessary to give them effect, had decided that they were inexpedient. The worthy Chairman then concluded by moving a negative upon the original resolution.

Colonel STANHOPE rose to reply to the observations of the Chairman: but before he entered upon that part of his task, he felt it necessary to apologise to the Chairman for the repeated interruptions which he had given him. He had merely wished to set the worthy Chairman right upon a point in his speech, upon which he believed that the worthy Chairman had misapprehended him. He had not argued in favour of an unrestricted press in England or in Hindoostan, because he was aware that such a thing as an unrestricted press had never existed in any country. He was surprised at the manner in which the Chairman had vindicated the establishment of a censorship in India. He had stated that it was established in consequence of the murder of Mr. Cherry at Benares.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I stated no such thing. I stated that the censorship was established in consequence of the numerous publications in the newspapers, which that event occasioned.

Colonel STANHOPE stood corrected. He acknowledged that the worthy Chairman had stated it so in his first speech. But what, he would ask, was the nature of those publications, and how did they justify the establishment of a censorship? Suppose a like case were to occur in England; suppose, for instance, that, at the time when Mr. Perceval was murdered by Bellingham, it had been said in some newspaper that the country now knew how to pull down its oppressors; would that have formed a sufficient reason for muzzling the whole press of England? Why, if it were a sufficient reason, no country could have a Free Press for six months, for that time had never elapsed under any Government without some monstrosity having been committed in some department of it. He believed that the censorship did not originate in the manner in which the worthy Chairman had stated, but that it owed its birth to the discussions respecting Dr. Mackean. The gallant officer then briefly

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(8) And yet, when the free press in India is advocated, on the broad grounds of abstract truth and general principles, it is continually urged in reply, 'Aye, aye; your arguments are very good for *England*, but they won't apply to *India*.' This is the common cant of all the advocates of existing abuses there, and we think we can recollect the Chairman himself having joined in the same senseless cry. We are glad, however, to see that he is getting wiser; and only hope that he will act upon the conviction that what is sound, true, and just, in politics, in *one* quarter of the globe, is equally so in every other.

recapitulated his former observations on this subject, and concluded by stating that he had heard nothing, from any quarter, which led him to suppose that they were unfounded.

The motion was then put, and negatived by a large majority.

#### RELATIONS OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT WITH PERSIA AND RUSSIA.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the business of the day which came next in order was a motion which, when notice of it was given in to him by the gallant Colonel, he had declared to be, in his opinion, highly inexpedient to agitate in that Court. The gallant officer, to whom he alluded, had, on hearing his suggestion, received it with great urbanity and courtesy; and had told him that he would take time to consider whether he would agitate it in that Court or not. Might he request to know the course on which the gallant Colonel had decided?

Colonel STANHOPE.—If the hon. Chairman would allow the notice to be read, he should know what answer to give to him.

The resolutions were then read. They were published in our Number for last month, and are as follows:

‘1. That England, by the treaty of Gulistan, and by abandoning the wise measures of Sir J. Malcolm, in training a portion of Persia's troops to discipline, and placing her fortresses and passes in a state of defence, has laid that country open to the all-powerful legions of Russia.

‘2. That Constantinople, on the Asiatic and defenceless side, is thereby endangered; and British India, unsupported by the talents, the loyalty, and the valour of colonists, and having no public, could with difficulty oppose with her valiant Sepoys the simultaneous, persevering, and wide-spreading attack of a swarm of Cossacks, Persians, Seiks, Mahrattas, and Burmese, backed by a small corps of infantry and artillery, which would find magazines, fortresses, cannon, and gold on the field of their exploits.

‘3. That though the conquests of Russia, from the germ of improvement contained in her institutions, might be advantageous to the Asiatic world in its present backward and stationary condition; yet, to civilized Europe, it would prove fatal, because her Governments and society would sink to a level with the preponderating power, and insure to her a dark futurity.

‘4. That, under these circumstances, this Court of Proprietors earnestly recommends the Court of Directors to consult his Majesty's enlightened Ministers as to the military and diplomatic course which, in concert with France and Austria, they should pursue to check the march into Persia of the hardy soldiers of the good and active autocrat Nicholas.’

Colonel STANHOPE said, he had every disposition to listen courteously at all times to any suggestions of the Chairman; but he would not consent to withdraw his propositions in deference to suggestions which were unaccompanied by reasons. Considering, however, the high character of the distinguished individual who now filled the situation of Secretary for Foreign Affairs; considering his able foreign diplomacy; and considering also the great talents of his friend, Colonel Macdonald Kinnair, the present Envoy at the Persian Court, he should, with great pleasure, withdraw his motion for the present.

The CHAIRMAN said, he returned his sincere thanks to the gallant Colonel for the courtesy he had shown him, and would not have made the request had he not conscientiously felt that, in the hands of the present able Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the whole subject was likely to be better managed, than by submitting it to public discussion here.

#### BURNING OF HINDOO WIDOWS.

Mr. FOYNDER then rose to make his motion respecting the Burning of Hindoo Women; but as the hon. Proprietor had not finished his opening speech, when the Court adjourned to the following Wednesday, we defer giving an imperfect portion of it, till the whole proceedings are complete, when they will be reported in the ‘Oriental Herald’ for May.

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE.

*House of Commons, Thursday, March 22, 1827.*

## MUTINY AT BARRACKPORE.

Mr. HUME said, that in rising to submit to the House the question of which he had so long given notice, he felt it necessary to state, that whatever he should now do upon this subject would be done by him with the greatest reluctance. He would not have submitted this matter to their consideration, if he had not been fully convinced of its great importance as relating to our Government in India, and to all our connections with the affairs of that country. The occurrence to which he was about to call the attention of the House took place in the early part of the month of November 1824. When he mentioned that date, a question might naturally arise why so great a delay had occurred in laying a subject of so much importance before Parliament. Upon that point he should only now state, that in the middle of the month of July 1825, in the course of the session of that year, he had requested to know from Mr. Caning, whether the Government of this country had received any information of the transaction that had taken place in India in the November preceding? The Right Hon. Gentleman answered then in the negative, and gave the same answer up to the last week in the session, when it was too late to take any step on the subject. In the last session, he (Mr. Hume) had given two notices upon this subject, but by some of those chances which frequently occurred, he was twice prevented from making those notices the subjects of discussion; nor had he any opportunity whatever for so doing, till towards the close of the session, when the lateness of the period, together with the expected arrival of that officer, whose conduct was chiefly the subject of discussion, and whose presence in this country was desirable, that he might immediately meet the charge, had induced him (Mr. Hume) to postpone his motion. When the present session arrived, he felt the most anxious wish to introduce the matter to the notice of the House; and he should certainly have done so before the present moment, but for important subjects which had occupied so much of their attention. He felt that it was at any time a delicate matter to interfere on subjects relating to the army, perhaps more so on this than on many other occasions, but he felt it to be a positive duty for him now to take upon himself this task, and to bring under the notice of the House the proceedings of the Executive in India, with regard to the management of the army there. He acknowledged that he should not have been warranted in calling the attention of the House to the subject, but on account of its very great importance. He knew that, in all armies, as well at home as abroad, some instance of insubordination among some of the troops, might, at one time or other, be discovered. The degree of importance of any such instance of insubordination would vary according to time, place and circumstance; and some might be of a very trifling nature; but, in the East Indian Army, where there were at least 120,000 Native troops to 25,000 British soldiers, any thing which affected it in such a manner as to tend, in the slightest degree, to create a feeling of insubordination, must always be a matter of the highest importance. It should always be remembered that we held possession of India but by a very small numerical force, at least compared to the number of the Natives employed in our service; and it should always be a matter to which our General Officers and Governors should devote their utmost care and attention, to uphold, as much as possible, the character of our officers and soldiers, not merely for their superiority of military skill, discipline and courage, but for their more moral conduct, in carrying on the Government of that immense country. Having made these general observations, he should now state the circumstances of that transaction on which he wished to take the opinion of the House.

The Governor-General of India had, in consequence of some manifestation  
*Oriental Herald Vol. 13* N



of enmity on the part of a Native Prince, deemed it necessary to embark in hostilities against him. That resolution was taken in October 1824, and in furtherance of it, some troops were sent towards the frontiers. Among these troops were the men composing a battalion of the 47th Native Regiment, who were marched from Futteghur, which was about a thousand miles up the country, towards the eastern frontier. What he was now about to move, related to the order given them to march from Barrackpore, where they had assembled, towards the Burmese territory, and to their refusal to obey it; a refusal which, on account of the line of conduct that he contended had been improperly pursued by the Commander-in-Chief, led to the destruction of three or four hundred of their number in a very short space of time. There were two questions upon which he thought the House would require to be informed. In the first place, they would desire to obtain some knowledge as to what had been the causes, the existence of which had led to this insubordination and mutiny; and secondly, they would wish to know whether proper measures, such as were consistent with the maintenance of strict discipline, and at the same time with a spirit of humanity, had been employed to bring these mutineers back to their duty. When they were satisfied upon these two points, they would be able to decide whether the loss of life that had occurred had not been owing to the mischief of not properly carrying into effect those means that might have been resorted to for the purpose of restoring order without having recourse to bloodshed. There was no man who had been in India, that would not readily bear testimony to the general good conduct of the Native troops—none that would not agree with him in saying, that whenever these Native troops had been led into action by the side of our countrymen, they had manifested as much zeal and courage in the service as the British soldiers. He was positive that all who knew them would concur in the statement, that on all these occasions they had shown the same zeal, alacrity and bravery, and had displayed the same gallantry, that had so honourably distinguished our countrymen in the service there. At the same time, he was bound to acknowledge, that they had occasionally displayed acts of insubordination. That, however, ought not to be resorted to as an argument against them more than against the European troops, for the same thing had occurred in the European corps. He should now proceed to consider the circumstances to which the mutiny of the Native troops was to be attributed, repeating what he had before said, that their insubordination was no more a reproach to them than to our own troops, and that the corps of British and of Native troops ought both to be placed on the same footing in that respect. If, as he had already asserted, the Native troops were distinguished by general good conduct and those who had served with them were prepared to bear testimony to their merit, he thought they would concur with him in saying that the circumstances which had led to the mutiny of these troops must have been of a most extraordinary nature. The battalion of the 47th Native Regiment had, but a short time before, been brought down from the Upper Provinces, from Futteghur, which was about a thousand miles up the country, and up to the time of their being assembled with the other troops at Barrackpore, he believed that no troops had shown greater readiness or good will in the service. The service to which they were destined was certainly not one that was likely to create much enthusiasm; some alarm had arisen throughout the country, not only from the proceedings that had taken place on the eastern frontier, but also from the fear that the Native troops of Bengal had acquired religious prejudices that would prevent them from acting with their usual zeal and alacrity, and, indeed, that they would manifest a greater degree of unwillingness than on any other occasion to quit their own territory. That unwillingness might not only have been expected, but could have been easily accounted for by a variety of circumstances. First of all, it was known that the troops which had preceded them had suffered great privations, that many had been disabled by sickness, and they naturally feared that they should suffer in the same manner; the more especially as they were in a state of destitution as to many things that were absolutely necessary.

In speaking thus of these troops, he could not avoid drawing a contrast between the troops sent from the Bengal, and those sent from the Madras establishment. The Madras troops were in a much better condition as to all necessary equipments. He, therefore, distinguished between these troops, as the two Governments under which they acted had differently provided for their wants. The Madras regiments came down to the military station fully equipped, and in a short time received directions to proceed, together with the Bengal troops, towards the eastern frontier, in order to enter upon the Burmese war. A short time previously to their being assembled for that purpose, about three hundred men had deserted from one corps, on account of their unwillingness to go upon such an expedition. Towards the latter part of the month of October, these troops received orders to march from Barrackpore. On the 22nd of that month, a report was presented to Colonel Cartwright, stating the impossibility of their moving forward, unless cattle, carriages, and other conveniences were afforded them for the conveyance of their baggage. He believed it would be found that this report had ultimately been forwarded by Colonel Cartwright to the Presidency. The conveniences they required were such as the experience of former services had proved to be necessary, and the demand of the troops was not, therefore, to be wondered at. Whether that document had found its way to the Commander-in-Chief, and from him to the Government, he (Mr. Hume) was not able to say; and it was his wish, and indeed his object in this motion, to ascertain that fact. All he knew was, that every day the anxiety of those Native troops to obtain the necessary carriage became more earnest, and they urged that their demands should be granted without further delay. Their request was, in some measure no doubt, strengthened by the superior attention which they saw had been paid to the comforts of the Madras troops. These troops having been landed on the Burmese territory, had daily rations distributed to them, while the Bengal troops had none. The former, too, had great-coats given them to protect them from the excessive rains, while none were allowed to the latter, who had to bear the same inclemencies of the weather; and this difference existed between the troops of the two Presidencies, although both were acting in the same service. Sir Thomas Munro, the President of the Madras Establishment, had so well provided for the troops sent from his Presidency, that they formed a most striking contrast to the miserable condition of the Bengal troops. On no former occasion had men turned out in such numbers or in better condition. The Madras troops amounted to 10,000, all of whom were volunteers; and the zeal, alacrity, and readiness they had manifested, was admirably supported by the very excellent arrangements of Sir Thomas Munro. The battalion of Native Bengal troops required additional *batta*, which, undoubtedly, would have created an additional expense to the Government; but if that expense was necessary, the troops were justified in demanding it. They were told, however, that they could not have the cattle, nor the carriage they required. When that answer was given to the Hindoo troops, the reply they made was that which might naturally have been expected. They said 'if we are made *coolies*, (that is porters to carry burdens,) how can we fight? How can we be both *coolies* and soldiers? It has always been our pride to be soldiers, and we are willing to do our duty as soldiers, but we cannot use our arms, and carry burdens at the same time.' He (Mr. Hume) could hardly think that the Commander-in-Chief was ignorant of these circumstances, as Colonel Cartwright and General Dalzel had made the requisite statements to the Presidency. On the 30th of October, these Native troops were told that they could not have the cattle, and that march they must. Now, he must observe, that this refusal did not at all accord with what had generally been the practice in that country, where it had always been the custom to obtain in such circumstances the assistance of the Civil Magistrate. These orders and that answer drove the men to insubordination, and the blame of creating that insubordination, seemed to him (Mr. Hume) not to rest with the men who committed it, so much as with the officers, who were, or ought to be, answerable for the complaints. The want of cattle at that time was so great, that from

within fifty miles round, all the cattle had been pressed into the service of the Government; and, at the very time that cattle were refused to the troops, there were no less than 10 or 15,000 head of cattle at a place a short distance from Fort William, which was only twelve miles from the spot they were required, and where they might have been applied to the necessary purposes of the Government. Indeed, the Government ultimately appeared to be satisfied that the demand which the men had made was reasonable, since they actually issued money to enable them to purchase or to hire cattle for their service. The manner in which that issue was made, or rather a statement which accompanied it, seemed to him to prove, in the clearest manner, that the Commander-in-Chief could not have informed the general Government of the necessity of furnishing the troops with cattle, since their own order for the issue of money, which was dated on the 4th of November, distinctly stated, that as soon as they were informed of the necessity of furnishing cattle to the troops, they had issued money to the men for the purpose of procuring them. The issue of money, however, under the circumstances to which he had already alluded, was not the best course that could have been pursued, since, even if the sum issued had been four times as great as it was, the troops could not, without the assistance of the Government, have procured the cattle they required. The issue of money, therefore, was but adding insult to the previous denial. On the Monday morning, the troops declared, that unless the grievances of which they complained were redressed, they must decline to march, and they expected that justice would be done them. They demanded either to have the cattle furnished to them, or to have inquiry to ascertain how far their complaints were well grounded. He contended, that troops had never before been ordered to march under such circumstances.

On the 1st of November, Sir Edward Paget, the Commander-in-Chief, thinking it necessary to put down at once any symptoms of insubordination, went up to Barrackpore, having previously ordered thither a large body of English and Native troops and several pieces of artillery. Now he (Mr. Hume) admitted, that whenever a corps was in a state of insubordination, their mutiny ought to be put down; and he did not quarrel with the measures that had been adopted for that purpose, but with the mode which had been pursued. The hon. Member here produced a plan of the place, where the forty-seventh Native regiment had been assembled at Barrackpore, and by its aid described the manner in which they had been surrounded by the Body Guards, the Royals, and by his Majesty's 17th regiment, and entered into a detail of the circumstances under which the massacre took place. He then contended that, if Sir Edward Paget had informed the mutinous troops of his determination to enforce obedience, and of the means he possessed to do so, they would instantly have obeyed him, and this dreadful destruction of life might have been avoided. These troops had only ten minutes given them to decide whether they would march or not; and then, without being informed of the force that could instantly be employed against them—without having shown the slightest disposition to resist—without having loaded one musket, they were treated in the severest manner, and were, at the end of the assigned time, shot down by a fire opened by the artillery, and supported by the Royals; and, when their battalion broke, they were charged by the cavalry. None of those means which common humanity would have dictated were employed. The men were kept in ignorance of the force under the command of Sir Edward Paget. The troops under his orders and the artillery were kept in ambuscade, until the work of destruction began, when these unhappy persons were hunted down in such a manner that not one of them was afterwards to be found. The loss on this occasion had been computed at four or five hundred men, some said six hundred; but he should be content to put it at the moderate estimate of three hundred men. There was a great deal of uncertainty regarding the details of this unhappy affair, because the press of India was shackled, and the only information that could be obtained was through the statements of private persons. The press of India, besides its general restraint, was in this instance put under a special interdiction. A

circular was sent from the Government to the papers, forbidding the mention of this circumstance till the official statement of it should have appeared. All the details, therefore, were suppressed, for no persons would dare to publish them, since they knew that such a publication would have been attended with the same punishment, and the same ruin, that had before been inflicted on Mr. Buckingham and others, who had ventured to disobey such commands. From private information, however, there was sufficient evidence to show the real nature of the transaction. [The hon. Member here referred to a letter which he stated to have been written by one Field Officer to another; it was dated from Fort William, and spoke in strong terms of the melancholy occurrence which had then taken place. The writer, however, stated, that he was not present on the occasion of the firing on the Native troops.] The men who fled to the river were sniped at and shot in the water, and so indiscriminate was the slaughter, that he believed he was correct in stating that a number of country people, in no way connected with the disturbance, were destroyed in the fury of the pursuit. Such had been the progress and result of this unfortunate mutiny.

Courts-martial were held first upon forty, who were found guilty, and six of whom were executed. On the 8th of November, twenty more were tried and convicted, four of whom were hanged; and on a subsequent day, forty-two men of the 47th Native regiment were brought to trial; the charge was proved against them, and they were sentenced; but he (Mr. Hume) did not believe that in the whole more than twelve of the mutineers had been hanged. They were hanged on the parade; and, what he believed had never occurred before, one of the offenders long remained exposed in chains, to keep up the memory of this melancholy affair, which the House was now told ought to be allowed to sleep without further disturbance. He thought he was warranted in asserting (whether by order of the Government, or by the instrumentality of Sir Edward Paget, he knew not), that to this moment the country was in ignorance of the real causes which had occasioned such disastrous consequences, excepting by means of private information. On the 4th November, a General Order had been issued from Fort William, which stated that the mutiny could not have occurred without the previous knowledge of the Native officers; it therefore directed that the 47th regiment, including its Native officers, should be disgraced, the Native officers discharged, and declared unworthy of the confidence of Government. In the issuing of such a hasty order, culpability rested somewhere, and it was for the House to ascertain whether any and what portion of it was attributable to Sir Edward Paget. The fact was, that the Native officers, having failed in persuading the mutineers to abandon their design, had left them to their misguided judgments, and had notwithstanding been dismissed the service, and involved in indiscriminate disgrace. Such had been the effect of this violent course, upon the Native army of India, that had not affairs taken a favourable turn, both in the east and west of our possessions, the consequences might have been most fatal. If one point more than another demanded investigation, it was the reasons that could be assigned for this sweeping act of power, which confounded the innocent with the guilty. The loss of life, the squandering of human blood, was another question which he was satisfied the House would not be disposed to treat with indifference. He well knew that military law, to be efficient, must be arbitrary; but every man who wielded a power so enormous ought to be held responsible, and to be prepared with good reasons for its application on every occasion. He thought he was in a situation to establish that the proceedings of Sir Edward Paget had not met with the approbation of individuals in authority. Many of the Native officers and Brahmins (as we understood the hon. Member to say) would infinitely rather have been shot, than condemned to labour in chains like ordinary felons. He was not aware whether any orders had been sent out to India to liberate them, and discharge them from a punishment so onerous and so degrading.

He now begged to state why he thought that the Commander-in-Chief was

principally answerable for what had occurred. At first, it had been his opinion that Lord Amherst had given the orders; but a letter from Captain Amherst, of which he had received a copy from India, transmitted by a party who had seen the original, addressed to Mr. Trower, went far to satisfy him that the Governor-General was not implicated. It stated, that the Report of the Court of Inquiry had not been sent to England sooner, out of delicacy to Sir Edward Paget. (1) He (Mr. Hume) therefore concluded that Lord Amherst considered himself free from responsibility, and was unwilling to furnish evidence against the party who was really culpable. The Court of Inquiry commenced its labours in November, and continued them until January; but the Report did not reach this country until the July following, seven or eight months after the period when information ought to have been obtained. In order to obtain the fullest and most accurate information regarding a transaction which had spread terror and dismay through all India, that Court had been very properly appointed, consisting of a colonel and two lieutenant-colonels. One of his objects was, that their Report should be laid upon the Table, in order that the House might be able to judge how far the corps had been driven to these acts of desperation by inattention or mismanagement. He wished to discover whether the mutiny was a wanton violation of the respect the soldier ought to pay to his allegiance; whether it was a voluntary act on the part of the troops; or whether they were, in fact, driven to it by the conduct of their superiors. The Report would also show whether those conciliatory measures had been adopted in the first instance, in this case, which in many others had succeeded in allaying a spirit of disobedience, and in saving an effusion of blood. Had the same course been taken which was pursued in 1807, when a Native regiment had been disbanded, and sent down into the country, which was afterwards restored by General St. Leger to the service, and an opportunity thus afforded of distinguishing itself, perhaps the evils now so deeply to be deplored might have been avoided. If the men loudly complained, in God's name, let some symptom be shown of a disposition to inquire and redress. At Bhurtpore, not long since, the officer in command having heard of some discontents, plainly asked the men what they wanted—and he satisfied them immediately by telling them, that the matter should be investigated, and a remedy, if required, applied. But, supposing the conduct of the corps had been as flagrant as that of a regiment at Ava, which fired upon its officers—justice was more easily satisfied; and although the regiment was disgraced, it was afterwards, to a certain degree, brought back into the service. Some years ago, in this very metropolis, harmony had been restored by similar means of remonstrance and conciliation; and if a similar course had been adopted at Barrackpore, the result might have been far different and less distressing.

He had stated fairly and candidly what impression had been produced on his own mind by these events; and if the fault lay not with the Governor-General in Council, but with the Commander-in-Chief, Sir E. Paget, who, with the best disposition and intentions, might have been misled, it was fit that he should sustain the responsibility. The evidence with which he (Mr. Hume) had been furnished produced a strong impression upon his mind, that the official information he required was necessary for the purpose of placing the Bengal Government and Sir Edward Paget in that situation of commanding respect, which both ought to occupy for the general advantage and security of our Indian Empire. True it was, that not one of the innocent men (if they were innocent) could be recovered: life had been destroyed, and could not be restored; but to show the Natives of India that there was a disposition on the part of the Government at home to inquire, and redress, as far as redress was possible, would have the effect not only of conciliating, but of securing even confidence and affection. One word as to the objection

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(1) An authentic copy of this letter of the hon. Captain Amherst, to Mr. Charles Trower of the Bengal Civil Service, will be found in the '*Oriental Herald*,' vol. x. p. 360.

which would probably be urged to his motion, and he had done. He begged to recal the recollection of the House to what had passed in it on the discussion of the freedom of the Press in India. The advocates of its liberty were then told that a Free Press in India might do harm to an extent that was beyond calculation; but that while the press was unshackled in England, the whole object would be answered, and inquiries could not be stopped into the conduct of any Government in India which had afforded just ground of complaint. This reasoning would strongly apply to the case now before the House. In this country discussion was unfettered, and he hoped that Parliament would not refuse to interfere, whether the parties requiring its interposition were Christians, Musulmans, or Hindoos, and whether they were the subjects of the Crown on our own shores, or separated by half the globe.

The hon. Member then moved for a copy of the Report made by Sir Edward Paget, the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General in Council, relative to the mutiny at Barrackpore, and the measures taken to suppress it; also, for a copy of the General Order of the Bengal Government, of the 4th of November, respecting the mutiny of the 47th regiment of Native Infantry, and parts of other regiments, at Barrackpore, on the 1st of November 1824; also, for a return of the number killed on the 1st of November, of those subsequently sentenced, and of those hanged, and of those whose sentences were commuted; also, for a copy of the Report of Court of Inquiry, which sat in Calcutta in the year 1824, to inquire relative to the causes and consequences of the said mutiny; and, also, for any despatches containing the orders of the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government, respecting the Native officers dismissed from the service on that occasion.

The motion having been seconded and put,

Mr. C. W. WYNN said, in rising to notice the observations made by the hon. Member for Aberdeen, with reference to this unhappy subject, he was anxious to do justice to the moderation which that hon. Member had displayed in the manner in which he had brought it forward, and to his having stated it fairly, and without any undue exaggeration. Certainly there were some parts of that hon. Member's speech which he (Mr Wynn) considered to be inaccurate; but, upon such a subject, it was natural that much misinformation should exist. In any comments, therefore, which he should conceive it his duty to make, in reply to the statements of the hon. Member, he was desirous to be understood as attributing no blame to him. This case, which had necessarily occupied considerable time and attention, involved, at its outset, several questions: First, as to whether there had been sufficient grounds of complaint to have produced the mutiny; then, whether any thing had been done by the Commander-in-Chief to remove those complaints; and then, whether proper means had been taken for suppressing that mutiny, before measures of a deplorable nature had been resorted to. Those were the most material points for consideration, although there were others with respect to the punishment afterwards inflicted. A rule of service had been established, by which the army was to receive certain assistance in the carriage of their baggage; now, the hon. Member (Mr. Hume) appeared to be aware, that an advance of 4000 rupees was made to each regiment, for the purpose of procuring bullocks for this transmission, and this before the orders to march were given. The hon. Member had stated his opinion, that if proper means had been resorted to—if the officers had inquired into the nature of their grievances, and had sought to redress them, where it was possible, there would have been no mutiny. Was the hon. Member ignorant that this did actually take place; that the very day before the mutiny, the mutineers were called upon to send to head-quarters a deputation of two men from each company, to declare of what grievances they complained, in order that a Court might be appointed to meet them; and that when they asked, how they were to be satisfied that those men should be safely sent back to them, Colonel Cartwright himself offered to remain as a hostage for their safe return? (*Hear, hear.*) These measures, then, which the hon. Member says ought to have been taken, were actually taken, and that in a

manner which would have appeared to be the most effective and satisfactory ; still they refused to go forward. Even at the last moment, when they sent in their petition to the Commander-in-Chief, what demands did they make? Why, that they should either receive double pay, and that the two subadars should be given up to them to be put to death, or that they should be allowed to depart to their homes. (2) The hon. Member had declared that the mutiny might have been prevented by proper attention and a grant of money. He (Mr. Wynn) did not believe so. Was he aware that they had carried off their colours by violence, and that the 47th regiment had forced off Gen. Dalzel, and had been joined by others? Was it possible, then, that such acts could have been suffered to have passed with impunity? No; they were met by the Commander-in-Chief with that promptness and energy for which he was so distinguished; he collected a superior force, with almost incredible quickness, and was prepared to meet the mutineers in the way that necessity might require. The hon. Member had asked why the Commander-in-Chief had not exhibited that force. Now, every means had been taken to show the mutineers how useless was their opposition, and how utterly hopeless must be their attempts to gain by force what they required. Colonel Stewart himself went amongst them, stated the force that had been collected, and that no possible chance of success was left them; and, on the next day, when their deputies were sent forward, instead of being led back the usual way, they were studiously carried through the lines, to perceive what preparations had been made, and what an array was formed against them. Let the House, then, pause for a moment to consider the fact, that at this very moment, a great force was going out of the country, on a duty of much difficulty and of great danger, and how necessary it was to put a stop to insurrection the very moment it appeared. Could any one now say how such a mutiny would have operated on the minds of the army generally, if it had been suffered to go on, he would not say for a day, but for an hour, without being checked? He would remind the hon. Member and the House, of a case in which Lord Mansfield had been called upon to try a British naval officer, for having abandoned his ship. That noble Lord was aware of the delicacy of his situation, in trying a case, with the nature of which he was necessarily ignorant, and he, therefore, sought the advice and assistance of some experienced officers. Sir Charles Douglas sat with him upon the bench, and, in the course of the trial, the noble Lord put a question to that distinguished officer, as to whether under such and such circumstances he would have abandoned *his* ship? The reply of Sir Charles Douglas was this, 'My Lord, sitting here in safety and in fine weather, it is difficult for me to say how I would act, but if I heard the waves roaring around me, and saw the ocean ready to receive me, my conduct might be very different to what my inclinations now are.' This anecdote bore upon the case of the Commander-in-Chief, and he would recommend the hon. Member (Mr. Hume) to bear it in mind, when he commented upon the conduct of an officer, who saw before him dangers and difficulties which he knew not how to master. (3)

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(2) It is remarkable, that this fact has never been stated publicly by any man before Mr. Wynn, not even by the advocates of the harsh measures taken, who wrote in Bengal, and who *must* have known it, if it were really true. But, on the face of it, the story is absurd. The subadars are non-commissioned Native officers, similar to the sergeants of an English regiment. They live in the lines with the privates, and mix daily and hourly with them: so that, if obnoxious to the men, they might be seized and punished by them, at any time, without asking them to be given up for the purpose of being put to death. The whole thing is incredible.

(3) Nothing can be more shallow than an attempt to answer a statement of facts by such an anecdote as this. The naval officer here mentioned, heard, while he sat on the bench, all the facts of the case, stated in evidence and given on oath; and he could form an accurate judgment, and duly appreciate

Taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration—that during the period in question a great number of Native regiments were present with arms in their hands, and that no man could tell the moment when they might turn those arms against their officers, if the mutiny should not be instantaneously quelled; who was there, who would say that the measures resorted to were not justifiable and absolutely necessary? (*Cheers.*) What man was there who could say, that if the Commander-in-Chief had lost any time in suppressing the mutiny, he would not have had to answer for it to his country? (*Hear, hear.*) Those men were summoned to surrender: they were told, that if they did not lay down their arms within ten minutes, they must expect the consequences. Preparations for resistance were openly made by them; they had gone through the motions of loading their muskets, and several had actually loaded. In that situation was it not the imperative duty of the Commander-in-Chief to use the best and most prompt means that presented themselves for quelling the revolt? And most certainly the employment of European troops and artillery was the measure best calculated to produce that effect, and prevent great effusion of blood, much more effectually than if Sepoys had been employed, who would be likely to carry the slaughter to a more frightful extent. (4) The Royals advanced in their rear, and were fired on by them; and that circumstance he had on the authority of a person present, and he was most happy on the same authority to state, that the hon. Member for Aberdeen had been very much misinformed, both as to the extent of the effect and the duration of the firing. (5) (*Hear, hear.*) Every one

the difficulties of that particular case. But here, what Mr. Hume wants, are the facts and evidence, contained in the documents moved for; and then he would be as able to make due allowance for the difficulties of the case as the gallant Admiral. The absurdity, on the part of Mr. Wynn, consists in his asking the hon. Member, who moves for the evidence, to act, *before* he can get that evidence, exactly as the Admiral did *after* having heard it in detail: to make allowance for difficulties without knowing whether any existed; and to perform the functions of a judge, without the evidence, on which the summing up must alone depend.

(4) Can any one but Mr. Wynn suppose for a moment that the Native troops, who have such strong sympathies with each other, and a common bond of union, in language, religion, habits, manners, and kindred, would be more prodigal of the blood of their fellows than Europeans opposed to Natives? The idea is utterly at variance with all history as well as common sense. We hardly remember a single instance of sepoy wantonly shooting each other; while there is scarcely a year passes in India in which European soldiers are not actually tried and convicted of the wanton and unprovoked murder of the Natives, or, as it is there termed, 'shooting at black fellows'; a fact of which the records of all the courts of justice in India bear ample witness.

(5) The following are extracts which we have seen from letters written from India, at the time, and it will be seen from these whether this statement is correct or not:

'The European soldiers were suffered, long after the dispersion of the sepoy, to return to the parade, and in cold blood, massacre the wounded; actually being seen to trample with one foot upon a poor wounded sepoy, and deliberately shoot him through the head like a dog.'

'A lady, lying in her boat, off Barrackpore, at the time of the mutiny there, saw large bodies of the sepoy rush head-long into the river, to avoid the ferocious European soldiery, pursuing them even after they had thrown away their arms. They fired at them whilst in the river, as long as the current of the stream did not carry them beyond the reach of their musket-shot.'

'A party of the fugitive sepoy were seen floating down the river, opposite the Governor-General's residence at Barrackpore, when one of his household is said to have applied to the European officer commanding the sepoy guard there, to turn out his men, and fire upon the fugitives in the water. The officer, however, refused to execute a duty of such gratuitous cruelty.'



knew the difficulty that was experienced in stopping troops when they had once been ordered to fire. But even that difficulty was surmounted within a comparatively short time; for after half an hour from the commencement not a single shot was fired; and that he stated, in direct opposition to the assertion of the hon. Member for Aberdeen, who said he had accurately informed himself of all the particulars with which he had favoured the House. (6) (*Hear.*) With respect to the loss of life on that occasion, it was a consolation—a melancholy one certainly, but still it was a consolation—to know that the amount had been greatly exaggerated, and did not exceed from 160 to 170. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) There was nothing in the documents moved for, nothing in the report of the Court of Inquiry, that could be of consequence to that House to learn. (7) The attention of that Court having been principally directed to the internal arrangements of the army; he trusted it was unnecessary for him to assure the House that he would have felt it equally a duty and a pleasure to lay its report on the table, if he had thought its production would have been conducive to the public service. (*Hear.*) (8) He thought it could not be denied, that the measures adopted by the Government had been the best that could be suggested. They ordered a Court of Inquiry into the state of the army, what grounds of complaint existed, what alterations were called for, and might be made. They sat for a considerable length of time; devoted their whole attention to the objects of Government, and the consequence was, that several of the previous regulations of the Indian army were changed. Orders, with respect to the carriage of supplies, were immediately issued; considerable attention was paid to the wants of the men, and in improving the mode by which they were supplied with several of the articles which they were called upon to purchase out of their pay. With respect to their clothing, also, considerable alterations were made; and in marching, they were ordered to be supplied with flannel and other comforts. Other measures, calculated for their benefit, were still under consideration, about which some difference of opinion existed, and he was sure the House would see that it was of the utmost importance to conceal the nature of those measures, lest expectations might be excited which it might be improper afterwards to realise. (9) (*Hear, hear.*)

(6) It will be an authority of some weight to oppose to that of the President of the Board of Control, to cite the language of Captain Macnaghten, then holding the staff situation of Deputy Judge Advocate of the Bengal army, and being, at the same time, Editor of the 'Bengal Hurkaru.' This individual, then holding this high office under the Indian Government, and writing at the time and on the spot, says, that 'the business of destruction commenced as soon as the dawn of day appeared, and the Royals continued sniping ALL THE MORNING.' Other accounts given at the time, state, that the troops were not all re-collected until one o'clock, P. M., implying, therefore, a pursuit and slaughter for several successive hours, instead of the 'half hour,' mentioned by Mr. Wynn. —(See, particularly, for the fullest accounts on this subject, the 'Oriental Herald,' vol. v. p. 28, and from 13 to 33 inclusive.)

(7) This is begging the whole question. The House can best judge of this when the document is produced: besides, in so saying, Mr. Wynn undertakes to judge for the whole House, what it is their highest privilege to determine for themselves.

(8) A despot is the only person who would think of saying—'If I thought it proper to give information upon a particular transaction, I should readily do so; but since I do *not* think it proper, I hope no one will ask for it.' It is not Mr. Wynn's opinion on this or any other doubtful transaction that ought to satisfy justice: but what the senate of the country, collectively, thinks of it, *after* seeing all the evidence for themselves, when they would be as competent to form a right opinion as Mr. Wynn himself.

(9) Now, if the conduct of the Government, in ordering the Court of In-

The hon. Gentleman had referred to the proceedings had against the mutineers subsequent to the day on which the mutiny had been suppressed, and condemned the nature and amount of the punishments ordered. A court-martial had been assembled, before whom 140 prisoners were tried; not a European court-martial, but one composed exclusively of Native officers, and before which those 140 men were capitally convicted. (*Hear.*) That circumstance alone, supplied the strongest presumptive proof that the feeling among the Native troops themselves, was not, (as suggested by the hon. Member,) that those men had been driven into mutiny by necessity. (*Hear.*) Even without that presumptive evidence, other circumstances would have shown that such had been the fact; if it had really had existence, something would have been found to bear out that part of the statement of the hon. Gentleman. (*Hear.*) Of the 140 men so capitally convicted, twelve only were executed; and when the House should recollect that this mutiny had taken place near the seat of Government, that other troops were witnesses of the revolt—that the mutineers had driven their officers off the parade—that they had loaded their arms in their presence, accompanied by every indication of a determination to make use of them—and that no use had been made of them was mainly attributable to the measures so much blamed by the hon. Member, (the employment of artillery,) when all those circumstances should be considered, however any man must regret it, still it was impossible to contend that the laws had not been carried into effect in the spirit of mercy. (*Hear.*) The remaining 128 convicts were ordered to be kept in irons, at labour on the roads. That had been represented as an unusual mode of punishment in India; but he found, by returns of the proceedings of various courts-martial in that country, that several individuals, of very high castes, were, in the time of the Marquis of Hastings's Government, punished in a similar way. (*Hear.*) Some of the mutineers were condemned to labour thus for life—some for ten years; but, on the first symptoms of good conduct, the Government took advantage of that circumstance, proclaimed a general amnesty, and the convicts were ordered to be released, by which means a veil was dropped over a transaction, the recollection of which it was desirable to terminate. (*Hear, hear.*) But before the account of these proceedings had reached this country, the Court of Directors had sent out orders to a precisely similar effect. (*Hear, hear.*)

The hon. Member had dwelt upon the dismissal of these Native officers of the regiments in question. It was impossible to conceive that the mutiny could have been carried on without the knowledge, or, at least, the suspicion, of the officers in the three regiments engaged in it; but whether with or without their knowledge, it equally proved that those officers were not men to whom such a charge ought to be confided. (*Hear.*) That the publication of an account of the transaction, in the Indian newspapers of the day, had been prevented, had also been a subject of complaint with the hon. Member; but the propriety of that prohibition must strike every man. It was of great importance to prevent the knowledge of the transaction until the official account of its suppression should have been received. The consequences might have been most injurious, had the account of the revolt reached the army unaccompanied by an account of its having been put down. (10) (*Cheers.*) It

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quiry, was the best that could be adopted, its effect is entirely lost, unless the result of that inquiry, and the facts and reasons on which its conclusions were founded, be made public. The fear expressed of its leading to expectations which might not be realised, is more childish than any thing we could have expected even from such a quarter.

(10) This could *not* have been the reason, because nothing generally was known even in Calcutta of the mutiny itself, until the massacre had taken place; and the prohibition of Government to the newspapers was not issued till after the mutiny was put down: so that the announcement of the evil *must* have been accompanied by an account of its entire suppression, as far at least as massacre could effect it.

ought to be recollected, that one emissary from the mutineers had been arrested—hence it was deemed possible that the mutiny had ramifications, and it, therefore, became of consequence to prevent the circulation of an account of the breaking out of the mutiny, without one also of its suppression. (*Hear.*) He feared he had trespassed too long on the patience of the House. (*Cheers.*) He had touched upon most of the points in the speech of the hon. Member for Aberdeen, and should now ask what good could possibly be expected to result from the revival of discussion on that subject? (11) (*Hear.*) The evils anticipated from the summary manner in which the mutiny had been put down and punished, had been disproved by the excellent condition of the Native troops—by the fact, that great numbers of them had altered the terms on which they had entered the army, by an extension of their services. (*Hear.*) Every ground of complaint stated by the Court of Inquiry had been attended to; he felt, therefore, that the present was a question which fairly called for some degree of confidence in the existing Government. (12) (*Cheers.*) He would contend, that further inquiry could not be productive of any advantage, either in promoting the discipline of the army, or in any other way: he, therefore, thought it would be highly impolitic, and an act of the greatest injustice to the individuals composing that Court, or who had been examined before it, to give publicity to the document moved for by the hon. Gentleman, the evidence having been taken with closed doors, and under other circumstances which gave to it the character of a private inquiry. (13)

(11) If discussion were to do any *evil*, that evil was already done from the moment Mr. Hume's speech was ended; as that would be dispersed by the papers of the next day over all the world. The discussion *had* been revived, and was now beyond the power of any man to arrest. But, if to inform the world accurately of matters, which Mr. Hume was alleged to have stated erroneously, be a *good*, (and unless Mr. Wynn thought this, the speech made by him to correct these alleged misstatements was altogether useless,) then the production of the document containing the true state of the case, must be regarded, even by Mr. Wynn himself, as the greatest good imaginable; and its production, since he had not *voluntarily* laid it before the House, was, therefore, the *good* which the revival of this discussion was calculated and really intended to produce.

(12) No Government can deserve confidence any longer than its officers observe good faith in their statements of facts to the people. As long as Mr. Wynn speaks the truth, he is deserving of confidence, but not a moment longer; and if, in the present instance, he has spoken *only* truth, and on that ground expects to be believed, while one man in the House doubts his accuracy, he ought to be proud of proving his statements, by producing the documents asked for, and should not condescend to say, 'I ask you to confide entirely in what I state, but I will not show you the documents on which my statement is grounded.' In private life such an assumption would be deemed insulting; and would weaken rather than strengthen the assertions of any man who should make it. Why, then, should an official functionary be confided in under such suspicious circumstances, more than any private individual?

(13) Almost all inquiries in India are made with closed doors; for there is no curious public to intrude itself into board and committee rooms, and hardly, indeed, into the civil courts of justice in the interior. But so are the inquiries of Select Committees of the House of Commons made with closed doors; and Mr. Wynn, especially, must know that even the Debates of the House of Commons itself are nominally so conducted: as the standing orders are to take into custody every one not a Member found under its sacred roof; its doors are guarded with the vigilance of a masonic lodge, and all strangers are invariably *turned out* when a division takes place. But who, on that account, objects to the publication on the following morning of the names and votes, as well as the evidence and opinions of those whose proceedings are carried on with closed doors? Really, Mr. Wynn is most unhappy in his

(*Hear, hear, hear.*) Of the other papers referred to by the hon. Member, he (Mr. Wynn) knew nothing. The General Order of the Government might, for any thing he knew, have been printed in the newspapers, and was, consequently, already within the hon. Member's reach. (*Hear.*) For the reasons he had stated, he hoped the House would agree with him in opinion, that there was no necessity whatever for its concurrence in the motion of the hon. Gentleman. (*Hear, hear.*)

Sir CHARLES FORBES maintained, that the report of the Committee of Inquiry ought to be produced, if it were only for the purpose of supporting the case which the right hon. Gentleman seemed to suppose he had so triumphantly made out. Its publication was due to Sir Edward Paget, and to the European officers. It was due also to the Native officers who had been dismissed the service without a court-martial or any inquiry—a proceeding which would not have been adopted with respect to European officers. It was most unjust to have one law for the Natives, and another for the Europeans. The same rule ought to be adopted for all. It was necessary to have the report on the table, that every one might be able to satisfy himself where the blame rested, especially after a transaction of such a horrible nature, that nothing like it had ever before occurred in the British dominions, either at home or abroad. There was nothing in this case but what usually occurred among the Native troops, who never scrupled to complain when they thought themselves ill used, and even to mutiny until their grievances were redressed. Certain regiments had before so far mutined, even in the face of an army, and sometimes even whole armies had mutined on the same grounds, and the mutiny of the armies of Holkar and of Scindia were examples. He did not mean to justify these mutinies, though they would arise among Native and all other troops; but they did not require this mode of punishment; and, in point of fact, neither this nor any other example of the kind would prevent such things occurring among the Native troops. There was only one way to prevent mutiny among the Native troops—and that way was, to do them justice, and to use them well. Treat them in this manner, and they would submit to the greatest privations and hardships, and they might well form an example to other troops. They had been sometimes in arrears of pay for eight, twelve, and even eighteen months, having nothing but a bare subsistence. But they did not complain, they were still faithful in their allegiance; they knew the Company were in difficulties, and they rested satisfied with the assurance of their officers, that their arrears would be paid up as soon as possible. These troops—he spoke chiefly of the Bombay and Madras troops—might form an example to other troops. He observed some members, who he supposed were young military officers, smiling at this. But he repeated, that these gentlemen might acquire some instruction by going to India, and observing the conduct of the Native armies there. If they were young officers, he could wish them nothing better than that they might be sent for a few campaigns to India; and before they went, he would recommend to them to consult the present illustrious Commander-in-Chief, and learn from him what he thought of the Indian Native troops. Their character was remarkable for firmness, in all cases in which they thought themselves unjustly used. No severity could prevent meetings and combinations among the troops if they were not treated with justice. They might cut down every man in the Company's army, and yet they would complain if just grounds of complaint were to remain in existence. But if they were treated with justice, there were no

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illustrations. If the inquiry was into a matter of private scandal or personal history, its Report might be called a private matter. But whatever involves the interests of a whole country, (as the true causes of dissatisfaction in our Indian army, and the proper remedies for the evil, may be fairly said to do,) is strictly a *public* matter, and every attempt to give it any other character should be reprobated, as a usurpation by an individual of the right of judgment belonging only to the legislature at large.

privations which they would not readily undergo. The House had heard a detail of the number of the sepoys destroyed at Barrackpore, in the massacre of that unfortunate day; but he should add, that besides the Native soldiers admitted to be slaughtered by their European fellow-subjects, there were many instances of men, women, and children not belonging to the army at all, who were indiscriminately shot and destroyed. Among the many unfortunate persons who fell victims, one was massacred under peculiarly affecting circumstances. Two Europeans were seen by an officer taking aim at an unfortunate wretch who had taken shelter in a tree. The man called out to the Europeans not to fire; one of them, however, nevertheless, did fire, and the poor wretch fell from the tree mortally wounded, calling out for mercy in the Hindoostanee language, and stating that he was not a sepoy, but the Governor-General's gardener. He put it to the House, whether, if a coroner's inquest had inquired into such a transaction, they could have returned any other verdict than one of wilful murder? In fact, men, women, and children, were indiscriminately sacrificed. He had no doubt that several similar circumstances might be quoted, as it was a fact well known in India, that European soldiers, when set against the Natives, did not exercise any forbearance in shedding Native blood. Under such circumstances, it was not surprising that the feeling between the Europeans and the Natives was now very different from what it had formerly been. The kind feeling once entertained by the Natives towards Europeans was strikingly exemplified, during the siege of Arcot, when there was a scarcity of provisions, and the Native troops willingly conceded their portion of rice to the Europeans, who were accustomed, as they declared, to more solid diet than themselves, saying, that as they (the Natives) could cook for the Europeans, though the Europeans could not cook for them, they wished to take upon themselves the boiling of all the rice required for both, when they would give over to the Europeans all the rice so boiled, and subsist themselves upon the rice water. He begged the attention of the House to the different manner in which Europeans, who had mutinied in India, were treated. At the former siege of Bhurtpore, two of the King's regiments were ordered to march to the breach, but, instead of doing so, they, after some deliberation, said, 'the breach is not practicable, we will not advance, unless you make a hole large enough for us to get in,' and they refused to advance. The commanders of the two Native regiments, one Bombay, and the other Bengal, then addressed their troops, and said, 'As the Europeans will not advance, let us try the breach;' and they accordingly advanced, but were repulsed with considerable loss. He asked the House whether the conduct of the King's troops upon that occasion, did not amount to mutiny? (*Hear, hear.*) It certainly did; but what was done to these two regiments?—Were they surrounded by Native troops and artillery, and fired upon?—No such thing. They were surrounded, and compelled to lay down their arms, and, having done so, they were sent down to Calcutta, but not one of them was punished. (14) (*Hear, hear.*) He admitted that prompt measures were necessary to suppress mutiny, but what he contended was, that every drop of blood which could, ought to be spared. He knew an instance in which a mutiny in the Bombay army was put down without the shedding of

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(14) A mutiny occurred also in his Majesty's 22d regiment of Foot at Multan, which originated in the dissatisfaction of the men at the conduct of the paymaster. The men were drawn up on the parade with their arms, and the Native troops drawn up opposite to them. They were then ordered to ground their arms, which they did, and to advance beyond them, which they also did. The cavalry then rushed in between the men and their arms, and secured the latter. The mutineers, as soon as boats could be procured, were then sent down by the Jumna, without their arms, to Calcutta, and embarked for England; but as it was known that their grounds of dissatisfaction were real (though not a tenth part so strong as those of the sepoys at Barrackpore) no courts-martial were held, and not a single individual put to death.

one drop of blood. Upon one occasion, a Bombay regiment refused to march; Sir Lionel Smith, the officer in command of the army, an officer distinguished for his bravery and humanity, instead of ordering the artillery, or the other regiments, to fire on the mutineers, went on the parade and addressed the men. He said, if the men had any just reason to complain, their complaints should be investigated, but that it was absolute madness in them to refuse to march, and that march they should, and that he had troops sufficient to compel them to march, or to cut them to pieces. The Native troops cheered the General, and proceeded on their march, and upon investigation it was found that their complaints were well-grounded, and that they had been treated with excessive cruelty by their adjutant. Why, he asked, was not a similar course of conduct pursued in the case of the unfortunate men, upon the occasion to which the present motion alluded? (15) At Seringapatam a mutiny broke out in a King's regiment; but it was put down without a single shot, and the parties engaged in it were, with the exception of three, again restored to the service. The fact was, that the Government in that country could not afford to shed European blood, but of Native blood they were not so careful.

In the mutiny of the officers at Madras, one of the most alarming mutinies that had ever occurred in India, no blood was shed, and not a single officer was dismissed without a court-martial. But it was clear, as he had said before, that in India there was one law for the European and another law for the Native, and it was against this system that he chiefly complained: for his voice should be always raised against injustice and oppression, in whatever part of the King's dominions it might occur. He did not expect that the motion of his hon. Friend, the Member for Montrose, would receive the support either of the Ministers, the Members of the Board of Control, the Directors of the India Company, or those who would be Directors; but he trusted it would have the support of all who had a desire to see justice done to the Natives of India, and that the decision of the House on that night would evince a disposition to listen to and redress their complaints. If, however, it should be otherwise, and there should be a majority against the motion, he should not be ashamed to see his name in the minority, though there were only one other to accompany it. The hon. Member proceeded to animadvert on some of the observations that had fallen from the right hon. the President of the Board of Control, many of which, he was persuaded, he could not have made were it not for his ignorance of the local peculiarities of the Indian service. He did not mean this phrase offensively, but, after giving the right hon. Gentleman every credit for what he already had done, and what he believed he still meant to do for India, he must still admit that he was unacquainted with the habits and manners of the people. He would mention only one instance in illustration of his assertion: it was this—The right hon. Gentleman had stated, that when the Bengal Government had granted an allowance of money to the complaining sepoy, to provide themselves with bullocks for the carriage of their baggage, they, the sepoy, ought to have exerted themselves to procure the cattle in question. Now it was notorious that, at this time, the Bengal Government had themselves swept the country all around, for 60 miles, not merely of cattle, but of every labouring man capable of carrying a burthen; and no exertion of the sepoy could have procured them a supply. Besides which, every sepoy must, to have so done, wandered fifty or sixty miles from his cantonment, and have altogether de-

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(15) In a journal of the storm and fall of Bhurtpore, published in the 'Morning Herald' of February 9, 1827, is the following paragraph:

'January 9, 1826.—A dissatisfaction is prevailing among some of the corps in the second division of the army. The men are discontented with the manner in which the sick are treated in the field hospital. The 15th regiment paraded a dead body about their lines, and complained that the man had died in consequence of bad treatment. The 33d also refused to go to the trenches; but by some conciliatory means these unpleasant casualties have subsided.'

parted from his military character by engaging in such a pursuit. He adduced other examples of mis-conception and mis-information in the right hon. Gentleman's speech, and offered other arguments in refutation of several of the positions advanced by him. It had been hinted that great danger to the safety of our Indian empire might be the result of producing the documents called for by the hon. Member who introduced this motion: but he believed the reason why the Report of the Court of Inquiry, held on the affair of Barrackpore, was refused was, that there had been so much crimination and recrimination in this Court of Inquiry, on different individuals implicated in the transaction, that the publication of its proceedings was thought inconvenient. In this belief he had the authority of an hon. Gentleman, who had seen the Report, who was then present in the House, and whom he could name, if he did not think that pledging his honour for the fact was sufficient. As a proof, however, of how desirable it was to have the fullest information laid before this House respecting transactions in so remote a country as India, he would take the liberty to read a short extract from the celebrated historian of India, Mr. Mill; the truth and force of which would be fully acknowledged by all who heard it. This writer says, 'Not only are the English rulers in India deprived of the salutary dread of the scrutinizing minds and free pens of an enlightened public, in the regions where they transact, they well know, that distance and other circumstances so completely veil the truth from English eyes, that, if the case will but bear a vanish, and if they take care to stand well with the Minister, they have in England every thing to hope, and seldom any thing to dread.' Notwithstanding all that had been said, however, of the danger likely to result from agitating this question, he should never cease, as long as he had a seat in that House, to bring under its notice, session after session, the massacre at Barrackpore. In his opinion, his Majesty's Ministers were bound to agree to the motion, both in justice to the Natives of India—in justice to the Noble Lord at the head of the Government in India—and in justice to the gallant Officer who then held the chief command of the army in that country. He trusted that the House would see that it was due to the interests of justice and humanity, as well as to the interests of the British possessions in India, to lay before the public the documents for which his hon. Friend had moved. He trusted that the vote of the House that evening would, by granting an inquiry into this horrible massacre, counteract the notion, which was very general in India, that, in this country, Indian interests were considered as interests of a secondry nature: and that justice and humanity would alike induce the House to grant the information sought, as the only means of coming to correct conclusions on the origin, extent, and character of the unfortunate transactions at Barrackpore.

Mr. C. W. WYNS, in explanation, said, that the letter alluded to by the hon. Member was a private letter from Captain Amherst, an amiable young man, acting at the time under the influence of warm and excited feelings; but in no part of the correspondence of Lord Amherst with this country, was there any expression of censure upon the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief. (16)

(16) The fact is the reverse of that here stated. The letter was *not* a private letter; but one purposely written, to be seen by as many as desired it: and to show that Lord Amherst was himself privy to, if not even the originator of it, (or that the son belied his father, which is an imputation too gross for belief), it is only necessary to quote the opening paragraph of it, in which Captain Amherst thus addresses Mr. Trower:

'Public rumour will have probably conveyed, ere this reaches you, the account of the Governor-General's recall. As HE WISHES IT, as well as the grounds which have induced the Authorities at home to adopt this measure, TO BE MADE AS PUBLIC AS POSSIBLE, that ALL may have an opportunity of judging of its justice, I send you the *particulars* of the case.'

The letter goes on to detail the whole case; and expressly states, that the

**Mr. HART DAVIS** must, upon the authority of a letter received from a relative of his, who, though he had no personal knowledge of Sir Edward Paget, was high on the Staff in the Quarter-Master-General's Department in India, deny the assertion made by an hon. Member, that the artillery was brought unawares upon the mutineers. The fact was, that the tents of the mutineers were close to the cannon; that they were aware of the intention of the officer in command to make use of the artillery; and that, notwithstanding their being aware of such intention, they actually drove back at the point of the bayonet the officers, who had made an attempt to remonstrate with them upon their conduct. (17) (*Hear, hear.*) He wished to know, now that the transaction was almost forgotten in India, what good could be produced by having all the circumstances ripped up by a Parliamentary inquiry? (*Hear, hear.*) He must also say, that the number killed upon that occasion was very much exaggerated. Those persons whose duty it was to make returns of the numbers killed, and whose interest it was to make out as large a return as possible, because they were paid for burying the mutineers at so much per head, had never stated the number killed at more than 180. (18) With respect to the alleged misunderstanding between the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India, he would say, that it was utterly unfounded. He was warranted in making this statement, by the letter to which he had alluded—a letter which was one strictly of a private nature, and never intended by the writer to be made public, but which he (Mr. H. D.) had felt it his duty to transmit to Lord Liverpool, who had kept it in his possession for six or seven days, and who had, by his (Mr. H. D.'s) permission, shown it to his Grace the Commander-in-Chief. (The hon. Member here read extracts from the letter, giving a detail of the operations of the army employed in the Burmese war, and stating that Lord Amherst and the Commander-in-Chief were on the best terms, and that the harmony which subsisted between them had never been interrupted, even for a single hour.) (19) He trusted that the hon. Member for Montrose would state whether he had seen the letter to which he had alluded, and whether it bore the signature of Capt. Amherst.

**Mr. HUME** replied, that he had received his copy from a gentleman who had himself seen the original in Captain Amherst's own hand writing, in the possession of Mr. Trower, of the Bengal Civil Service, to whom the original was addressed; and that the copy also bore the signature of Captain Amherst. (20)

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reason why the Court of Inquiry on the Barrackpore affair was sent to England unaccompanied by any comment of the Government there, was, that the case was so clear as to need no comment; and that it was omitted out of delicacy to Sir Edward Paget, who, as a Member of Government, must have passed censure on himself and those immediately responsible to him. Can any thing be plainer than this? The whole letter, as well as its history, will be found in the '*Oriental Herald*,' vol. xi. p. 230, and is well worth perusal at this particular moment, though it will not help out Mr. Wynn's accuracy a tittle.

(17) This is a very inaccurate version of a very different story.

(18) But there were nearly as many killed in the river, whose bodies were never collected for burial.

(19) The man who made this assertion could not have been with these two individuals at every hour of their lives; and therefore asserts more than he could know. Besides which, the differences between those personages were notorious to all India, and were the subject of fifty letters from officers quite as much entitled to credit as, and evidently much better informed than, this friend of the hon. Member.

(20) The truth is, that authentic copies of this letter were circulated freely in Calcutta and other parts of India, and several came to England through different channels.



Mr. H. DAVIS.—The hon. Member had an advantage over him in that respect, for he (Mr. H. Davis) had not seen that letter; but, even taking the sentiments in that letter to be as stated by the hon. Member, was it fair towards the Commander-in-Chief, or the writer of the letter, who, under the excitement, probably, of heated feelings, had, in a letter *strictly private*, expressed his opinions, to bring them forward in a public discussion? (21) Would it be fair towards any man, to bring forward upon a motion attaching censure to him, the opinions expressed by other persons, in a *confidential communication*? He should be glad to know, what would be the feelings of the hon. Member for Montrose, if such a course were pursued upon a motion made with respect to the Greek war. (*Loud and continued cheers.*) Would that hon. Member think it fair, that, upon such a motion, the opinions of other persons, as to his financial care of the interests of his constituents, should be pressed into the discussion? (*Repeated cheering.*) He mentioned this to show that persons who lived in glass houses should not be the first to throw stones. (*Cheering and laughter.*) He was induced to make those observations, from his anxiety to rescue the character of a gallant Officer from the imputations which had been most unjustly cast upon him.

Colonel DAVIS.—The hon. Member who spoke last, had alluded to the proverb, that 'those who lived in glass houses ought not to throw stones.' He (Col. D.) would leave the House to appreciate the good feeling and good taste of such an allusion. He would not, himself, give any opinion on the subject, much less would he, in imitation of the hon. Member's personality, make mention to the House of the misfortunes (for he could call them nothing but misfortunes) which befel the hon. Member himself (Mr. H. Davis) some years ago. If he followed that hon. Member's example, he could mention transactions, connected with the hon. Member's name, which would bring a blush of shame into that hon. Member's cheeks. (*Cheers and murmurs.*)

Mr. H. DAVIS.—I beg leave to say, that I wish the hon. Member to explain—to state to the House the transactions to which he alludes. I defy him. (22)

The SPEAKER then interposed, and addressed the House to the following effect:—I am sure the House will do me the justice to believe, that I never interfere in its proceedings, without great pain and considerable doubt whether my interference may prove useful, which, if it be not, it cannot be necessary or proper. I am quite sure also, that when in this instance I venture to call the attention of the House to the rules and orders which have been made for the government of its debates, I shall produce the best possible impression, because it has witnessed the inconvenience of the deviation that has taken place from the strict path of propriety, and which, if permitted in one instance, would, by degrees, carry us to an extent of irregularity which the House must feel it would be impossible to allow. The hon. Gentleman

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(21) Let any man read again the opening paragraph of Captain Amherst's letter, and say whether Mr. Hart Davis could ever have seen or understood it, if he calls it a 'strictly private letter.' It was written expressly that all the world might see it.

(22) This common trick, of endeavouring to draw attention from things to persons, and justifying the alleged misconduct of one man by the alleged misconduct of another, is always indicative either of a very shallow understanding, or a consciousness of a very bad case on the part of the person resorting to it. But hurling defiance in an assembly where it is known that the Speaker would instantly rise to interrupt the fight, is something like the magnanimity of Mr. Dymoke, the celebrated champion at the King's coronation, who rode into Westminster-hall upon a noble charger, and most magnanimously threw down the gauntlet, defying the whole world to take it up, if any man among them disputed the right of his Majesty to the throne; the said champion well knowing that no man could dare to take it up, without the certainty of being beheaded for the crime of high treason.

Mr. Hart Davis) began by deviating from the subject before the House by references to quite other matters. (*Cheers.*) How far those references were or were not intended to be personal to the feelings of others, that hon. Gentleman best knew himself. But though they might not be intended as personal, he must not be surprised they should be so taken; and if they were so taken, it was natural, however painful a task it might be to the House to witness them, that retorts should be made of the same character as the original references. (*Cheers.*) I hope I have said enough to convince the House of the inconvenience that must always follow deviations of this kind, and I trust that for the future Honourable Members will confine themselves singly and exclusively to the subject before the House.

Colonel DAVIES resumed: Certainly, he said, when he rose to speak, he was labouring under feelings which were painful to utter, but he believed the great body of the House would concur with him, that his feelings were such as ought to animate every man who had a heart. The gallant Member then referred to the dreadful details of the melancholy transaction which they were discussing. He was the last person who would impute cruelty to the gallant General who commanded. He believed him to be a brave, honourable, and humane man. But he contended, nevertheless, that the production of the papers was necessary to the vindication of Sir Edward Paget's character; and to show where the guilt really lay. The production of these papers, he was convinced, would show that that gallant Officer was not guilty of the cruelty imputed to him; and, therefore, he considered the production of the Report necessary to vindicate his fame. Sir Edward Paget, who was not on the spot, might not have been able to put a stop to the slaughter, but surely the commanding officers were able, and they deserved to be punished for not having done so.

Sir HUSSEY VIVIAN expressed his regret at the occurrence of so many mutinies in India, within the last twenty years, but expressed his conviction of the necessity of putting an end to them by such a measure as that adopted by his gallant Friend, (Sir Edward Paget,) on the late occasion. He had known and served with his gallant Friend many years, ever since 1793—he had been in the same regiment and the same company with him, and he had many opportunities of witnessing the humanity of his disposition. It was well said, in a General Order issued by an illustrious military character, the loss of whom they had lately to deplore, that 'the brightest gem in the character of the British soldier was humanity:' in no bosom did that gem shine more brightly and more purely than in that of his gallant friend, (Sir Edward Paget) (23) He could assure the House, from personal observation, that there was no officer in the British army more averse to unnecessary severity of discipline, than that gallant officer. (*Hear.*) Menacing and mutinous conduct of soldiers, with arms in their hands, ought to be instantly suppressed on all occasions; it was particularly necessary in a country so circumstanced as India. But were not all proper means used to prevent the unhappy occurrence? An offer was made to the mutineers before the officers left the regiment, to lay their complaints before a tribunal, which was about to be convened, and even one of the officers offered himself to them as a hostage, to assure them of the sincerity of the intended offer; and the officers who went to propose a submission the following day, were turned back at the point of the bayonet. How then could his gallant Friend yield to them under such circumstances? A concession to their insolent claims would have subverted all discipline in India, and shaken the very foundation

(23) As there was no imputation on Sir Edward Paget's character from his youth, upward this eulogy, though ever so just, was unnecessary. The question at issue could not be determined but on evidence; and all that the motion asked for was, to have that evidence before the House.

of the British power there. (24) Nor was this the only mutiny in India in which many lives were lost. In the mutiny at Vellore, in which the sepoys fired on the European troops in a barrack yard, and which was ultimately suppressed by the gallantry of the late General Gillespie, who broke open the gates, and rescued the King's troops from destruction; on that occasion there were no less than 600 lives lost. The sacrifice of lives in the late affair at Barrackpore was *imperatively necessary*; (25) and it was but just that they with whom the insurrection had *originated*, should be made to pay the penalties. The mutineers were, he would admit, soon broken and dispersed; but even after that some of them meditated resistance, and actually fired on the Royals. (26) Was it not impossible (he would appeal to the gallant Officer opposite) to restrain the fury of soldiers, against even a national enemy, when broken? As to the report of the Committee of Inquiry, he could assure the House that nothing could give the family of his gallant Friend more pleasure than the production of it. He was convinced that his gallant Friend, in this affair, had done no more than his duty in upholding the discipline of the army and the authority of the British Government in India. (27)

Colonel LUSHINGTON could not reconcile it to his feelings, or to the situation he held in the Company's army, to give a silent vote. The broad and substantial fact of a most serious and dangerous mutiny having existed in the Native regiments at Barrackpore, justified Sir Edward Paget in what he did; and so far from thinking him to blame, he considered him entitled to great praise for the promptitude with which he adopted, and the firmness with which he carried into execution, the necessary measures for effectually subduing the mutiny. (*Hear, hear.*) He (Colonel Lushington) lamented as much as any man the number of lives that were lost, but while he did so, he thought no one to blame but the sepoys themselves, by their pertinacious adherence to a mutinous course of conduct. He regretted that such severe and unwarrantable epithets as massacre and murder should have been applied to these transactions, and he was fully persuaded, if those that thought them so, could look at them with a military eye, they would greatly change their opinion without in the least compromising their humanity. With regard to the dismissal of the Native officers, he was surprised to hear the arguments made use of. When it was recollected they all rose from the ranks, and except the military rank their commission gave them, they had no superior station in society above the sepoys with whom they were frequently connected, it was impossible that if they did their duty, and were really sincere in their endeavours to put down mutinous proceedings, they could ever reach beyond a momentary ebullition. He said this from a long and intimate acquaintance with the Native army. He could also say commutation of punishment was by no means unusual; surely it would be unjust and impolitic to have different degrees and modes of punishment for the same offence

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(21) But their claims were not insolent, neither would the granting them have shaken India at all; for, in point of fact, all their grievances were subsequently redressed, being admitted to be well founded; and yet India remains as secure as ever.

(25) This is the whole question in doubt: one party saying *aye*, and another *no*. The evidence alone could decide which was right, and this is all that is asked.

(26) But it has been shown that many who had no concern with originating the mutiny were *also* made to suffer the penalty, not of their own misdeeds, but those of others.

(27) This, then, is the strongest possible argument in favour of producing the Report: for then, if just, all the world would adopt Sir Hussey Vivian's opinion, and the question would be set at rest for ever.

depending upon the caste of the sepoy, but the fact was, no such principle was acknowledged, and the articles of war for the Native army made no distinction of that nature. If the hon. Member who brought forward this motion could have satisfied the House that, since the mutiny, the spirit of discontent had increased, and that the character of the Government had grown into disrepute with the Native population, then there would have existed grounds for the motion. But the very reverse was the case. The Bengal army was never in a higher state of discipline than at present; (*hear, hear;*) the very regiments that were concerned in the mutiny, had effectually redeemed their character by their good conduct during the Burmese war. Colours had been restored, by orders of the Supreme Government, to the regiment that had lost them during the mutiny, for their gallant conduct in Arracan. Where therefore could be the necessity of renewing this painful inquiry? The errors and abuses that may have existed would be rectified by the executive Government, and in their hands those papers ought to remain, the publication of which, from the nature of the inquiry, would create heartburnings and jealousies amongst the officers, and do incalculable mischief. (*Hear, hear.*) Upon these considerations, and not perceiving any possible benefit that could arise from acceding to it, he must give the motion a most decided negative.

General DUFF spoke with great vehemence against the motion. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hume) who had brought it forward, had undertaken to treat of a subject he did not understand. He might be very good authority on a question of physic; (*a laugh;*) and he (General Duff) wished that the hon. Gentleman would for the future confine himself to such subjects as he really did know. (*Laughter.*) His speech on this occasion was undoubtedly frivolous and vexatious. (*Continued laughter.*) If he had been in Sir Edward Paget's place, he would have done the same, and would do so a hundred times to come, if it was necessary. (*Great laughter.*) The hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Hume) ought to have found a subject of discussion about which he knew something, but his attempt of to-night, on a matter of which he knew nothing, was both frivolous and vexatious. Indeed, after the time that elapsed since the occurrence at Barrackpore, and the declaration of the hon. Baronet, that he would continually move, session after session, for inquiry into this subject, he could call it nothing but persecution. He (General Duff) had been at Westminster School, in early life, with Sir Edward Paget, he had afterwards served with him in Holland and in Egypt, and he never knew a more gallant and humane officer. (28)

Mr. MAHERLY said, if the papers were granted, they should then be made acquainted with the cause of this mutiny. So far as the gallant Officer was concerned, he thought his character unimpeached. But then the important point was to ascertain whether or not the conduct of the Government had not driven the men to this fatal course. It was clear there must have been some cause for the mutiny, which had been kept out of sight. The papers would

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(28) Here is the old fallacy of personal character repeated. No one questioned either the gallantry or humanity of Sir Edward Paget's general character. But here is a particular transaction in which he was concerned; and the motion of Mr. Hume only says, 'Give us the authentic particulars of this transaction, that we may judge for ourselves.' But, 'No,' say the speakers on the other side, 'you must take what we say on trust; we are not going to show you the particulars: they are all right, but you shan't see them, nevertheless.' Can any thing be more discreditable than such a course as this? As to General Duff thinking, that because he would do the same thing, therefore it must be *right*; he should first prove that in judgment he was infallible, and that in action he could do no wrong, which this assumes, and then the world might admit, that if he would do any particular act, then such an act could never be justly complained of when done by any other person.

convey information on the subject to the House, and therefore he should vote for the motion.

Sir JOSEPH YORKE intended, as usual, to be extremely brief in his address to the House. He had heard several, but not all of the speeches which had been delivered on this occasion, and, among others, that of the hon. Baronet. (Sir Charles Forbes,) whose speech comprised all the observations that had fallen from all the East India Proprietors during the last twenty years. (*A laugh.*) He had also heard the very temperate and conciliatory remarks of the Chair, in its endeavour to produce a better understanding between two of the hon. Members who had spoken to-night: (*cheers*;) but he certainly had not heard any attack attempted on the character of Sir Edward Paget, although he had heard it vindicated as if some hostile animadversions had been made upon it. (*Hear.*) The fact was, that Sir Edward Paget, in the extraordinary situation in which he found himself, had but done that which every brave and humane man, in the capacity of Commander-in-Chief, would have done under similar circumstances. He had, undoubtedly, acquitted himself in an honourable, a just, and a gallant manner. (*Cheers.*) But the question before the House was, whether these papers should or should not be granted? (*Hear.*) No one doubted that Sir Edward had not proceeded to extremities, until that course could be no longer avoided. But, in answer to this demand for the papers necessary to put Parliament in possession of the history of this unfortunate transaction, he (Sir Joseph Yorke) had heard one of his Majesty's Ministers affirm, that their production would be exceedingly inconvenient: and if it rested on that right hon. Gentleman's own responsibility, he would give this assertion so much credit, as to take the fact for granted. But when it was added, that the granting of these papers would implicate too many persons in India, he (Sir Joseph Yorke) could not help asking, what sort of hold must ours upon India be, if people were to be met, on calling for inquiry into the causes of any great disaster, with exclamations of alarm, and his Majesty's Government were to be the first persons to cry, 'Hush, for God's sake, not a word on that subject.' (*A laugh.*) It had also been admitted, that one cause of the disaffection exhibited by the sepoys, was their destination at the time; for it was conceded on all hands, that the Burmese war was exceedingly disrelished in that part of the country, and by the Native troops. If the fact was so, it exceedingly behoved those Gentlemen who were most connected with the Government of India, to keep those boundaries, for the future, which good policy and equity should alike prescribe to them as the proper limits of their Eastern possessions. (*Hear.*) If they should still exceed those limits, he hoped, for one, to see the day, when the Government of such noble territories should be taken out of the hands which, at present, wielded it in Leadenhall-street, and placed in those to which it should long since have been made over, the hands of his Majesty's Government. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. JOHN STEWART (the member for Beverley) intreated the House to consider whether they could, with justice, decline to accede to the motion before them. He asserted that there were many persons, both in this country and India, who doubted, up to the present moment, whether there had been any mutiny at all—whether, in short, the steps that were taken by the men, when their complaints were communicated to their officers, really deserved that name or not. It was right that such doubts should be removed, and there was no way in which this could be done so effectually as by producing the documents called for. He trusted, therefore, that, in justice to all parties concerned, the motion would meet with the cordial support of all who desired to have these transactions placed in their true light before the world.

Sir J. BRESFORD, when he heard some hon. Gentlemen really doubting whether the transactions, which had been so much referred to, this evening, did amount or not to a mutiny, begged to observe, that he had received a letter from a brother officer of rank, who was present at the scene, and who

not only described it as a mutiny, but declared that Sir Edward Paget had—by his forbearance in the beginning, and his determination at the conclusion, of those transactions—as much entitled himself to the praise of having saved his country, so far as her Eastern dominion was concerned, as Lord St. Vincent had done, by his admirable conduct in the mutiny off Cadiz, in preserving to Great Britain the allegiance of her navy. (*Hear.*) This officer wrote home, that Sir Edward had merited the thanks, not only of India, but of all the British empire; and he particularly extolled the good feeling manifested by this distinguished commander, in going before the troops, in front of their line, under arms, and asking them, with the utmost earnestness and anxiety, to return to their obedience. (29) When, indeed, he found that his remonstrances were vain, he performed the sad duty which remained to him, like a man of a determination equal to his humanity.

Mr. HUME, in reply, contended, that the right hon. Gentleman himself (with a degree of candour for which he was bound to thank that right hon. Gentleman) had, in fact, admitted the whole of his (Mr. Hume's) case, with one or two exceptions that were really of little moment; for he admitted that the evils complained of by the Native troops, as to the deficiency of beasts, and other means of transport and accommodation, had existed—(*hear.*)—but added, that they had since been remedied. He (Mr. Hume) was very glad to hear this assurance; but the admission with which it was coupled sanctioned, surely, the principle of the motion now before the House. In stating the loss of human life, however, on this melancholy occasion, at only 160, the right hon. Gentleman greatly underrated the extent of the calamity, for he did not include the 150 Natives who perished, miserably, in their attempt to escape over the river—being shot like so many wild fowl. As to the Subadars, who had been described as the great fermenters of the discontents, and the necessity of whose removal had been, in some sort, made the excuse for the attack upon the sepoys, it was notorious that they lived in line with the rest of the Native troops; and might, at any moment, have been all of them seized, to a man, and executed, if their destruction was thought so essential to the preservation of our influence and power in India. But our own troops, and some of our own officers, had, by their own acts, increased the discontent and resentment of the sepoys, who did, however, manifest, in return for what they felt as insults and injuries, the most extraordinary and meritorious forbearance. (*Hear, hear.*) Among other instances of this forbearance on their part, was the case of Colonel Dalzel. That officer (who did not understand a word of Hindostanee) in the irritation of the moment, reviled and abused them, and addressed to them epithets, which among our own sailors and soldiers would be received as the most degrading terms of reproach. (*Hear.*) For instance, he ‘God d—d their eyes,’ and every thing else. (*Continued laughter.*) He pulled off his coat, tore open his waistcoat, and, baring his bosom, bade them shoot him, and otherwise depicted himself in such a manner as to make the sepoys think him of unsound mind. The hon. Gentleman concluded, by disclaiming the notion of intending any personal disrespect to Sir Edward Paget, by this motion; and animadverted on the utter irrelevancy of all the eulogies which had been passed—and he did not mean to deny justly passed—on that very eminent officer—to the objects with which he (Mr. Hume) had brought this matter under the notice of the House.

The gallery was then cleared for a division; and the numbers were—For the motion, 44—Against it, 176—Majority against it, 132.

(29) This is a fact of which we never before heard, and we think there must be some misconception respecting it: as all communication with the Native troops was, as far as we have understood, maintained by and through officers of inferior rank to the Commander-in-Chief, though possibly with his knowledge and sanction.

## LIST OF THE MINORITY.

Althorp, Lord	Hobhouse, J. C.	Rowley, Sir W.
Buxton, T. Fowell	Heathcote, R. E.	Smith, John
Baring, W. B.	Honywood, W. P.	Sykes, D.
Bernal, Ralph	Hutchinson, H. (Cork)	Stewart, John
Brougham, James	Harvey, D. W.	Tennyson, Chas.
Craddock, Colonel	Jephson, Chas. D. Orl.	Taylor, M. A.
Dawson, Alex.	King, Hon. R.	Wood, Ald.
Dundas, Hon. Thos.	Lumley, J. Saville	Western, C. C.
Dundas, Hon. Sir R.	Lushington, Dr.	Wells, John
Dundas, Hon. G. L.	Lamb, Hon. George	Webbe, Colonel
Easthope, John	Lombe, E.	Warburton, H.
Forbes, Sir C.	Maberly, J.	
Forbes, John	Maberly, W. L.	Tellers.
Gordon, Rob.	Monck, J. B.	Davies, Colonel
Grattan, Henry	Nugent, Lord	Hume, Joseph
Grattan, James	Ponsonby, Hon. G.	

## COURT MARTIALS.

\* Head Quarters, Madras, May 1, 1826.

\* Major J. F. Paterson of his Majesty's 13th Light Dragoons was arraigned on the charge of highly unofficer-like and disrespectful conduct towards his senior officer, Colonel Boyce.

\* Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision. 'The Court having found the prisoner Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, his Majesty's 13th Light Dragoons, guilty as above stated, (of unofficer-like and disrespectful conduct,) which being in breach of the Articles of War, do sentence him the said Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, to be reprimanded, in such manner as his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief may deem fit.'

\* The Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army, Sir George Walker, accompanied the promulgation of this sentence with the following observations :

'The reprimand which it is Lieutenant-General Sir George Walker's duty here to communicate to Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, will, he hopes, admonish him to be more particular in future, in all explanations required by his Senior Officer, and to bear always in mind, that, however severe the terms in which they may be addressed, it is a duty to the service of his country that he is fulfilling, and not to be considered an act of subservience to the individual.

\* The Lieutenant-General cannot, however, but regret that it should have been found necessary to assemble a court-martial at so great an expense and inconvenience, both to the individuals and Government, and to have placed an officer of rank in a situation so painful to his feelings on a trifling misunderstanding, which five minutes' personal conversation, with a due suavity of manner, might have cleared up. He cannot but deprecate communication by letter between officers in the succession of command, where personal explanation can be obtained, independent of great waste of time that might be more usefully employed; it must be in every one's observation, that a gentlemanly manner and tone of voice (always to be expected between officers) will often give a moderate and proper expression to a phrase, which may, in a letter, appear harsh and offensive; and when it is recollected how much the public service suffers by such misunderstandings, and what bad example they hold out—the Lieutenant-General must require personal communication to be adopted, when practicable, on all matters of duty between officers in the immediate succession of command, when it is necessary to enter into explanation or detail.

'The Lieutenant-General must at the same time desire, that officers in superior command may abstain as much as possible from interfering in the interior details of regiments. Nothing but repeated irregularities can excuse this, as it must evidently imply negligence or incapacity on the part of the actual commander, and in so much weaken the respect necessary to his authority—and when irregularities or mismanagement, really requiring such interference, do actually occur, the case is of such a nature as necessarily to form a report to the Superintending General for the information of the commander of the forces. In the meantime the chain of responsibility must be kept up in all its links, giving as well as taking the respect due to each, and the Lieutenant-General will feel bound to notice any breach of it. Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson is now released from his arrest and is to re-assume his command.'

'Head Quarters, Madras, May, 9, 1826.

'Lieutenant George Berwick of his Majesty's 13th Light Dragoons was arraigned on the following charges, viz.

'For conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, in involving himself in pecuniary transactions with the non-commissioned officers under his immediate command, calculated to weaken the ties of authority and respect which are essential to the due preservation of military discipline.

'Upon which charges the Court came to the following decision:

'The Court acquit the prisoner of ungentleman-like conduct, but having found him guilty, as above stated, (of involving himself in pecuniary transactions with the non-commissioned officers,) which conduct is unbecoming an officer, subversive of discipline, and in breach of the Articles of War, do sentence him, the said Lieutenant Berwick, his Majesty's 13th Dragoons, to lose one step, by being placed immediately below the Lieutenant who, at this date, stands next to him in the List of Officers of his Majesty's 13th Dragoons.'

On the publication of the sentence, the Commander-in-Chief issued the following observations:

'After the patient investigation and attention with which the Court has gone through the accompanying proceedings, however different the opinion of the Lieutenant-General may be on the result, it is, with great regret that he feels his duty to the public service will not allow him to attend to its recommendation, in favour of the prisoner. Under the generally known principles of the service, it would be imagined that every military, every gentlemanly feeling, would revolt at the idea of a pecuniary obligation to a non-commissioned officer or private, and that the most ignorant would be aware how much it must strike at the root of subordination and discipline; but in this instance, obligations of this nature have been contracted in the very face of a clear and distinct order upon the subject, by the late Commander-in-Chief of India (General Sir Edward Paget) published to this army April 30th, 1824. There cannot then be found the slightest colouring of an excuse for the conduct of the prisoner, and he may think himself most fortunate in the charitable construction of the Court and the slight sentence it has awarded for a crime of so mischievous a tendency. This sentence is to be carried into execution, and the prisoner released from arrest.

'The Lieutenant-General cannot, however, pass over this occasion of expressing his great surprise at the prevalence of so degrading a custom in one of his Majesty's regiments as has been developed in these proceedings, a custom grown to such an extent as to be quoted even in extenuation. Is it possible that this can have existed without the knowledge of the commanding officer, if he fulfils his duty to the corps placed under his command, and thus no less under his moral protection? The Lieutenant-General must consider that it bespeaks great inattention on his part and he must hold him responsible that it shall be eradicated. A band of money lenders must be very unfit for the duties of non-commissioned officers—and officers, who borrow of them, as unfit to command, and he can have little doubt of the consequences which such



a state of degradation will bring upon the corps, should any further example of it appear.

Head Quarters: Madras, May, 22, 1826.

Lieutenant-Colonel Boyse, 13th Light Dragoons, commanding the cantonment of Bangalore, was arraigned on the following charge preferred against him by Major-General Sir Theophilus Pritzler, K. C. B., commanding the Mysore division of the army.

For disrespect to me as the officer commanding the division, in treating my orders with contempt, by issuing a regimental order, bearing date 7th February 1826, in direct opposition to the instructions conveyed to him personally by me on that day, before the commanding officer and officers of his Majesty's 13th Dragoons assembled for that purpose, and in communicating the same through the adjutant of the 13th Dragoons, in direct and immediate disobedience of those my orders. Such conduct, on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel Boyse, being unbecoming his character as an officer, prejudicial to his Majesty's service, and subversive of all order, and military regulations and discipline.

(Signed)

T. PRITZLER, Major-General,  
Commanding Mysore Division.

Bangalore, April 15, 1826.

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision:

The Court, having taken in mature consideration the evidence on the prosecution, together with what Lieutenant-Colonel Boyse, C. B. has adduced in his defence, is of opinion, that he, Lieutenant-Colonel Boyse, C. B. his Majesty's 13th Light Dragoons, is not guilty of the crime laid to his charge—and do therefore most fully and most honourably acquit him of all and every part thereof.

The following are the remarks of the Commander-in-Chief on this occasion:

Although the Lieutenant-General has thought it expedient to confirm the finding and sentence of the Court: taking notwithstanding a very different view of the course of its proceeding, he cannot add his approval—and should certainly have sent them back for revision, had it not appeared useless, after the Court had allowed its opinions to be biased by the admission of a mass of papers and other matter, totally irrelevant to the subject before it, and thence, among other irregularities, licensing the prisoner to place upon the face of its proceedings a most unjustifiable and wanton attack upon the character of an officer of rank not under its cognizance, and leaving him therefore without the means of justification. In fact, instead of confining itself to the sole evidence connected with the charge, viz. the instructions of Major-General Sir Theophilus Pritzler, and the regimental order issued by the prisoner: instead of giving its own unbiassed opinion upon the subject submitted to its consideration, it appears to have surrendered its post to the subalterns of the 13th Light Dragoons, and allowed them to sit in judgment between their General of division and the prisoner—the natural consequence of which has been that the facts in issue, facts most important to the discipline of the army, however distinctly proved, have been lost sight of—viz. that Major-General Sir Theophilus Pritzler had given instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Boyse and the officers of the 13th Dragoons, defining the command of the *regiment* vested in *Lieutenant-Colonel Puterson*, who in all respects was to be obeyed as such, forbidding at the same time any other channel of communication to the officers, either to Lieutenant-Colonel Boyse or to himself, but through him. Now as military discipline has never yet admitted of the anomaly of two commanding officers of the same corps, this might have been thought sufficiently explanatory, especially to an officer of twenty-three years' standing. Nevertheless, after hearing these instructions, and on the very same morning, as if in defiance of them, it is proved and admitted that Lieutenant-Colonel Boyse took home with him the Adjutant of the regiment, and this officer whom he had just heard forbidden to have any communication with him but

through the channel of his commanding officer (Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson) was actually employed by him in the issue of a *regimental order*, contrary to the authority just defined by the Major-General, as vesting in Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson.—An order even going to the extent of weakening and degrading the power and respect necessary to the situation, by taking from it all means of reward and leaving with it all the odium of punishment—an order as if intended to keep up that spirit of party, which the instructions of the Major-General were specifically intended to upset—an order above all totally disregarding his Majesty's regulations, which strictly define all the restrictions necessary for officers in temporary command, in forbidding any change of orders and regulations previously established by the more permanent commanding officers, without superior authority, but no where providing for the double interference of both at the same time.

'As to the remark of the Major-General, that Lieutenant-Colonel Boyse was the commanding officer of Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, as the latter was of the regiment, it could admit but of one military sense, that of his command of the cantonment, which gave him all necessary authority over the 13th Dragoons as of all other corps within it, and it can hardly be doubted that all proper instructions issued by him to its commanding officer for its welfare would be attended to, or if neglected, he had always the power of reporting that neglect to superior authority, though not of arbitrary interference with the internal management of his inferior, who, by signing the returns, became at once the only acknowledged and responsible commander, and of course vested with all the power necessary to fulfil his duties.

'The Court, however, has honourably acquitted the prisoner Lieutenant-Colonel Boyse of all this. He is consequently to be released from arrest and to return to his duty and command. The Major-General of the division is now even desired to have the order in question expunged from the regimental books of the 13th Dragoons, as trammelling the authority of the commanding officer, and contrary to the spirit and meaning of his Majesty's regulations, to which his attention must however be particularly called—at the same time, not losing sight of the probable return to command of his senior, he will of course be expected to consult with and attend to his recommendations on all important concerns of the corps, not inconsistent with his responsibility and the due authority necessary to his command.'

'Head Quarters: Choultry Plain, May 1826.

'As from some late examples it appears there have existed doubts with some individuals of this army with respect to the meaning of certain orders for the guidance of officers, who, being seniors of their corps, may hold at the same time superior commands at the same stations; and as the possibility of two persons interfering at the same time in one command must be attended with the most mischievous effects to military discipline, in the creation of parties, the encouragement of trivial complaints, and the lowering of the proper authority—it is for the future to be distinctly understood as the rule of duty throughout this army, that officers accepting or executing superior commands with or without salaries attached thereto, the duties of which require the signature of returns and the details of their own corps to be left to the next in rank—re-sign thereby all authority to interfere personally in the internal management of it for the time being. The immediate and complete command of which is vested in the officer who, by his signature to the returns, is rendered alone responsible for its discipline and character. Junior officers, however, so situated being expected to consult and attend to the recommendations of their seniors in all important concerns of their regiments not inconsistent with their own responsibility or the due authority necessary to the maintenance of their commands, keeping always in view the spirit as well as letter of the principles laid down by his Majesty's regulations of not allowing, during his temporary absence, any change in the written orders and regulations laid down by the more permanent commanding officer in which all wholesome and necessary restriction is included no further interference on the part of the senior can be allowed, than what is given by the superior

command over that corps in common with all others in his cantonment, as in the case of a Brigadier General or Colonel on the Staff, where, in case of any failure of discipline or inattention to his proper instructions, he has always in his power to report that neglect to superior authority, but in no case can be allowed an arbitrary interference in its internal management.

'This regulation is not, however, to be construed to extend to the temporary changes of command arising out of the chance meeting of corps, or to any temporary command indeed that does not require the abandonment on the part of the senior of the signature of returns and of the superintendence of the usual details and duties; and, to prevent all doubts upon the subject, all previous orders inconsistent with the principle here laid down, are henceforward to be considered null and void.

'T. H. S. CONWAY, Adjutant General of the Army.'

#### **CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES, IN INDIA.**

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- Bell, A. Lieut., removed from 2d troop 3d brig., to 3d troop 2d brig. artil. regt.—C. Aug. 8.
- Becher, Mr. F. J., Assistant to the Collector of Midnapore.—C. Aug. 24.
- Chapman, H., admitted as Assist.-Surg.—C. Aug. 11.
- Campbell, G. G. Surg., Gar.-Surg. at Agra, to have Med. Charge of Artil. at that station.—C. Aug. 8.
- Grant, C. S., promoted to be Assist.-Surg.—C. Aug. 11.
- Green, G. T., Lieut. corps of Engin., to be an Assist. to Superint. of Delhi canal.—C. Aug. 11.
- Garstin, Mr. C., to be a Junior.-Assist. to the Political Agent to the Gov.-Gen. in Sauror and the Nerbudda territories.—C. Aug. 25.
- Hutton, Mr. C., admitted as Cadet of Infan. and promoted to be Ensign.—C. Aug. 11.
- James, A., Ensign, prom., posted to 7th regt. N. I.—B. Sept. 23.
- Knox, Mr. R. T., admitted Cadet of Cav. and promoted to Cornet.—C. Aug. 11.
- Lushington, Mr. G. T., to be Assist. to the Persian Secretary to the Gov.-Gen.—C. July 20.
- Mackenzie, Mr. H., to be Sec. to the Gov.-Gen. during the period of his Lordship's tour to the Upper Provinces.—C. July 6.
- Molony, Mr. E., to officiate as Sec. to the Government in the Territorial Department.—C. July 6.
- Munday, Mr. H., Salt Agent for the Southern Division of Calcutta.—C. Aug. 4.
- Newton, C., promoted to be Assist.-Surg.—C. Aug. 11.
- Reid, Mr. J. N., admitted as Cadet of Inf. and promoted to be Ens.—C. Aug. 11.
- Ravenshaw, Mr. E. C., to be Assist. to the Persian Sec. to the Gov.-Gen.—C. July 20.
- Shortland, V. Lieut. 36th N. I., to superintend N. Div. of Cuttack road.—C. Aug. 6.
- Sanders, H. 2d Lieut. posted to 2d Comp. 5th Bat. Artil. Regt.—C. Aug. 6.
- Stirling, Mr. A., to be Persian Sec. to the Gov.-Gen.—C. July 6.
- Tarnell, F. promoted to be Assist.-Surg.—C. Aug. 11.
- Vetch, G. A. Capt., 54th N. I. to superintend Berhampore road.—C. Aug. 6.
- Wakefield, W. Lieut. removed to 2d troop. 3d Brig. Horse Art.—C. Aug. 8.
- Young, W. 2d Lieut., posted to 20th Comp. 6th bat. Artil.-regt.—C. Aug. 8.

**BIRTHS.**

- Ainslie, the lady of M., Esq., of a daughter, at Humeerpore, North Bundelcund, Aug. 23.  
 Angelo, the lady of Lieut. F., 7th Light Cavalry, of a son, at Kurnaul, Oct. 16.  
 Adams, the lady of Capt., of a son, at Sattara, Oct. 5.  
 Bell, Mrs. John, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 20.  
 Campbell, Mrs., wife of Mr. Campbell of the Custom-house, at Agra, July 20.  
 Cooper, Mrs. L. of a daughter, at Calcutta, Sept. 1.  
 Cornelius, Mrs. C., jun., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 22.  
 Caxton, the lady of Capt., of a son, at Secunderabad, Sept. 21.  
 Darling, Lieut.-Gen.-Governor of New South Wales, the lady of, of a son, at Sydney, New South Wales, Oct. 3.  
 Fane, the lady of W., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Banda, in Bundelcund, July 21.  
 Falconer, the lady of the late A., Esq., of a son, at Barrackpore, Aug. 15.  
 Holmes, the lady of Capt., 7th N. I., of a son, at Berhampore, Aug. 27. }  
 Haig, the lady of J., Esq., of a daughter, at Cuddapah, Sept. 30.  
 Jervis, the lady of Capt. J., 5th Regt. N. I., of a son, at Muttra, Aug. 7.  
 Laddie, Mrs. J. P., of a son, who died four hours after his birth, at Monghyr, July 20.  
 Law, the lady of Capt., Artillery, of a son, at Bombay, Oct. 8.  
 Mitchell, the lady of the Rev. W., Church Missionary, of a daughter, at Bombay, Oct. 13.  
 MacCutcheon, Mrs. C., of a daughter, at Fattyghur, July 12.  
 Manly, Mrs. C., of a daughter, at Rammisserpore, Aug. 10.  
 Moore, the lady of the Rev. W., of a son, at Monghyr, Oct. 9.  
 Pigon, the lady of H. M., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Jessore, Aug. 13.  
 Philips, the lady of E., Esq., Surg. 6th Extra Regt. N. I., of a son, at Dinapore, Aug. 9.  
 Pringle, the lady of W. A., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Patna, Aug. 21.  
 Roy, the lady of Capt. P., of the Country Service, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 13.  
 Story, Capt., Madras Army, the lady of, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 24.  
 Sandys, the lady of J. F., Esq., of a daughter, at Garden Reach, Oct. 13.  
 Twentyman, Mrs. H. W., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 20.  
 Thompson, E., Esq., the lady of, of a daughter, at Bonandee Factory, Nuddeah, Oct. 10.  
 Tilghman, the lady of R. M., Esq., of a son, at Allahabad, Aug. 9.  
 Whiting, the lady of the Rev. Mr. J., of a son, at Cawnpore, June 18.  
 Webb, the lady of G., Esq., Surg. H. C. 1st Europ. Regt., at Agra, Aug. 11.  
 Watts, the lady of Mr. H. C., of a son, at Calcutta, Oct. 15.  
 Young, the lady of Dr., of a son, at Dapoolie, Sept. 29.

**MARRIAGES.**

- Alijan, J., Esq., firm of Messrs. Cumming, & Co., to Jane, eldest daughter of the late Robert Munzies, Esq., of Dalbreach, Perthshire, at Calcutta, Aug. 21.

- Brown, B., Lieut., Bengal Artl., Revenue Surv. Mooradabad, to Maria Jane,** eldest daughter to C. Christiana, Esq., at Calcutta, Aug. 2.
- Carnegy, P. O., Esq., Civil Service, to Susan,** second daughter of Lieut.-Col. Imlach, Military Auditor-General, Bengal, at Penang, Sept. 14.
- Campbell, T., Esq., to Miss Maria Fiellerup,** Oct. 30.
- Green, Mr. R., Med. Dep., to Miss F. Dashwood,** eldest daughter of the late Capt. R. Dashwood, of H. M. 90th regt. Foot, at Madras, July 29.
- Jackson, A. R., Esq., M. D., Assist.-Gen.-Surg., to Margaret,** second daughter of C. Paterson, Esq., Civil Service, at Calcutta, Nov. 3.
- Shephee, F., Esq., Bombay Med. Estab. to Miss Isabella Allan,** at Calcutta, Aug. 21.
- Smith, C., Esq., Civil Service, to Miss M. Jarvis,** daughter of the late Isaac Rowe, Esq., at Bunsal, Aug. 24.
- Smith, J. Lieut., 31st regt. T. L. I., to Miss Saurel,** Oct. 14.
- Taylor, C., Esq., Horse Art., to Emily Maryana,** eldest daughter of Lieut. Col. Chambers, H. M.'s 87th Regt., at Bangalore, Oct. 2.
- Willis, A. L., Lieut., 32d N. I., to Miss M. Cuppage,** eldest daughter of the late Col. Cuppage, at Calcutta, Aug. 22.

**DEATHS.**

- Burridge, Mr. J., H. C.'s Marine,** the infant son of, at Allipore, July 27.
- Bowie, Mrs. A.,** aged 29, at Kidderpore, Sept. 5.
- Becher, R., Esq.,** aged 37 years, at Cuttack, Oct. 16.
- Brady, G., Lieut. and Adj., Mary,** sister of, aged 20 years, at Madras, Oct. 6.
- Clark, Miss A.,** sister of H. Clark, Esq. Civil Surgeon at Gorruckpore, aged 19, July 25.
- Cooper, Mr. L.,** Caroline, the daughter of, aged 17, at Calcutta, Sept. 2.
- Cheyne, D. C. C. Nizam's Med. Estab. at Aurnugabad,** July 6.
- Dance, Sir Nathaniel, Kt.,** formerly a Commander in the E. I. C.'s Service, aged 70, at Enfield, March 25, 1827.
- Dibdin, Lieut. Francis,** of the 3d Bengal Lt. Cav., aged 27, only surviving son of the Rev. Thos. Frognall Dibdin, D. D.—at Muttra, in Hindoostan.
- Ducat, C., Esq., M. D., Civil Surg.,** Sholto James, third son of, at Broach, Aug. 14.
- Foley, the lady of Lieut. W.,** 10th N. I. at Dinapore, Aug. 20.
- Forth, Mr. T., Apothecary Hon. Com. Service,** at Gauzeepore, Aug. 14.
- Garrick, Capt. R.,** of the ship *Bengal Merchant*, at sea, July 8.
- Goodell, Mr. J., Assist. Bd. Rev.,** Central Provinces, at Allahabad, July 17.
- Harvey, G. D., Lieut., 6th Extra regt. N. I.,** at Benares, Aug. 29.
- Hall, Mrs. Augusta Emily,** aged 22, at Calcutta, Oct. 14.
- Haig, J. Esq.,** the lady of, aged 30, in childbed, at Cuddapah, Sept. 30.
- Johnson, the infant son of Dr. R.,** at Patna, July 27.
- Jacobs, Mr. F., Record-Keeper Mil. Dep.,** at Calcutta, Sept. 12.
- Mann, the infant son of Mr. Conductor F. W.,** Ord. Com. Dept. at Saugor, July 30.
- Newbolt, J. D., Esq., Civil Service,** at Madras, Sept. 12.
- Parlby, Capt. W.,** the infant son of, at Allahabad, July 19.
- Phillips, Mary Jane,** infant daughter of E. Phillips, Esq., Surg. 6th extra N. I., at Dinapore, Aug. 31.
- Paul, the infant son of Mr. J.,** at Calcutta.
- Pridham, Capt. H. W.,** of the Country Service, at Calcutta, Oct. 15.

Stewart, A., Capt., 28th N. I. at Calcutta, Aug. 28.

Thomson, Dr. R. M. W., Mary Ellen, the eldest daughter of, aged 4 years, at Patna, Aug. 28.

Thwaites, Lieut., Charles, Adj. of the 1st Madras Cavalry, and the youngest son of Henry Thwaites, Esq., of Euston Sq. at Arcot, on the 24th of Aug.

Wyllie, J., Lieut. and Adj., Rampoorah Loc. Bat. aged 29, at Portabghur, near Neemutch, Oct. 14.

## SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

## ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date 1827.	* Port of Arrival	Ship's Name.	Commander	Place of Depart.	Date. 1826.
Feb. 22	Off Crookshay.	Claremont ..	Honour ..	Bombay ..	Sep. 13
Feb. 26	At Cork ..	Diadem ..	Cotgrave ..	Bombay ..	Sep. 13
Feb. 28	Off Portsmo.	Diadem ..	Edwards ..	Mauritius ..	Oct. 22
Feb. 28	Downs ..	Fairfield ..	Wark ..	Sydney ..	July 18
Mar. 1	Downs ..	York ..	Moneriff ..	Singapore ..	Aug. 5
Mar. 1	Downs ..	Princess Mary	Smith ..	South Seas ..	Sep. 27
Mar. 1	Off Dover ..	Friendship ..	Osborne ..	Batavia ..	Oct. 21
Mar. 1	Milford ..	Clyde ..	Manro ..	Bengal ..	July 31
Mar. 2	Portsmouth	H.M.S. Larne	Dobson ..	Ceylon ..	Oct. 28
Mar. 2	Portsmouth	Circassian ..	Donthwaite	India ..	Sep. 7
Mar. 2	Cowes ..	George ..	Rae ..	Batavia ..	Nov. 3
Mar. 2	Cowes ..	Burnell ..	Metcalf ..	Mauritius ..	Nov. 20
Mar. 2	Downs ..	Alexander ..	Richardson	Ceylon ..	Oct. 17
Mar. 3	Downs ..	Thom. Coutts	Christie ..	China ..	Nov. 23
Mar. 3	Downs ..	Georgiana ..	Haylett ..	Bengal ..	Aug. 28
Mar. 3	Downs ..	Doncaster ..	Church ..	V. D.'s Land	Oct. 8
Mar. 3	Downs ..	Coventry ..	Pudie ..	Mauritius ..	Oct. 23
Mar. 3	Downs ..	Joseph ..	Christopherson	Bengal ..	April 19
Mar. 5	Milford ..	Celia ..	Sherwood ..	Batavia ..	Oct. 13
Mar. 5	Cowes ..	Maria ..	Richards ..	Batavia ..	Nov. 11
Mar. 6	Liverpool ..	Duke of Lancast.	Hannay ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 4
Mar. 8	Downs ..	Henry ..	Bunney ..	N. S. Wales	Aug. 30
Mar. 8	Off Dover ..	Hebe ..	late Elsdon	Cape ..	Dec. 17
Mar. 8	Isle of Wight	{ Abercrombie } Robinson	Innes ..	China ..	Nov. 17
Mar. 13	Off Portsmo.	Berwickshire	Shepherd ..	China ..	Nov. 19
Mar. 13	Off Portsmo.	D. of Athol	Daniell ..	China ..	Nov. 29
Mar. 14	Downs ..	Eliza ..	Mahon ..	Bengal ..	Sep. 24
Mar. 14	Downs ..	Atalanta ..	Johnston ..	Bombay ..	Oct. 26
Mar. 14	Downs ..	P. Regent ..	Richards ..	Mauritius ..	Nov. 15
Mar. 14	Off Hastings	Royal Charlo.	Dudman ..	Singapore ..	Sep. 18
Mar. 14	Downs ..	Calista ..	Robertson ..	Mauritius ..	Nov. 11
Mar. 15	Downs ..	Java ..	Driver ..	China ..	Aug. 6
Mar. 15	Downs ..	Lady Amherst	Lisle ..	Mauritius ..	Dec. 16
Mar. 15	Downs ..	Sarah ..	Milne ..	Bombay ..	Oct. 1
Mar. 15	Downs ..	Cleveland ..	Havelock ..	Mauritius ..	Dec. 9
Mar. 15	Cowes ..	Oromaze ..	Roluffs ..	Batavia ..	Nov. 7
Mar. 19	Isle of Wight	Lord Lowther	Stewart ..	China ..	Nov. 29
Mar. 23	Off Dover ..	Porcupine ..	Laing ..	Singapore ..	Dec. 5
Mar. 24	Off Portland	Edinburgh ..	Bax ..	China ..	Nov. 29
Mar. 27	Off Falmouth	Achilles ..	Henderson ..	Cape ..	Jan. 18
Mar. 28	Off Portland	Macqueen ..	Walker ..	China ..	Nov. 14
Mar. 28	Liverpool ..	Bollivar ..	Smith ..	Singapore ..	Nov. 30
Mar. 28	Off the Start	Magellan ..	Horst ..	Batavia ..	Nov. 26
Mar. 29	Off Hastings	Lady Holland	Snell ..	Madras ..	Nov. 26

## ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1820.				
Aug. 14	China ..	General Harris ..	Stanton ..	London
Sep. 8	China ..	London ..	Southby ..	London
Sep. 12	N. S. Wales	England ..	Reay ..	London
Sep. 12	N. S. Wales	Marquis of Huntly ..	Ascough ..	London
Sep. 14	China ..	William Fairlie ..	Blair ..	London
Sep. 18	Bengal ..	Pheasant ..	Paglar ..	Mediterra.
Sep. 18	Bengal ..	Emulous (Steamer)	Tregear ..	London
Sep. 18	Bengal ..	Palmyra ..	Lamb ..	London
Sep. 18	Bengal ..	Timandra ..	Wray ..	London
Sep. 21	Madras ..	Melpomene ..	Johnson ..	London
Sep. 21	Madras ..	Lady Raffles ..	Coxwell ..	London
Sep. 21	Madras ..	Morley ..	Halliday ..	London
Sep. 24	Bengal ..	Harriett ..	Guthrie ..	London
Sep. 24	Bengal ..	Prince Regent ..	Hosmer ..	London
Sep. 25	Bengal ..	Providence ..	Ardlie ..	London
Sep. 26	Bengal ..	Sarah ..	Miller ..	London
Sep. 29	China ..	Orwell ..	Farrer ..	London
Oct. 1	Madras ..	Hope ..	Fliat ..	London
Oct. 1	Madras ..	Hereules ..	Vaughan ..	London
Oct. 9	Bengal ..	Asia ..	Balderson ..	London
Oct. 10	Madras ..	Lalla Rookh ..	Stewart ..	London
Oct. 15	Van Die. Land	Earl of Liverpool ..	Ward ..	London
Oct. 18	Bengal ..	Duke of Bedford ..	Parsons ..	London
Oct. 18	Bengal ..	Rose ..	Marquis ..	London
Oct. 20	Bengal ..	Caru Brea Castle ..	Dayey ..	London
Oct. 20	Bengal ..	Malcolm ..	Eyles ..	London
Oct. 20	Bengal ..	Emma ..	Worth ..	London
Oct. 22	Bengal ..	Florentia ..	Aldham ..	London
Oct. 31	China ..	Isabella ..	Wiseman ..	London
Oct. 31	China ..	Ann and Amelia ..	Ford ..	London
Nov. 4	China ..	Lord Anherst ..	Craigie ..	London
Nov. 6	China ..	Asia ..	Stead ..	London
Nov. 10	China ..	Moffatt ..	Brown ..	London
Nov. 26	Mauritius ..	Sammel Brown ..	Reed ..	Liverpool
Dec. 3	Cape ..	Africa ..	Skelton ..	London
Dec. 8	Cape ..	Milo ..	Winslow ..	London
Dec. 9	Cape ..	Lonach ..	Driscoll ..	London
Dec. 15	Cape ..	May ..	Hoppe ..	Liverpool
Dec. 17	Cape ..	Admiral Cockburn ..	Cooling ..	London
Dec. 24	Cape ..	Borneo ..	Ross ..	London
Dec. 26	Cape ..	Caledonia ..	Bell ..	London
Dec. 26	Cape ..	Mellish ..	Vincent ..	London
Dec. 29	Cape ..	Isabella ..	Clarkson ..	London
1827.				
Jan. 7	St. Helena ..	Pero ..	Rutter ..	London
Jan. 7	Cape ..	Minstrel ..	Arckall ..	Portsmo.
Jan. 11	Cape ..	Kerswell ..	Armstrong ..	London
Jan. 11	Cape ..	Hussain ..	Gibson ..	London
Jan. 13	Madeira ..	Isabella ..	Fyffe ..	London
Jan. 16	Cape ..	Luna ..	Knox ..	London
Jan. 16	St. Helena ..	Atalanta ..	Johnstone ..	London
Jan. 30	Madeira ..	Cæsar ..	Watt ..	London
Feb. 9	St. Helena ..	Walsingham ..	Bourke ..	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.<sup>4</sup>

Date. 1827.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Mar. 5	Deal	.. Britomart	.. Brown	.. Mauritius
Mar. 9	Deal	.. Albion	.. Chambers	.. Mauritius
Mar. 9	Deal	.. Bombay	.. Chuttee	.. Madras & China
Mar. 9	Cowes	.. Grecian	.. Smith	.. Bengal
Mar. 9	Cork	.. Competitor	.. Jackson	.. Cey. & Bomb.
Mar. 15	Deal	.. St David	.. Richardson	.. Bombay
Mar. 16	Deal	.. Protector	.. Waugh	.. Bengal
Mar. 16	Deal	.. Governor Ready	.. Young	.. V. D.'s Land
Mar. 18	Plymouth	.. Waterloo	.. Manning	.. Madras & China
Mar. 18	Plymouth	.. General Kyd	.. Nairne	.. Ma-lras & China
Mar. 18	Plymouth	.. Farquharson	.. Cruickshanks	.. Penang & China
Mar. 18	Plymouth	.. Olive Branch	.. Anderson	.. Cape
Mar. 24	Deal	.. Belzoni	.. Talbert	.. Bengal
Mar. 25	Deal	.. Resource	.. Penn	.. Bengal
Mar. 25	Deal	.. Earl of Egremont	.. Johnson	.. Cape
Mar. 25	Deal	.. Medway	.. Wight	.. New S. Wales
Mar. 25	Deal	.. Mineiva	.. Norris	.. Bengal
Mar. 25	Deal	.. Lang	.. Lusk	.. New S. Wales
Mar. 25	Deal	.. Guildford	.. Johnson	.. New S. Wales
Mar. 25	Deal	.. Omuthia	.. Rixon	.. Batavia
Mar. 26	Portsmouth	.. Mary and Jane	.. Matches	.. Batavia

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *Alexander*, from Ceylon:—Major Somerfield, Mrs., and children; Mr. Noland Curlew; — Moncur.

By the *Woodman*, (Levy,) from New South Wales:—Mr. Ebsworth; Lieut. Robertson, 92d Regt.; Dr. J. Rutherford, R. N.; Dr. G. Rutherford, R. N.

By the *Fairfield*, from New South Wales:—Dr. Read; Mr. Mills; Mr. D. Swinton.

By the *Thomas Coult's*, from China:—Robt. Campbell, Esq., Bengal C. S.; Capt. Agnew, H. M. 4th Dragoons.

By the *Georgiana*, Capt. Haylett, from Bengal and Madras:—The Rev. L. Kendler and lady; Capt. R. A. Thomas, H. M. 48th Regt.; Lieuts. S. H. Middleton, Artillery; Savory, N. I.; T. D. Moir, N. I.; S. A. Grant, H. M. Service; George Ramsay, N. I.; George Cook, N. I.; Mr. H. Rose, late 4th Officer of the *Sir David Scott*; Mr. H. Daniels, Bengal Medical Establishment; Mrs. Isabella Wilkinson; Masters Thomas and Wm. Wilkinson; Mr. Harrington, C. S., and his lady, the Masters Harrington; Mr. McLeod, C. S.; the lady of Capt. M. Kenzie, H. M. Royal Scots; J. McDonald, Esq., M. D.; Lieuts. M. Hislop, and M. Braise 9th Regt. N. I.; Capt. Moore; Mr. Campbell, C. S.; Mr. Clarke, Bengal Artillery; Mr. R. Lovell; Capt. S. Smith, H. M. 3d Regt.

By the *Diadem*, Edmonds, from Mauritius and the Cape:—Lieut. Drury, R. N.; the Rev. Mr. Allan; Dr. McDonald and family, from the Cape; Lieut. Galway, from Mauritius; Lieut. Wells, Bombay Marine; Capt. William, Bouchier, R. N.; Dr. Turner; Mr. Watson, ship-owner; Lieut. J. B. Emery, late Governor of Mombass.

By the *Circassian*, from Bengal:—Mrs. Kingdom; Capt. Barwell, H. M. 11th regt. Dragoons; Lieut. Kingdom, 31st Dragoons; Master Kingdom; Dr. Farrell, inspector; Mr. Farrell, C. S.

By the *Padang*, Rogers, from Padang:—The Rev. Charles Evans and lady, two Misses Evans, and the Masters Evans.



By the *Abercrombie Robinson*, Innes, from China :—Mrs. Ann Presgrave, the lady of Edward Presgrave, Esq. Acting-Resident at Singapore; Capt. James Webster, late Commander of the ship *Mary Ann*; Philip Ammidon, Esq., merchant at Canton; Masters Presgrave, and Misses Presgrave.

By the *Berwickshire*, Canning, from China :—Francis Hastings Toone, Esq.; Lieuts. V. B. Lazard, H. M. 13th regt.; P. I. Leith, H. M. 13th regt.; H. H. T. Wheler, H. M. 45th regt.; and Mr. John Meade.

By the *Edinburgh*, ———, from China :—Sir James Brabazon Urmstone, late President of the Select Committee; the Rev. Henry Harding, Chaplain at Canton; Capt. G. W. Bonham, 25th N. I.

By the *Lord Lonthor*, from China :—Maj. Jas. Elder, 1st Bomb. Europ. Regt.; Lieut. A. H. J. Westley, Queen's Royals; J. M'Mahone Johnson, Esq., free mariner.

By the *Macqueen* :—J. Bathgate, merchant, Calcutta, and lady; Lieut. H. M. Lawrence, Beng. Artillery.

By the *Earl Balcarras* :—Col. J. M'Innes, 61st Regt. N. I.; W. S. Cra-croft, Esq., late Government Agent at Penang.

By the *William Fairlie* :—Dr. J. Livingstone, Surg. at China, and lady; Miss Livingstone.

By the *George the Fourth* :—H. Batson, Esq., Bengal Civ. Serv.

By the *Marquis of Huntly* :—A. M. Magniac, Esq., merchant at Canton, his lady, and child; J. Douglas, Esq., Madras C. S.

By the *Duke of Lancaster*, from Bengal :—Capt. Aplin, his lady, and children; Capt. Goldhawke; Lieuts. Jackson and Gilmour; Mr. Phillips; the lady of Col. Edwards, and children; the Masters Ronalds.

By the *Atalanta*, from Bombay :—Mr. Agar, H. C. S.; Lieut. Deck, H. C. S.; Master Cunningham.

By the *Eliza*, Mahon, from Bengal :—Capt. Long, 59th Regt.; Lieut. Murray, 59th Regt., with his lady and family; Lieut Scott, Bengal Artillery; Mr. Field and child.

By the *Prince Regent*, from Mauritius :—Mr. Dunkinson; Capt. Dobson; Mr. Webb.

By the *Royal Charlotte*, from Penang :—Master Crawford, nephew of the Resident at Singapore; Lieut. Maxwell, H. M. 11th Light Dragoons, for the Cape, (died at sea, November 26.)

#### OUTWARDS.

By the *Protector*, for Madras and Bengal :—Lieut. Whiteford and lady; Mr. Raikes; Miss Welch; Mrs. and Miss Smith; Mr. Gallen; Mrs. Price; Mr. Erskine; Mr. Davis; Mr. Jeffries; Mr. Best; Mr. Waller; Mr. Brind; Mr. Meyer; Mr. Turner; Mr. Frederick; Mr. Garrow; Mr. Brathwaite; Mr. Barlow; Mr. Welford; Mr. Wilson; Mrs. Bell and daughter; Mr. Phillipson.

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#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*The great length to which the Debates given in the present Number extend, (notwithstanding all our efforts to keep them within more moderate limits.) compels us to omit many Articles already prepared for this Number, as well as many communications from Correspondents on topics of public interest, which must necessarily be deferred to next month.*

# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. XII.

	Page.
1. On Party Criticism . . . . .	211
2. The Indian Day . . . . .	217
3. Lord Lansdown's Motion on Appeals from India . . . . .	218
4. Unfading Beauty . . . . .	224
5. Letters from a Continental Traveller . . . . .	225
6. Go, Fancy, tread the Shore . . . . .	234
7. Forgery of a Braminical Work on Religion, by a French Jesuit . . . . .	235
8. Heroes Served . . . . .	238
9. Abassah, an Arabian Tale . . . . .	239
10. Lines, occasioned by reading the 'Giaour' . . . . .	246
11. Moreau's New Work on the Navy of England . . . . .	247
12. The Rhine . . . . .	252
13. Excursions on the Banks of the Nile . . . . .	253
14. View of the Law of Libel in England and in India . . . . .	261
15. To a Nameless Brook . . . . .	270
16. A Letter from Athens, addressed to a Friend in England . . . . .	271
17. On the Licensing System . . . . .	283
18. On the Ruins of Babylon . . . . .	285
19. New Arabian Nights' Entertainments . . . . .	287
20. Sonnet . . . . .	293
21. Rise and Progress of the British Power in India. No. XII. . . . .	294
22. Song—The Lady Well-Tree . . . . .	304
23. Illustrations of Sacred History . . . . .	305
24. Governor Elphinstone, the late Gov. Adam, and the Indian 'John Bull' . . . . .	307
25. Spring—A Sonnet . . . . .	308
26. On the Laws of Quarantine . . . . .	309
27. On the Nobility of the Skin . . . . .	327
28. Dependence of Sheriffs on the Pleasure of the Government of Bombay . . . . .	329
29. Letter from the 'Cape Colonist' to Earl Bathurst . . . . .	331
30. Affairs of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., of Hyderabad . . . . .	333
31. Improvement of the Bombay Marine . . . . .	338
32. Origin of Nobility—Knox's Spirit of Despotism . . . . .	341
33. Elementary Oriental Tuition . . . . .	343
34. The Ring . . . . .	344
35. Summary of the Latest Intelligence connected with the Eastern World . . . . .	345
36. Debates at the East India House . . . . .	380
37. Civil and Military Intelligence . . . . .	406
38. Shipping Intelligence . . . . .	420

MAY 1827.



# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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No. 41.—MAY 1827.—VOL. 13.

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## ON PARTY CRITICISM.

THE attention of the public now shifts so rapidly from one novelty to another, and is for the moment so absorbed by each, that things of the greatest magnitude, and most permanent interest, if of old standing, are quite overlooked and forgotten. Nothing can persuade men to regard things of ordinary occurrence. What is done daily seems to be effected by nature, precisely in the same manner as night and day are made to travel round the world, or as sunshine and cheerful verdure wait upon the summer. Who can arrest the silly race of curiosity, flying, like a stray hound, upon the wrong scent; and compel it to keep the path that leads to the real game? If this could be done, among the things that should occupy the public attention, PARTY CRITICISM certainly ought to be one of the principal.

To be sure, people are not entirely ignorant that Reviews and Magazines are sworn, like regular troops, to support a certain cause, and obey certain leaders. All the world knows this as a sort of general proposition. The great mischief is, that few or none care to be at the trouble of prying into the details of this system, where, should they look closely, they would sometimes discover abysses more black than Tartarus, filled with every evil passion, and this hopelessly and forever, because springing from malignity and vice.

We once had an opinion, in youth, when the wisdom of books is almost worshipped, that the critic came to the performance of his duty with clean hands, and a heart softened by the influence of letters; that in analysing a new volume his eye was on the watch for beauty, and his understanding sufficiently elevated to comprehend and welcome it; that his business was strictly confined to the images and ideas before him, their arrangement, their connection, their congruity, and the more or less suitable clothing of words in

which they appeared ; and, consequently, that it could never be any part of his calling to care how the author might happen to be connected with political parties, or what, on other subjects, might be his sentiments and opinions. We do not regret the long continuance of that pleasing error, though we have since found how grievously we were mistaken. Party critics entertain no love for literature. It is a passion they hold in the utmost contempt, regarding it as a very fit companion for that love of virtue and of our country, which generally flourish together in young bosoms, and which these sages reckon, wherever they find it, among the marks of a puny intellect. Greatness, they contend, is a thing which covers itself with the *semblances* of virtues, as with so many baits and hooks, to draw mankind towards it as prey, to be made advantage of in due time and place. Napoleon was great, and these were his arts ; these were Cæsar's ; these were his nephew's, whose name is always in the mouths of literary men. But Epaminondas was also great, greater a million times than the greatest of the tyrants named, and these were *not* his arts. He charmed mankind and governed them, *not* by the semblances of virtue, but by virtue itself ; not to extract advantage out of them, but to confer on them the greatest advantages,—victory, independence, liberty.

True party critics, however, consider all virtue of that kind exactly in the same light as the Gorgons and Chimeras, in which the Greeks believed, as well as in virtue. They are satisfied with mere ordinary notions of perfection. Virtue, among them, means an industrious maintenance of the pretensions of their leaders, precisely as it did among the degraded cohorts of the republic, after Sylla had flooded the streets of Rome with the life-blood of courage and public spirit. These qualities of mercenaries and gladiators we allow in all their fulness to our critics, for undoubtedly they combat manfully whatever adversary their patrons direct them against in the political arena. With equal vigilance they protect their friends. For, when *one of them* prepares to let out his notions, he does not dismiss them friendless and unprotected, like orphans, into the unfeeling world, where they must shift for themselves, and trust for success to the opinion they shall create in mankind ; by no means ; a squadron of friendly critiques is immediately got ready, well armed with praise, and, occasionally, with a dark instrument called mystification ; and some of them march before, and take their stations in the columns of various newspapers, into which strong holds of truth and wisdom they get, as Jupiter got at Danae, by gold. From these high places they lift up their voices and attack the public ear, telling it daily and hourly that in such and such wonderful pages a treat of the richest description is to be found ; but that expedition should be used, for that, like the books of the Sybil, *these books*

become fewer every hour, and in a short time may possibly disappear altogether.

\* That men should be disposed to think favourably of a writer who advocates their own opinions, is extremely natural, and what every body expects. It is scarcely a weakness. It is in fact nothing more than a partiality for that which we believe to be true. So far then the critic may without blame indulge a friendly feeling towards a certain class of authors, and be disposed to support their just pretensions with peculiar warmth and energy; but,—*amicus usque ad aras*,—he should stop at the limit of truth. And, on the other hand, when an enemy comes before him, is he not bound by the same law? Sometimes we have seen a critic, with some noble volume before him, almost invulnerable in its perfection and beauty, standing, like Sindbad by the rook's egg, perplexed at finding no hole for censure to creep in at. Great productions either delight or enrage a reviewer, (the former if he understands them;) but the judging of mediocrity, and much worse, is their daily task. Yet, seldom looking at better things, they really attach to some of these, ideas of excellence, and learn to speak of them as something that must pass down to posterity, accompanied, perhaps, by their own eulogies, or, at least, owing much to the impetus which these originally communicated.

There are extremely few periodicals, whether Reviews or Magazines, in which one can expect to find a just opinion of books; in the generality, the critics err through mere incompetence, which is some excuse for them; but the party reviewers, the *thick-and-thin critics*, never design to speak justly of any heretical work. If it has merit, if it betrays the fire of genius, so much the worse, it is the more dangerous. On this account, greater pains must be taken to prove that it has no merit, no marks of genius, nothing to distinguish it but incomprehensible dulness: indeed there is a kind of criticism, now but too much in vogue, and which seems likely to flourish long, by which Shakespeare might be convicted of want of fancy, and Milton proved a man of sordid ideas.

But the most singular feature of our periodical criticism is the amazing dissonance observable in the voices of the various Journals when uttering judgment on the same book. The languages created at Babel were not more dissimilar. To the critical acumen of one who, perhaps, courts the reputation of a scholar, the style appears loose, abrupt, turgid, too metaphorical; the thoughts, though not amiss, are common-place, or have no depth; the opinions divulged, peculiar and fanciful, but harmless. Well, the decision, perhaps, of this oracle may seem harsh; but, visit the fane of another, and listen to the response. A different tone is now heard, the hierophant appears to labour with an unusually strong efflatus of critical fury, which distorts his visage, and sends a shuddering through his limbs; his words, broken and vehement, burst forth impetuously,

and seem of tremendous import, but convey no clear meaning. However, from the few that are intelligible, we learn that the author of the book, about which we consult the oracle, is a monster, *industrious in manufacturing instruments for the extirpation of social order and all legitimate authority, and that the very leaves before us are contaminated by a subtle poison, which, like the images of things in the Epicurean philosophy, will flit from the page into the reader's mind, and turn his inner man as black as an Ethiop.* After this, will any one dare to open his lips in behalf of the monster or his book? Travel a little farther and you will find a rival fanc, where the hierophant has a more wise and grave manner, and though he speaks somewhat quaintly, and affects in a slight degree the language of more ancient vates, is more judicious and sage in the *fata* he utters. By this heir of the Delphic Pythoness you may again, perhaps, be led to admire your author, be freed from the apprehension of moral poisons, reconciled with your own judgment or prejudices, and be delivered over for the remainder of your life to a happy and contented delusion.

In thus characterising the judgment of books, which we generally find given in our popular publications, it is by no means our intention to insinuate that men perfectly competent to form correct opinions *never* write in those works; the contrary, we know, is the fact; but it is equally certain that, whatever be the greatness of the abilities by which the reputation of our Reviews is maintained, *this* does not prevent opinions the most partial, and praise more fulsome than fortune-hunters heap on a rich dowager, from being bestowed in those publications on books quite ordinary in their nature and execution. Examples of this occur every three months, and will, no doubt, always occur; but in No. 89, of the 'Edinburgh Review,' we meet with an instance of party criticism, which, though far less outrageous than many that might be cited, will serve very well to illustrate our position.

The public have heard a great deal, in the various periodicals, about Mr. Moore's 'Life of Sheridan,' and, in our opinion, they have heard a great deal of nonsense; but it seems to be at length understood, that, although in some respects a useful book, this 'Life of Sheridan' exhibits no trace of capacity rising above mediocrity. The style is distinguished by nothing but those meretricious ornaments, which sophists of all ages have interwoven with their periods to amuse the multitude; and which, in verse and prose, constitute the characteristic of Mr. Moore's style. The 'Edinburgh Reviewer' is of opinion, however, that these sparkling gauds displease none but such as are unable to beautify their own style with the like; and therefore we expose ourselves to the suspicion of irreclaimable barrenness in speaking of them with reverence. But in spite of this hint, we must persist in regarding Mr. Moore's 'historical' flowers as much more out of place than

the flowers he has sown so thickly in his other compositions, where the sophist's art is less discernible. We should have thought, indeed, that so gaudy an apparatus of imagery, poured out, *à tort et à travers*, in a biographical narrative, would have found less indulgence in the 'Edinburgh,' than in any other Review; for, to do it justice, it is more manly in its general tone than any periodical we know; it was with some surprise, therefore, that we discovered the critic playing off his ill-placed pleasantry upon 'the sober style of history,' which he professes, and we readily take him at his word, not quite to understand. Indeed there are things, beside the historical style, to an understanding of which our reviewer might plead innocent, with a very clear conscience:—but we are silent on that;—our present business is with 'The Life of Sheridan.'

In writing this 'Life,' we cannot conceive that the biographer could have any motive for representing Sheridan *worse* than he was, and for this reason we really consider the picture he has drawn of him as more likely to be flattering than otherwise. If, however, it be anything like a true picture, what a character has he drawn! For our own part we confess we would eagerly have bartered such fame as Sheridan must gain from this 'Life,' for oblivion; for throughout, and to make the best of it, he appears an adventurer of doubtful and wavering principle, a plagiarist in literature, and a sophistical rhetorician in eloquence. As to the writer's endeavour to raise him, as he sometimes does, at the expense of Burke, it is indeed a vain attempt. Burke stood as much above him in true eloquence, as Milton stands above the author of 'Lalla Rookh.'

This injurious comparison of Sheridan with the Whig renegade may perhaps have been grateful to the Reviewer, who appears to have had some very strong reasons, superadded to the merits of the book, for his warm panegyric. It is not improbable but that he is himself some Whig, of the old school, who was engaged in the transactions which Mr. Moore records, and has had some honied words dropped upon his name by the *impartial* biographer. His Review looks like the payment of a debt of gratitude, in which the generous think they can never be too liberal; for he really barter away his own character for judgment, to purchase his author a reputation for an excellent prose style. "The style, in general, we think excellent—and all the better for the metaphors and "images." This, from a publication like the 'Edinburgh Review,' is curious. Its critical canons in general look the opposite way, towards severe simplicity of style, and force, and vigour. Mr. Moore, they say, being an Irishman, and a *man of genius*, "cannot but do after his kind:" that is, write in inflated language. Puerile fancies of this nature might do very well in Ladies' Magazines, and similar works; but we look for something more solid in a Review. Does the writer imagine that *genius* must necessarily



exhibit itself, decked like a stage-emperor in spangles and tinsel? We had been accustomed to think, on the contrary, that genius was chiefly remarkable for its nice sense of propriety, and that, in whatever it did, the means were carefully adapted to the end. Our Edinburgh critic, however, does not understand why historical truths should not be dressed up in all the ornaments of epigrammatic wit and the most gaudy rhetoric. We will tell him why: the *ideas* which history conveys, are, for the most part, of a sad and sober nature, and *therefore* require to be expressed in sober words. Men do not put on the same garments at a funeral as when they dress for a ball, nor, if they converse on the occasion, are their looks or their words the same. Nor even in ordinary circumstances do we relate a story of serious import in the same tone and expressions with which we repeat a joke. Metaphors of a certain kind spring up as it were of themselves, even in the most serious discourse, and are almost absolutely necessary to the existence of earnestness and energy; but then they are the growth of nature, and appear as much a part of the style, as the woods and thickets of a wild uninhabited land are part of a savage landscape. No one censures the proper employment of metaphors, as every person must know that without them language would be a mere skeleton; our every-day discourse teems with metaphor; but it is the profuse, misplaced, and ostentatious, display of this rhetorical finery, that is blamed in Mr. Moore. Metaphors indeed will by no means satisfy his ambition: he must have *similes* also, and comparisons, and these of the most learned and recondite nature. But in the employment of these things, one rule should be constantly kept in view, never to attempt the illustration of anything by something less known than itself. Mr. Moore is not, however, a man to be restrained by rules; perhaps, as the Reviewer suggests, because he is an Irishman, and a *man of genius*.

With one other remark we shall conclude our strictures on this singular article. The critics by which the 'Edinburgh Review' is managed, are generally supposed to be all Whigs, though undoubtedly there are some among them who have imbibed very democratical notions. However, as Whigs, that is, trimming between the two opposing interests of the state, they were vigorously and justly attacked in the 'Westminster Review,' and proved to be mere advocates of a party pretending a great tenderness for the people, to keep up their popularity and weight in the country. When this accusation was first made, they affected to treat it with contempt, and made no defence; but they seem to have been taught since then, that what the 'Westminster Review' uttered, is, in fact, a widely-spread opinion, which is daily becoming more general; and therefore they now think it worth their while to put forth a laboured defence of Whiggism and themselves. But,

say what they will, nothing can ever restore their Party Criticism or Party Politics to the good opinion of the people at large, who now see plainly enough, that 'tis from other sources they must expect political regeneration. The '*Edinburgh Review*' itself is popular, not because it is the organ of a party and its views, but because it generally seizes popular topics, while they interest the public mind, and treats them with greater and more uniform ability (notwithstanding its occasional defects) than is to be found in any other periodical of the day.

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## THE INDIAN DAY.

## DAWN.

Now come the delicate sighs of the soft gale,  
First breath of dawn, the morn's sweet harbinger,  
Which, as a herald, still precedes the pale  
Calm silvery mantled day-break. There's a stir  
Of life amongst the dewy opening flowers,  
The hum of insects, and the ceaseless whirr  
Of their light wings innumerable. Gem-like showers  
Fall from the rustling leaves of waving trees;  
While in the West the last star rolls away,  
Yet lingeringly, as lovers part at day  
From 'neath their ladies' lattice. The cool breeze  
Creeps on, as slumber steals o'er hearts at ease,  
Fanning, with perfumed wings, and breathings light,  
The sober footsteps of retiring night.

## SUN-RISE.

Forth from the gorgeous East, as from an urn  
Spring mighty floods, of rich and glorious light;  
The heavens are bathed in sunshine, and are bright  
As if with smiles, and then all blushing burn,  
Like a bride's cheek, who hails her lord's return  
From his first absence. Who can marvel now  
At that deep worship which the Ghebir paid  
To his resplendent god, from the hill brow,  
Which new-born sun-beams clothed, whilst yet the shade  
Of night lay pillow'd on the mists below?  
Or who could view yon cloudy ocean roll'd  
In waves of ruby, amethyst, and gold,  
Nor raise his heart to that First Cause who bade  
The fields of morning thus to be array'd?

*The Indian Day.*

## NOON.

Down from his blazing car, the Lord of Day  
 Hurls a fierce splendour through the sultry air,  
 Bright, fiery, piercing, as his arrows were  
 When writhing at his feet the Python lay.  
 The shadowless scene gleams dim through the white glare,  
 And the tamed tiger gasps beneath the ray.  
 'Midst smoking marshes and hot reeds, the boar  
 Hides from the scorching blast, while the worn snake  
 Lies still and torpid in the deepest brake.  
 The Spirits of the southern whirlwind soar  
 Upon its burning breath, and hurry by  
 Each shatter'd cloud that o'er the dazzling sky  
 Casts a brief veil.—So man, as frail, is driven,  
 By Passion's withering blast, from Peace and Heaven.

## EVENING.

Throned amidst thunder clouds, the dark Toofaun  
 Frowns grimly down upon the sinking sun,  
 With all his banners, purple, black, and dun,  
 Unfurled for war: the tribes of air have gone  
 Wheeling and screaming, flying from the gale  
 Like Ocean mists; a solitary sail  
 Shines through the gloom, and o'er the murky river,  
 Like Hope's last ray, to hearts it leaves for ever.  
 Now bursts the storm in one terrific howl,  
 Wild as the din of hell: the lightnings pale  
 Glitter through rattling cataracts of hail:  
 The clouds rush down in floods, the heavens scowl;  
 Earth shakes, and all its groaning forests nod;—  
 Kneel, Man! and deprecate the wrath of God.

## NIGHT.

The storm has pass'd, and dewy silence rests  
 Upon the broad blue river, and the earth.  
 The perfumed air is cool, as though its birth  
 Had been 'midst Himalaya's frozen crests.  
 How calm—how silent—save where the plashing oar  
 Sounds faint and far, rippling the lamp's pale beam  
 That shoots from mosque or temple, on the shore.  
 Athwart the eddying Gunga's holy stream.—  
 And see! the rising moon, around her gleam  
 The stars, bright satraps of her silver throne,  
 Lighting the hour when sadly and alone  
 The Exile muses.—What to him are these,  
 The East's resplendent skies and fragrant trees,  
 This clime of flowers and stars?—Alas! 't is not his own.

# **LORD LANSDOWN'S MOTION ON APPEALS FROM INDIA.**

WE are glad to find that the growing interest of the public mind in the affairs of India, has extended itself even to the House of Lords, and that one of the most distinguished members of that assembly has thought it not unworthy of his station, to call the attention of the Legislature to defects in the existing system, by which the welfare of that great country is impeded rather than advanced.

To those who have read the evidence and reports of the Committees of the House of Lords on foreign trade in general, and especially on the commerce between Great Britain and the East, it must be quite unnecessary to say a word on the extent and accuracy of Lord Lansdown's views and information, as it regards our connection with India. It is not too much to say, that no member of the House of Peers has evinced a more thorough acquaintance with this subject than himself; and when to this peculiar qualification, is added the general soundness and liberality of his Lordship's opinions on matters of politics and legislation, we are sure that all the real friends of India must rejoice to number such a man among the advocates for a change in the principles on which her affairs have hitherto been administered.

It is pleasing too, to find, that by whomsoever advertence is made to this great subject, whether in the upper or the lower House, whether in the congratulatory meetings of ministers and their eulogists, or the more tumultuous assemblages of complaining merchants and manufacturers, the certainty of some change in the present system is uniformly assumed. On the probable extent of that change men may differ; but that there will and must be a change, no one ever affects to doubt. Mr. Canning has repeatedly expressed this necessity; Mr. Wynn has admitted its approach; and the Marquis of Lansdown closed his address to the House of Lords on the 30th of March last, with asserting that the future system of Government, by which the affairs of India was to be managed, was one for which the Legislature must now *soon* prepare itself, the present being clearly inadequate to the fulfilment of the great duty to which the nation had pledged itself, to advance, by every practicable means, the interests, intelligence and happiness of the millions there subjected to our sway.

This note of preparation from the higher eminences of authority, is already beginning to be echoed back from the dells and vales of subordinate stations and pursuits. The merchants of Liverpool, Dublin, Bristol, Glasgow, Leith, Lancaster, and Cork, are already

on the alert to press for the opening of the China trade, to their busy and enterprising ports. The manufacturers of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Paisley, and Carlisle, send forth the first murmurs of voices, which will increase in strength and firmness as the day of conflict approaches. And the equal admission of East India sugars, the settlement and colonization of Hindoostan, the removal of disabilities from the interior trade in India to increase the consumption of the manufactures of England, are topics now fast becoming familiar to every artizan in the kingdom, and will, before long, form the subject of petitions from every part of the united empire.

If Mr. Canning should be at the head of the administration, Mr. Huskisson and Robinson still in possession of their respective offices, and Lord Lansdown President of the Board of Control, when the discussion of the East India Company's Charter takes place (and we see not why a peer of the realm, though a Marquis, should not be as well placed at the head of East Indian, as an Earl at the head of West Indian affairs,) the result may be safely predicted; but, under no possible union of men in power, however unfavourably disposed towards the extension of trade, and liberal government generally, can the nation be persuaded that it is for the interests of the many to continue in the hands of the few all those splendid advantages, which, under even tolerably judicious management, could not fail to result to the nation at large, from a free intercourse with a country containing a hundred millions of inhabitants, and rich in all the softer productions of nature and art, to exchange for those which our more northern climate and bolder energies of mind and body can furnish them in inexhaustible supply.

Let the people of England but perform their duty, and they will, by the mere influence of public opinion, force asunder those invidious barriers, by which their capital, skill, and industry, have hitherto been kept out of the fertile East, and which have also hindered them from possessing its productions except on terms which monopoly alone could dictate, and which a really free trade would reduce to, at least, half, and, in some cases, to less than a fourth of their present standard price. If they do *not* perform their duty, by demanding, with one voice, the abolition of a system which thus preys as a canker on the prosperity of the state, they will deserve everlasting exclusion from the blessings within their reach, and the additional mortification of seeing (as, indeed, they now may) foreigners and strangers freely admitted to a full participation of all the enjoyments from which they are shut out, though they themselves, of all other nations on the face of the earth, have the fairest right to their unobstructed possession.

To return to the labours of Lord Lansdown. Impressed with the great difficulty of securing to the Natives of India an impartial

administration of the laws in that distant country, his inquiries appear to have been directed towards the best remedy for injustice committed there, and to have regarded as of the utmost importance, the facility of transmitting, hearing, and deciding on appeals sent from thence to the higher tribunals at home. It appears from his Lordship's statement that, from the year 1783, the period at which the adjudication on appeals from India was first exercised by the Privy Council of England, a very large number of appeals had remained undecided; and on many of them no proceedings whatever had taken place. In one of these unadjudicated cases, the territorial right and property of a whole province had been thrown into confusion, and so left, in consequence of no decision being yet had upon the appeal sent home from India respecting the decision of certain disputed questions relating to this case there. The consequence of this interminable delay was, to encourage powerful and wealthy individuals to obtain, by force or fraud, the unlawful possession of poorer or weaker men's property, and then, by appealing to this country against any decision on their case, which they hoped would never be concluded, to continue in wrongful possession, perhaps for the full term of their lives, and even to give over the same unlawful possession to their successors. In consequence of this encouragement to evil doers, the number of these appeals had gone on increasing, and no doubt would increase, until their hearing and decision would become, from mere accumulation, impossible. As if, too, this evil were not of itself a sufficient obstacle to the prompt and due administration of justice, the further obstacle was interposed, of requiring these appeals, when sent from India, to come through the Government of that country—a sure and certain method of delaying their progress towards the higher tribunal in this, at least; and in many cases, where the appeal might contain matters of grave complaint against any of the leading functionaries of the Indian Government or their favourites, of staying its progress altogether, and preventing its ever leaving that country on its way to England at all.

The answer given by Lord Harrowby, the President of the Privy Council, to the representations of the noble mover, contained some curious disclosures. It appeared by this, that his Majesty's Privy Council is nothing more than a superior court of justice; and that, as it can take no cognizance of any cases except those brought before it through all the expensive apparatus of attorneys, solicitors, pleaders, barristers, counsel, and briefs, with the usual fees at every advancing step, there might be any number of appeals sent home from India, and lying before and in the court, without the President, or any members of the Privy Council, knowing anything even of their existence, and without the possibility of their taking them up for perusal or adjudication, unless presented to them for

that purpose by regularly employed counsel in the full costume of wig, gown, and bands. It is time that the Natives of India should know this ; for we can readily believe, with Lord Lansdown, that most, if not all, of those, whose appeals now lie unheard and unnoticed in the anti-chamber of the council-room, for want of some learned serjeant to usher them within the portals of the inner hall, —which of course, however learned, no one would do without his fee,—“thought that to bring their cases under the decision of the “Privy Council in this country, it was only necessary to forward “them to the Government in India, to be by them transmitted to “England, and that they had only to wait in patience and silence “for its determination.” Long, indeed, might they wait before any answer would reach them ; and long, it would seem, must they still wait, unless they send home immediately to employ attorneys, counsel, and all the machinery of the courts of law, which is only to be set in motion by that golden key, without which nothing, and, least of all, justice, is to be rendered accessible to any man in this highly civilized, and, as some will have it, excellently governed country.

These reflections lead us involuntarily to the consideration of the great question, whether, in a really well-governed state, all courts of justice ought not to be, not merely open (as Horne Tooke justly said the London tavern equally was) to all who could pay for entering them, but to those who could not ; and whether also the laws ought not to be administered wholly at the public expense, so that no man should be denied his rights because of his incapacity to pay for them. We pay the army and navy who defend us, from the common purse ; we pay the church, and the guardians of our revenue, from the same national stock ; on the principle, apparently, that all are equally benefited by the functions which these several bodies perform towards the common weal. The judges of the courts of law, as well as the sheriffs, and their executioners, are paid in the same general manner. But since it appears that solicitors and counsel are as indispensable a part of the machinery of justice as judges or jurymen ; that the latter can do nothing without the former ; and that in the Privy Council, and all other regular courts, no cause can be even noticed, unless brought forward by some of these indispensable agents, we conceive it would be much more advantageous to the community that *all* the parties *necessary* to the due administration of justice should be equally paid out of the same common fund as that which defrays the salary of the judge, and pays the wages of the common crier. If attorneys and barristers were not *indispensable* to the obtaining a hearing, but were employed merely as luxurious substitutes by those who could afford them, the matter would be somewhat different, although, even then, there would be an inequality, according to the rank and

wealth of different parties, which, in so sacred a place as a court of justice, ought not to be suffered to prevail. But when we hear it said, by the Privy Council more especially, that no appeals against unjust decisions in India can be heard, unless they are brought to the cognizance of the Board by regularly constituted agents, we think the strongest possible case is made out to show the necessity of an immediate alteration in the constitution of the court itself; for this effectually secures the perpetual exclusion of all *poor* appellants from the bar: though these are, in general, the most wronged and injured classes, and consequently the best entitled to immediate and gratuitous redress. It would be just as wise to decree that no tall man should be heard in any appeal against injustice, unless he employed a short man to advocate his case,—or to say that no blind, deaf, or deformed person should be admitted as an appellant, unless he procured some substitute of personal beauty to plead his cause,—as to make a regulation which admits the rich and excludes the poor. Men cannot help being above six feet in stature, any more than they can command a perfect symmetry of figure; and therefore it is that a law for shutting them out from courts of justice would appear so iniquitous. But, is not poverty, in the case of millions, equally beyond the power of individuals to avoid? And is a rule, that will suffer no poor man, who has not gold enough to employ a host of lawyers, to approach the Privy Council, and whose appeal must lie unheard and undecided, because of a want that he can never remedy, a whit less absurd or less iniquitous than a rule to exclude the halt, the lame, or the blind? The common sense of every reflecting mind will supply the answer.

Now that we have noticed the defects of the existing system, we will endeavour to make our suggestions of some utility by pointing out to the noble Marquis, to whom India is indebted for agitating this question, as well as to the noble Earl with whom will chiefly rest the power of giving facility to any reform, what occurs to us, as affording a cheap, efficient, and immediate remedy for the evil complained of, and quite within the power of adoption without wounding any of those thickly strewn prejudices against innovation, which so painfully obstruct every path and avenue to improvement in legislation. As, however, there is no danger of the august body to which we have adverted, anticipating us in the career of reform, we shall reserve what we have to offer on this branch of the subject, until the ensuing month.

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## UNFADING BEAUTY.

Ah, tell me where  
 Eyes that do thirst for beauty may  
 Find something fair,  
 That will not fade or pass away,  
 Or feel the tooth of dull decay ?

Than woman's eyes  
 Brighter no star in wintry night  
 Shines in the skies,  
 And, peradventure, not so bright,  
 When those are sparkling with delight !

But doth not time  
 Make dim these lovely lambent fires,  
 That in their prime  
 Scorch'd all that saw with fierce desires,  
 Such as all loveliness inspires ?

Are not the charms  
 Of Nature's changing face still young :  
 The brittle arms  
 Time casts, are at her beauty flung  
 Vainly,—she heeds nor arms nor tongue ?

True, she revives,  
 Awaked from death-like trance by Spring ;  
 But though she lives  
 Always, how ghastly pale a thing  
 In wintry tempests shivering !

Ah, seek no more !  
 Unfading beauty doth not dwell  
 On sea or shore ;  
 'T is found, as vanquish'd ages tell,  
 Within the round of poet's spell !

BION.

## LETTERS FROM A CONTINENTAL TRAVELLER.

*THE gratification afforded by the agreeable letters of our correspondent from Germany and Italy, which were given in our Number for March, induces us to follow up those communications by two of his most recent letters from Italy, in which the information is not less pleasing or varied, or the style and manner less engaging and attractive than in his former epistles.*

Venice, Feb. 20, 1827.

Our intended tour of a fortnight was spun out to upwards of a month, and, I believe, would have been protracted to a much longer period, had we not been driven back to Venice by necessity. For we left all our baggage here, and took with us only such few things as might serve us for a short time, so that, with *wear and tear*, losses, and other casualties attendant on travelling, we had begun to assume something of the Jeremy Diddler aspect. But, what was infinitely more alarming, we had very unwisely taken a limited supply of money with us, and not having been sufficiently thrifty at first, we were in danger of finding ourselves in an awkward predicament, and of resembling the above-mentioned gentleman also in his borrowing propensities. To avoid this, we were obliged to retreat from Milan with precipitation, and to conduct the commissariat department with strict economy. When we got here, we had very little to spare.

Our journey was in all respects very agreeable, and with the exception of a very heavy fall of snow, which lasted for several days, and which, as usual, was unequalled in the memory of the oldest inhabitants, the weather was truly delightful, more resembling autumn than winter.

Our route was as follows: Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, Piacenza, Parma, Mantua, &c., back to Venice. All these are large and fine towns, and most of them contain something interesting, either in antiquities or the arts. Parma, in particular, is very rich in paintings, and possesses some of the most esteemed works of Corregio; but none of them are places where there are many inducements to remain, particularly those which are under the Austrian rule. Of course, Milan is an exception to this; for there is no town in Italy, which, to my taste, is so delightful a residence as that; and in which, could I forget "*home, sweet home,*" I would so willingly fix myself. Rome, with all its boundless treasures, is a vastly dull town to live in. Naples is a charming place for three or four months; but for the rest of the year one might as well be in Calcutta. Florence, I am less acquainted with, and, perhaps, if I had been longer there, it

might have disputed the pre-eminence with Milan, in my estimation.

Here, at this particular season, there is a great deal of life and amusement; though, from the peculiar situation of the city, it is precluded from displaying much of the pomp and pageantry which Rome and Florence put forth during the Carnival. Venice has been so often described that it would be a waste of time to attempt a description of it here. But you know that canals supply the place of streets, gondolas of carriages, and that there is not a horse in the town, with the exception of the four brazen steeds of St. Marks. The streets which do exist are generally so narrow that two people can scarcely go abreast in them without jostling; and to escape the contamination which such unseemly rubs with base plebeians might occasion to aristocratic dignity, persons of distinction are seldom to be met with, but perform their rounds, either of business or pleasure, in their gondolas. The only open and extensive places of promenade are the Great Piazza of St. Mark, which I cannot better describe to you, than by saying that it very closely resembles the Palais Royal, (the centre, however, being paved with large flags of marble, and the arcades extending only to three sides of the square, the fourth being occupied by the great church,) and a fine quay, which faces the sea, and leads to a public garden formed by the French, at the expense of half a dozen convents, which were pulled down to make room for the intruder. In these places all the gaiety and population of the city are concentrated. Puppet-shows, mountebanks, conjurors, strolling companies of actors, (like our friends at Portsmouth,) musicians, crowds of masks, and people in their best attire. Such are the amusements of the day. At night every body is to be seen in the Piazza; the arcades and caffès are thronged with company, and masks, who come singly, or in parties, to exercise their wit on those who wear their own faces. I am told that people of the highest distinction avail themselves of the privileges of the season, and indulge in all sorts of whimsicalities *incognito*. The same sort of masquerading goes on at the theatres, and after them at the Ridotto (public rooms), which is seldom deserted till five or six in the morning. There are also numerous conversazioni, balls, concerts, &c., all of which are unusually gay during the Carnival. Through the kindness of my banker, we have had invitations to several of these, and if we were so inclined, we might have as much of that sort of dissipation as we pleased.

I have been to one masquerade, which was very splendid, one concert which was extremely good, and where, amongst other varieties, a *nobile domina* executed on the piano-forte, two pieces, one a difficult Sonata by Dussek, the other, Variations by Myseder, with violino obbligato, in a way that might have made the great Kalkbrenner jealous. To-morrow there is to be a great ball, to which,

I think, I shall go, as all the beau monde of Venice will be assembled there, and then I shall have seen enough to give me a tolerable insight into Venetian society. In other respects, these large parties gave me very little pleasure, being entirely without acquaintances, and I greatly prefer the more mixed society of the pit of the Opera; though, to do the aristocracy justice, it should be observed that no restraints and ceremonies are attached to their parties. Full dress is unknown, and he who went habited as our London beaux to an evening party, would probably be considered as indulging in some of the masquerading freaks of the season. I fear I shall sink to zero in your grandmamma's estimation, when she learns that though I have been upwards of three months absent from England, I have never once had on a white neckcloth, or a pair of silk stockings! Yet, in the course of my wanderings, I have now and then elbowed and been elbowed by grantees and other lofty personages, and have occasionally had the honour of making my bow to a *principessa*, or a *duchessa*. My uncambered neck has more than once been thrust into refined society, to mix with the "black spirits and white, blue spirits and gray," which there mingle; and my booted (but not *unpolished*) legs have even pressed the same floor with the *light fantastic toes* of fair waltzers, even daring to approach the space consecrated to the labours of the *cavalier seul*, and to the mysteries of the *demi-queue de chat*; and, strange to say, I have always found myself like others in these respects, a circumstance which, no doubt, shows the people of the Continent to be a set of unmannered cubs, ignorant of what constitutes the real enjoyment of society. For who can properly appreciate the grace of one of Rossini's melodies, if his neck be encircled by a black stock? Then dancing is delightful, but only to those who wear silk stockings, and so essential are they to this enjoyment, that all pleasure vanishes at once, if even a looker-on has boots! I say nothing of the wearing of a frock-coat at an evening party; for that, of course, is an enormity, of which even the savages of Otaheite would be incapable. But my indignation is running away with me, and I must return to business.

On my return here, I found in representation at the Fenice (the Grand Opera) the 'Crociato.' Alas! it was very different from what I had been accustomed to; and, half a dozen times, I was inclined to leave the theatre in despair. It is very unfair to Cecconi, on whom the arduous task was imposed of sustaining the principal part, to force her to sing music to which her physical powers were inadequate, setting *science* aside. The part is written in *mezzo soprano*, and often goes higher than what most sopranos can well accomplish; whilst it descends far into the province of *contralto*. No person then is capable of executing this music, barely as it is, in score, without possessing two different *metalli* of

voice, (as is said technically,) that is, the faculty of singing in soprano and contralto (the interval between these being, of course, included.) There are a few persons who are thus singularly gifted. Pasta is one; but even in her singing, you may have remarked a want of clearness in the lower notes; the thinness of her upper notes was not so perceptible, from her great judgment, which enabled her to turn even the weakness of her voice to account. Cecconi's, however, is a pure contralto, and, to sing the music, she is perpetually obliged either to fly into a most intolerable falsetto, or suddenly to fall down an octave, and thus entirely to ruin the effect of the passage. With respect to her conception of the music, if I could forget the Vellutian *flourture*, it might have appeared to me tolerable; but, when I say that it bore no shadow of resemblance to what, the more I hear of singing, is the more firmly established in my mind as the standard of excellence, it is scarcely necessary to add, that it gave me little satisfaction. How the Venetians, who were the first audience that listened to this noble opera, and who passed the watch word, 'Crocciato and Velluti' to the rest of Europe, can listen to it, as it is now represented, (for not only is the principal inefficient, but the music has been mutilated and disfigured in a shameful manner, in the vain hope of bringing it within the reach of those who were to sing it,) is quite unintelligible to me. It should be mentioned, however, that Tosi and Crevelli, who originally sustained the parts of Palmidi and Adriano, still appear in those characters, and do all for the music which individual excellence can accomplish. Crevelli, though sixty years of age, is one of the most accomplished tenors I have ever heard; and Tosi has a first rate reputation in Italy. She sings the music with more feeling than Bonino, though she has not yet acquired so much execution; and she has, moreover, the advantage of being young and handsome. I do not insult her by a comparison with Caradori.

Of the orchestra, what can I say of sufficient praise? Of all the perfect bands to which I have lately listened, and of which each has appeared superior to that which went before, this of Venice is the most admirable. Though it possesses a strength which, on fit occasions, can nearly stun with its thunder, its accompaniments are ever of the most chamber-like delicacy, and in the most admirable subordination to the vocal parts; and, in this respect, I may say it stands alone. The inclination to indulge in *their own little flourish* is in general too strong to be resisted by the tenants of an orchestra, and the voice is often lost where it ought to be principal.

The 'Crocciato' has been succeeded by a new opera entitled 'Giovanna d'Arco,' composed by Vaccari expressly for the Fenice. When a new opera is produced in Italy, it is the custom for the master to sit at the piano-forte during the first three nights of its representation. The audience always listen with patience for these three evenings, when they are supposed to be sufficiently

acquainted with the music to pronounce sentence on it, and it is condemned or approved accordingly. Custom, however, does not prevent them from bestowing the most unbounded praise both on composer and performers during this probation; it only exacts the absence of severe censure. There is something uncommonly exciting in witnessing these probations, particularly where expectations have been raised very high. The crowded theatre—the whispers which run through the house, communicating the opinion of some high authority who has seen the score or heard the rehearsal—the important looks of the leader, as he reduces his troops into tune, and prepares a second fiddle lest a string of his other should suddenly break—the anxious face of the maestro, as he advances towards the piano-forte, scarcely venturing to cast a timid and hasty glance around him at his judges, ere he takes his seat—the death-like silence which succeeds the tap of the leader's bow, preparatory to the commencement—the murmurs which agitate the assembly, now swelling into distinct approbation, now sinking to the chilling silence which too surely indicates dissatisfaction—the din of applause, with which any thing strikingly beautiful in the music is received, and which is at once transferred to the composer, the singers, or the musicians, according as their several merits predominate—the readiness with which borrowed plumes are detected, and the significant gestures with which thefts are noticed—the varying emotions which animate the faces of the audience until the falling of the curtain enables them to give vent to their observations, when the whole house is instantly divided into central groupes, of which each has its oracle. Such is a sketch of what the first representation of an opera presents, and I must own it has irresistible charms for me. What would I not have given to have witnessed the coming out of the 'Crociato,' when the delighted people seized on Meyerbeer and paraded him about the town on their shoulders? or the production of Rossini's, where the unfortunate composer was nearly hugged to death by his admirers? I took great interest in this opera of Vaccaij's, for I had greatly admired some of his other works, and had been very much delighted formerly by hearing him play and sing some of his own music at Naples; I therefore watched over 'Giovanna' with great anxiety during the momentous period of probation. It began rather heavily; there was nothing during the first half hour that called forth any marked applause; the contralto was ill, and gave no effect to a *gran scena* which was much relied on by the composer. People began to mutter '*pasticcio*,' a phrase by which they are wont to indicate music made up of odds and ends; and every thing seemed to portend a *fiasco*, (in musical phraseology, a failure.) A fine duet, however, between Tosi and Crevelli turned the scale in Vaccaij's favour, and put the audience in good humour. In the second act, there were several good concerted pieces, and one splendid scena, which was executed admirably by Tosi, and which

of itself would save the opera. Indeed, her acting and singing, throughout this most difficult part, were altogether excellent, and gained her enthusiastic applause. Crevelli also acquitted himself with his usual ability and good taste; but, in other respects, Vaccaij is little indebted to his vocalists; the bass was very mediocre, and the contralto weak. The second night, the success of the opera was more marked, and the third left no fears as to its failure, though I do not think it will ever rise to a first-rate reputation.

At the Buffo Opera, they have been giving Rossini's 'Barbieri' and 'Cenerentola,' both of imperishable popularity, with a very good company; so you see there is no want of variety. Before we left Milan, 'Didone' was 'abandonata' at the Scala, and 'Zoraide' substituted, a change which gave universal satisfaction. It was very well done; but David pleased me in it no more than in the other opera. At Parma, there was a remarkably good company, as there always is; the prima donna is a young Englishwoman, whose history, as I heard it, was rather singular. She is of good family, the daughter of a physician, and of independent fortune; her passion is music, and perfection in singing is what she is bent on accomplishing. She appears to be about 22 years of age, of a pleasing appearance, (like the prints you see of the Princess Charlotte,) with a fine voice, good figure, and rather graceful bearing; she has none of the shyness or timidity of a novice, but treads the stage like one who had nothing either to hope or fear from those who observed her. Her singing is extremely good, and, for an exotic, wonderful. In execution, even of the most difficult music, she has little to learn; what she does want is, *brío* and *portamento*, two qualities which time and experience may give her, and which Ferron has shown may be attained even by an Englishwoman. Still she is not a favourite with the Parmesans, who have received her very coldly.

Belloc, who sang in England some twenty years ago, was also here, and even at her advanced years, she is hardly now to be equalled in Italy. Tacchinardi, the tenor, is one of the most scientific and delightful singers to be met with. Their operas were the 'Crociato,' in which Belloc acquitted herself with great talent, though she still fell infinitely short of Velluti; but the music was even more mangled than at Venice, for want of a contralto. There was another opera called 'Attila,' written for Parma, by a young composer, called Persiani; but, though well executed, it did not succeed. At Mantua there was a magnificent 'Semiramide,' which was the greatest treat I have yet met with. The singing of a certain Passerini in this opera, is the most perfect specimen of unrivalled brilliancy, united to the purest and most passionate expression which I have ever heard since the strains of Velluti. There is science in every ornament she uses, and grace in every movement of her voice. It being the last night of the

opera, she was forced to repeat a long and difficult *scena*, (a favour the audience are only allowed, to ask on the last representation,) and almost every embellishment on the repetition was new, but always under the dominion of the most correct taste. Her singing is not new to me, and I remember well, being lost in amazement at her execution of the different modulations in the finale of 'Zelmira,' (the most trying piece of music ever devised, and which even Pasta did not choose to risk attempting in London,) when she was at Palermo; and I have heard her sing this very 'Semiramide' also, but it did not make the same impression on me then, which it did at Mantua.

At Verona, I heard 'Mose' and 'Otello' admirably done, in which our countrywoman, Ferron, was the principal singer. Her fame is spread from one end of Italy to the other; she is one of the greatest favourites in the country, and most deservedly so. I should never have done were I to give you a list and description of all the operas I have heard within the last month. At this season of the year, every town has an opera, and almost every one has a good company, which may give you some idea of the prodigious fertility of this country in musical talent. Decidedly the most popular composition extant, is Rossini's 'Semiramide,' which, in the north of Italy alone, was in representation at six theatres at the same time. Next to it may be ranked Meyerbeer's 'Crociato,' which was acted in four large towns this Carnival. Mercadante, Paccini, Magi, Morlacchi, and Vaccini, are the other composers now most in repute; but the popularity of Rossini is altogether unshaken, and gains ground rather than diminishes; nor, indeed, do I wonder at it; for, with all his faults, he is truly a master genius.

It is said here that Pasta is to be in London in May, that Mr. Ebers' agents had engaged Donzellii, Galli, and Zuchelli from Paris; that Rossini is to go over to England to write a new opera; and that in spring there would be no such Opera in Europe as that of London. Indeed, if all this be true, it promises well. Several new scores are also to be taken to England, amongst others, 'Donna Carritea,' a popular opera, by Mercadante; and 'Giulietta e Romeo,' one of Vaccini's best works. There is some talk of engaging a troop of Italian choristers, and of improving the London ballet by introducing some of the Milanese school.

I have advised some persons here to induce Lorenzani to go to England, if they wished to show the London public what good singing was; but it is said that she was not to be tempted, and she is very right, for now she is in a country where her merits are appreciated, which would not be the case in England.

We leave Venice on the 24th, and proceed by Ferrara and Bologna to Florence. I fear my progress southwards must stop at Florence; though how I am to deny myself another glimpse of St.



Peter's and the Vatican, is hard to say ; but time flies, and visions of Indiamen and outfits, passengers and preparations, begin to float before my eyes, with a fair distance of rice plains and cocoa-nut trees. Alas, alas ! that one must exchange the Alps for the twenty-four Pergunnahs, and the warblings of a Passerini for the dull notes of the *tom-tom* !

I have prolonged this letter considerably beyond what I anticipated when commencing it. Cicero once excused himself for writing a long letter, by saying he had not time to make it shorter, a sort of apology which even small people may occasionally make use of.

Poor Velluti is very ill here—dangerously ill, I fear, from what I have just heard.

*Florence, March 6, 1827.*

I confess to you the tearing myself from Italy is a sad effort, the more so now that the climate has begun to be so delicious. Still I know it is necessary ; and, moreover, I feel that when I arrive in England all my regrets will be at having staid away so long. Such is the preference of present enjoyment to even the certainty of purchasing greater happiness by its relinquishment !

I should wish to bask in the warmth of an Italian spring, until the passage of the Alps becomes less dreary, and the climate on the other side more genial. Sometimes I think of going from Genoa to Nice in a felucca, to avoid the trouble and fatigue of a land journey : but as yet I have fixed nothing. The end of April, however, is the utmost extension which, even in my dreams, I venture to assign myself, and the 1st of May *must* find me in England.

Florence is in all its usual beauty, with the temperature of English June. We left Venice on the 25th ultimo, and I saw much of the Venetian society whilst there, owing to the extreme civility of my banker, who loaded me with attentions. I was at two grand balls during the Carnival : the first was given by the Filarmonici, the latter by the Austrians, and both were of the most brilliant description. The first, in particular, was the most splendid display of beautiful women and elegant costume that I ever saw in any country. There were about six hundred people in the rooms ; and, as I stood in the midst of such a brilliant assemblage, I could hardly credit the accounts of the decay of Venice. We certainly saw Venice to great advantage, though they say the Carnival is sadly fallen off. We got to Ferrara on the 25th, and remained there the 26th, when there was a very brilliant *Corso*, with horse-races, a magnificent opera, and after it, a very gay masked ball in the theatre which lasted till 8 o'clock in the morning ; not that I was so Carnival-mad as to stay till that hour. You would not have thought that Ferrara, dull and dilapidated as it looks, could have exhibited such gaieties as its streets and theatre

showed on this occasion; but, at this season, every town in Italy is in its holiday clothes, and one would suppose the people were all insane.

We got to Bologna on the last day of the Carnival, the 27th of February; and here again all was masquerading, foolery, and amusement, with a magnificent *reiglone* (so they call the masked balls at the Opera House) until twelve o'clock at night, when a great bell rang; the people were all driven away, the streets cleared, the sound of festivity hushed. Lent had commenced, mortification and penance had now taken the place of mirth and enjoyment; and, on the following day, sermons were preached from all the pulpits against the profane riots of the Carnival, which had been openly patronized the day before by the cardinal and church dignitaries! One would hardly believe it possible that so rapid a change could be wrought in the population of a large town, as is witnessed at this time, especially under the Pope's sway.

No place in the world, perhaps, is so intolerable during Lent as Bologna, and few are more agreeable during Carnival. After the curfew has tolled, not a shadow of amusement is allowed, nor even the tinkling of a guitar in the streets. We did not stay an hour longer under his Holiness's dominion than sufficed to procure a conveyance to Florence, where they keep Lent with more moderation. We had a tedious and dreary journey over the Apennines, which were covered with snow, and dismal enough; but, as we approached Florence, the snow disappeared, and the climate softened.

On our arrival here, we immediately went into a lodging *Via di Santa Margarita*, where we have three very nice furnished rooms for four pauls per diem, and we keep ourselves. Almost immediately on my arrival here, I encountered our old and incomparable valet in the street. He darted across the road, seized my hand, kissed it with the utmost emotion, and I really believe shedding tears of joy. I was truly delighted to meet him, for a more excellent being never lived. Since leaving us he has served many masters, and as usual gives a long and doleful account of his servitudes. Now he is with an English family consisting of two gentlemen and three ladies, and truly it would seem the life of a galley-slave were ease compared with his. He is their only servant, and they keep house; they go to bed about two in the morning, and he has three separate breakfasts to prepare at eight o'clock; seven pairs of boots and five of shoes to clean daily; sixty knives and forks to put in order, and coats innumerable to brush, small wages and poor fare; his complaints are like those of Leporello:

“ *Notte e giorno faticar,  
Mangiar mal, e mal dormir.* ”

And, like Leporello's also, is his determination,

“Voglio far il gentiluomo,

E non voglio piu servir.”

for, as soon as he is released from his present slavery, (by the bye, he says they are excellent and kind people, though so unconsonable as to work,) he intends to go to Lucca, and if he can raise enough money to subsist on, to give up servitude altogether.

GO, FANCY, TREAD THE SHORE.

Go, Fancy, tread the shore,

From whence my eye

First skimm'd the ocean-floor,

And, passing by,

Beheld the vessel's dashing prow

Beat down the barking waves below.

Ah, did not every sail

The wish inspire,

To wander with the gale.

Where doth retire

The winter's sun, while tempests here

Roar round and shake the dying year?

Visit the sandy nook,

Where oft I lay,

And turn'd from foreign book

To mark the play

Of coney in their small champaign,

By sand-hills bounded and the main.

And, if thou canst, recal

The thoughts that rose,

And feelings musical,

At evening's close,

When Hesper, like a shepherd, brings

The flocking stars to night's cold springs.

But whisper nought of love—

Be that forgot—

'T is a fire bright above,

But ashes hot,

And cinders wasting as they burn.

Below, and drop in Time's dark urn.

**REMARKABLE FORGERY OF A BRAMINICAL WORK ON  
RELIGION, BY A FRENCH JESUIT.**

At a moment when every thing relating to the celebrated Society of the Jesuits excites considerable interest in this country as well as on the Continent, it may be well to make known to the public, more generally than it is at present, a circumstance relative to a missionary of that Society, who resided in India nearly 200 years ago; because it will at once show the extraordinary talent of the Jesuits generally, and the great knowledge of the Sanscrit language, and the Hindoo religion and manners, acquired by the members of that Society, who were sent into the East; as well as the zeal and perseverance with which they promoted, according to their own views of this duty, the conversion of the natives of India from Hindooism to Christianity.

Sir Alexander Johnston, when chief justice and first member of his Majesty's council in Ceylon, having, in consequence of his suggestions upon the subject, been authorized by his Majesty's ministers to frame a special code, which might be applicable to the religious feelings, local circumstances, and peculiar customs of all the different castes and descriptions of Native inhabitants on that island, felt it to be his duty, in the first instance, to ascertain as nearly as he could the authenticity of all those books, Indian as well as European, which were generally believed to contain the most correct information respecting the real tenets of the Braminical and Buddhist religions.

Amongst other European books, the authenticity of which he was desirous of ascertaining, was the 'Ezour Vadam,' a work in French, which Voltaire, in his 'Age of Louis the Fifteenth,' had announced to be a French translation made from a Sanscrit work, by a most respectable Bramin of the Pagoda of Seringham, who had rendered great services to the French at Pondicherry, but which work Monsieur Sonnerat had, subsequently to Voltaire's publication, suspected to be the production of some French Missionary. Sir Alexander Johnston, while on a journey to Madras from the island of Ramisserum, which is situated between the north-west part of the island of Ceylon, and the south-east extremity of the peninsula of India, and which is as celebrated for its sanctity in the southern part, as Jaggernaut is in the northern part of Hindoostan, determined, if possible, to ascertain whether the original of the 'Ezour Vadam' was or was not a Sanscrit work. With this view, in travelling through the several provinces of Tinnevely, Raminad, Madura, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore, he made the most particular inquiries upon the subject at all the Pagodas of any note

in those provinces, amongst others, at the Pagodas of Ramisserum, Trichindore, Tinnevely, Madura, Tanjore, Combeconum, Chillumbrum, and particularly at that of Seringham. He could not, however, find the least trace amongst the Bramins of those Pagodas of any translation ever having been made into French of a Sanscrit work, called the 'Ezour Vadam,' nor that any such work was ever written, either by a Bramin of the Pagoda of Seringham, or of any other Pagoda in those provinces.

Extending his inquiries still farther on the subject, Sir Alexander Johnston went to the French settlement of Pondicherry, and there having obtained the permission of Count Dupins, the French Governor of that place, examined, in company with Colonel Fraser, the English Political Resident there, all the manuscript works in the Jesuit's College of Pondicherry. Among these he found the *manuscript copy* of the 'Ezour Vadam' in French and Sanscrit. He immediately mentioned this circumstance to the late Mr. Ellis, then the principal member, and most learned ornament of the College of Madras. At the request of Sir Alexander, and for the purpose of deciding on the authenticity of the work in question, Mr. Ellis (than whom no one could be better qualified for the task) entered into a minute examination of the manuscripts, and ultimately produced a very learned dissertation on the subject, which is inserted in the fourteenth volume of the 'Asiatic Researches,' wherein he proves that the 'Ezour Vadam' is *not* the French translation of a Sanscrit original, as was believed by Voltaire, but a work entirely *composed* by the celebrated Jesuit, Robert de Nobilibus, in the year 1621, for the express purpose of promoting, by this "pious fraud," the conversion of the Hindoos to Christianity!

The object which Voltaire principally had in view in introducing this supposed Sanscrit work to the notice of the European world, was to show that many of the principal doctrines of Christianity were borrowed from those of the Bramins, long before prevalent in the East; and the great resemblance between the Christian doctrines and those found in the 'Ezour Vadam,' supposing this to be a genuine work, might well induce the supposition. But the discovery of its forgery sufficiently refutes the notion, and easily accounts for the resemblance in question, while it adds another proof to the many already on record, of how little reliance is to be placed on theological authorities generally, when, even for the propagation of a faith which peculiarly teaches men to abhor dissimulation and to denounce fraud, and expressly prohibits the doing of evil, even if good is to arise therefrom, men of the highest talent and attainments could be found to use these noble gifts in forging and passing off as authentic, and of divine origin, dogmas and doctrines originating in their own zealous but unscrupulous imaginations.

The report of the meeting of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta: at

which the paper of Mr. Ellis alluded to in the foregoing remarks, was first read, is sufficiently curious and appropriate to be repeated here. It is as follows :

‘ A meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at Chouringhee, on the evening of the 6th instant, (August 1817.) Mr. Harrington presided on the occasion. Several curious articles of Hindoo sculpture, painting, &c. had been received during the preceding two months, and were deposited in the Museum.

‘ An interesting paper was read, written by Mr. Ellis, communicating a curious instance of literary forgery, or rather religious imposition. In 1788 a book was printed at Paris, entitled *L'Ezour Vadam*, containing the exposition of the opinions of the Indian priests and philosophers, and said to be translated from the Sanscrit by a Bramin. It was said in the preface that the work was originally among the papers of M. Barthelemy, a Member of Council at Pondicherry, that M. Moldave brought a copy of it from India, and presented it to Voltaire, who sent it in 1761 to the Library of the King of France. Voltaire had been informed that the chief-priest of Cherengham, distinguished for his knowledge of the French language, and the services he had performed for the India Company, was the translator of the Ezour Vadam, and appears to have believed it an authentic work. M. Auquetil du Perron was of the same opinion. M. Sonnerat, however, seems to have detected the error, and describes the Ezour Vadam as not genuine, but the composition of a Missionary at Masulipatam, *sous le manteau Bramé*. Mr. Ellis has since ascertained that the original of this work still exists among the manuscripts in the possession of the Catholic Missionaries at Pondicherry, which are understood to have belonged originally to the Society of Jesuits. Besides the Ezour Vadam, there are also among these Manuscripts imitations of the other three Vedas, each of them in Sanscrit, in the Roman character, and in the French. Mr. Ellis enters into a philological investigation of the manuscripts to show that whether the author were a Native or a European, the work must either have originated in the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, or have been composed by some one who had there learned the rudiments of the Sanscrit. He then gives a list of the manuscripts in the possession of the Catholic Missionaries and their contents. They are eight in number. One of them concludes by denying the divinity of Bramah, and asserting him to have been a man in all respects resembling other human beings. They are all intended to refute the doctrines, and show the absurdity of the ceremonies, inculcated by the Brahmins. The Native Christians at Pondicherry are of opinion that they were written by Robertus de Nobilibus, a near relation of his holiness Marcellus II., and the nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine, and who founded the Madura mission about the year 1620. This personage appears to be well known both to Hindoos and Christians, under the Sanscrit title of

Tatwa-bod'ha-swami, whose writings on polemical theology are said to resemble greatly the controversial parts of the Pseudo-vedas, discovered by Mr. Ellis. That learned gentleman thinks it not improbable that the substance of them, as they now exist, is from his pen, and that they consisted originally, like his works in Tamil, of detached treatises on various controversial points, and that some other hand has since arranged them in their present form, imposed on them a false title, transcribed them into the Roman character, and translated them into French. It is said, however, that the manner, style, form, and substance, of the pseudo-vedas do not bear the most distant resemblance to the writings, whose titles they assume. Mr. Ellis gives an elaborate analysis of the real vedas, and compares them particularly with the forgeries. The whole scope of the pseudo-vedas is evidently the destruction of the existing belief of the Hindoos, without regarding consequences, or caring whether a blank be substituted for it or not. The writings of Ram Mohun Roy seem to be precisely of the same tendency as the discussions of Robertus de Nobilibus. The mission of Madura appears to have been founded on the principle of concealing from the Natives the country of the missionaries, and imposing them on the people as belonging to the sacred tribe of the Brahmins, (Romaca Brahmana was the title they assumed,) and this deception, probably, led to many more.

'The paper of Mr. Ellis, of which we have given this imperfect report, displays a profound knowledge of Sanscrit literature, and will be read with peculiar interest by the Oriental scholar.

'The same intelligent writer has transmitted to the Society his able Dissertation on the Malayalma language, which is spoken in the southern provinces of Travancore.'

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#### HEROES SERVED.\*

UPON the silent Danube's shore  
When evening waits, 'tis sweet to see  
(Their golden wine-cups flowing o'er)  
Our heroes in their revelry.

A youthful beauty pours the wine,  
And each will pledge a cup to her;  
And each, of charms that seem divine,  
Would fain become a worshipper.

'Nay! heroes, nay!' the virgin cried,  
'My service—not my love—I give:  
For one alone—for none beside—  
For one alone I love and live.'

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\* From 'Popular Servian Poetry—translated by John Bowring.'

## ABASSAH, AN ARABIAN TALE.\*

WHEN we reflect how many intellectual qualities must concur to form the poetical character, it certainly is not easy to repress our wonder that so many persons should imagine themselves poets. For nothing in nature is more rare than a real poet. Miracles almost occur as frequently.

Not highest wisdom in debates  
For framing laws to govern states ;  
Not empire to the rising sun  
By valour, conduct, fortune won,  
Such heavenly influence require  
As how to strike the muse's lyre.

In fact, the poet that would deserve the name, must unite, with an extraordinary degree of understanding, invention to create, and imagination and fancy to embellish and beautify his compositions. To these he should add chasteness of thought, and a style at once various, flexible, elegant, rich, forcible:—in a word, he should be able to put in play all the powers of his country's language. With Horace, we despise all middling poetry ; for it is not here, as in ethics, where virtue is found in the golden mean. In poetry, what is not good, is bad. This is the law, and it has been approved by all those extraordinary men who applied their minds to the judging of works of imagination ; though we observe that, of late, many of those persons, who in these times assume the name of critic, are pleased to profess another creed, and to speak as if there could exist poetry gradually descending in excellence from the apex of sublimity down to the very level of the bathos. Almost every production in rhyme that appears, contains, according to them, infallible tokens, clear and legible types, that the muses have an unfading laurel in store for the author. From the collision of rough consonants they perceive bright sparks of genius produced, and the headstrong march of untameable verses, which spurn all rule, are to them the happiest omens of future ease and fluency of versification. An infusion of extravagant nonsense indicates profundity and a philosophical spirit. But much more philosophical is it, and more a proof of genius, to drop hints about misanthropical cynicism, to talk of despising man as a contemptible animal, to turn some of Montaigne's rambling rhapsodies into verse, as Byron did, to laugh at the highest efforts of human intellect, which is much easier than to imitate them, and (to crown these philosophical pretensions) to insinuate a disbelief in the reality of all virtue, and endeavour,

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\* Abassah, an Arabian tale, in two cantos. London, 1826.



by hints and inuendos, to sap the foundation of all great reputations.

Poetry of this stamp is sure to reckon all the profligate among its admirers, and they unfortunately form a tolerably strong party among mankind. No doubt, the preparation of so poisonous a drug demands great talents and much knowledge; the assassin of public morals must be no vulgar person; he must know the strength and the weakness of the place he has to attack; he must have dexterity, he must have courage, he must have perseverance.

The author of 'Abassah' has no pretensions to rank among these philosophers, nor among any others, though he makes an attempt, in the beginning of his poem, to philosophize a little in the old way on the doings of time, and the vicissitudes of empires. It is, however, somewhat difficult to understand what connection there is between this rambling rhapsody and the story of 'Abassah;' no more, we suspect, than the 'History of England' has with the Memoirs of Mr. O'Keefe, or Mr. Frederic Reynolds, which, upon this author's plan, those ingenious gentlemen might have prefixed to their important communications by way of introduction. Among all the common-places of the world, no common-place is more common than reflections on the death and burial of men and women, whether those men and women should happen to be kings and queens of Babylon, or honest occupants of an attic in the Seven Dials. Men have always had a trick of dying, even with golden crowns on their heads, and in the most sumptuous palaces. Empires, too, are made of 'perishable stuff,' and will decay and crumble, and pass away from the earth, sometimes without even leaving a certain name behind them. For we are told by very learned men, that after the wreck and breaking up of Alexander's unwieldy monarchy, among other states that started up out of its ruins in the East, there arose an empire in Bactria, which carried on its operations so quietly, that the Greeks actually forgot its existence, and have never once mentioned it in their histories, so that this *empire* of Bactria would have remained forever unknown to posterity, if De Guignes had not ferreted out some account of it from the Chinese histories.

But what need had so simple a tale as 'Abassah,' of any introduction extending beyond a few lines? What had the story of Haroun's sister to do with Nimrod or Semiramis? The author might have contrived other methods of showing his learning, less prejudicial to his book, and more creditable to his judgment. However, it is useless to dwell upon the defects of so slight a production, which merits little notice, and would not have obtained any from us, but that its subject is *Oriental*.

The story of 'Abassah,' as related by D'Herbelot, and from him copied into various popular, or, at least, common publications,

is well known all over Europe. She was the favourite sister of the Caliph Haroun al Raschid, celebrated in history, but rendered much more famous by the conspicuous part he acts in the inimitable stories of the 'Arabian Nights.' We do not remember that 'Abassah' is mentioned in that work; certainly, the first time we formed any idea of her talents and beauty, can be traced no farther back than the period of our acquaintance with D'Herbelot; which, we imagine, would not have been the case if Abassah had made any figure in the Thousand and One Nights. Perhaps, had 'Abassah' been merely beautiful, and a poetess, posterity would have known as little of her history, as it knows of many other beautiful poetesses who once sung and were admired, but have now been long wrapped up in oblivion, as completely as he who built the great Pyramid. But the sister of Haroun paid the usual price of renown; her life was a life of bitter vicissitudes; she passed at once from a palace into poverty; became a vagabond and a beggar; was acquainted with cold and hunger; was houseless, friendless, proscribed, driven from society. And wherefore? Did she pollute the haram? Did she weave plots, or concoct poisons for the Caliph? Her crime was of a different kind. She obeyed nature in preference to the commands of her brother; and in this manner:—Haroun, as all the world knows, had for his vizier the celebrated Giaffar Barmeki, a man of enlarged views, and of a noble soul. As far as affection is compatible with the temper of a tyrant, that *pestiferum belluam*, as Cicero words it, Haroun loved Giaffar, and took great delight in his company. Abassah, too, possessed a large share of his partiality, and her songs, and her sprightly wit, which were always delightful and always new, contributed in the evening to brush away the cares and solitudes which the business of the state cast upon his mind during the day. His sister he met of course in the privacy of the haram, where none but his nearest relations could be admitted. From thence Giaffar was necessarily excluded, and therefore the Caliph found it impossible to enjoy Abassah's company, without sacrificing that of his vizier, which habit had rendered necessary in some degree to his complete happiness. This circumstance tormented him for some time; but as tyrants are always ingenious in their inventions, when those inventions are calculated to inflict pain on their subjects, the Commander of the *Faithful* at length conceived a project, the execution of which, as it depended on his will, was easy, and would infallibly insure him the pleasure he desired. In short, he resolved that, nominally, the Barmeki should be raised to the inexpressible dignity of brother-in-law to the Caliph, though, in fact, he considered it worse than cursing the beard of the Prophet to allow a subject of any rank to mix his blood with the imperial current. According to the fiat of the Caliph, Giaffar and Abassah became husband and wife; but they saw each other only in the Caliph's presence, who, having brought them together for his own enjoyment, never

dreamed that it was possible they would have the audacity to conceive a thought of that which might belong to themselves. To be brief, however, mutual love arose during these meetings, and was betrayed by that mute language which nature has bestowed upon the passions. The vigilance of the Caliph was eluded—the lovers met in secret—and a child being the fruit of those stolen interviews, it was carefully hidden, and at last sent for greater security to Mecca. Haroun at length discovered this most natural result of his stupid contrivance, and, with the true emotions of a tyrant, put the vizier to death, and drove his sister from Bagdad, forbidding all his subjects to harbour or protect her under penalty of death. The child, which was sent to Mecca, he seems never to have discovered, although, like another Herod, he was anxious to find his place of concealment, and undoubtedly for the same purpose.

Such is the transaction upon which the present poem is founded, and the author departs but little from the verity of history in his incidents, which, heaven knows, are few enough. Having given the above outline of the story, we shall show the reader the style in which this rhymed version of it has been executed; premising only, that we shall extract the very best passages we could select out of the book.

The first canto opens in the following manner:

‘Tis sweet, beneath the moonlight ray  
On Degiala's side,  
To watch the rushing currents stray,  
And mark the falling moonbeams play  
Upon the rippling tide;  
Whose arrowy waters eager flow,  
And glancing meet that silver glow;  
While smoothly glides across its breast  
Yon darken'd speck—the Kufa boat,  
Or the tired steersman, sunk to rest,  
Trusts to the waves his ozier float,  
That, fraught with Bochtan's ore, or grain,  
The golden growth of Betlis' plain,  
From rich Moussul adventured down,  
Seeks safely the imperial town.  
The evening breeze hath ceased to rave;  
The branching palms no longer wave,  
But, fix'd and motionless on high,  
Stand out against the distant sky.  
The bird is nestling on his bough,  
The city's sounds are silent now;  
Yon towers beneath the midnight blaze  
In soften'd shadows shun the gaze,  
While gleams each gilded fane afar  
With quivering rays, a mimic star,  
That idly nicks in dancing light  
Creation's pause—the noon of night!

Now parching herb and withering flower  
Drink the cool dew's refreshing shower:  
Slow yielded to the gazer's eye  
Unveils its depths yon dark blue sky,  
And radiant in that hour serene  
Glows thy fair orb, Night's pensive Queen !'

Ghosts are naturalized all the world over. They inhabit every inch of building from which the living have been dislodged, and, in some parts of the world, have been actually known to put the living out of possession. Throughout Mesopotamia, and indeed generally throughout the East, these ærial beings are under no necessity of combating for dwelling houses, ruins being nearly as numerous as sound buildings. Our author, upon the authority of stories whispered in 'Kowsha's vale,' informs us that the ghosts of the ancient kings of Babylonia, dissatisfied with their situation in the other world, fly back to their ancient seats, and long, like Achilles in the 'Odyssey,' for the return of their departed power:

'And oft—for thus in Kowsha's vale  
Reports the darkly whisper'd tale—  
Oft will the wondering peasant's eye  
The spirits of the past descry,  
And count the ærial forms that dwell  
In sullen tower or secret dell,  
As, mindful of their ancient reign,  
They seek their subject realms again.  
There, too, the genii of the air,  
Slaves of the mystic seal, repair,  
Coerced to nightly toil, and raise  
The structures of departed days;  
That still in midnight splendours gloam,  
But vanish with the morning beam.'

The following description of the effect produced on Balshazzar, by the appearance of the hand-writing on the wall, is a favourable specimen of the author's powers:

'— Rooted to the lofty throne,  
Why stands the monarch—fixed—alone?  
Alas!—where quenched in living fire  
The torches' fainting gleams expire,  
Too well his fate-struck eye surveys  
The shadowy hand—the mystic blaze!  
There stands the fearful doom reveal'd,  
His days,—his kingdom,—number'd,—seal'd.  
Even as he reads the glowing walls  
The torrent bursts—the rampart falls—  
And, answering to the Hebrew's word,  
Peals the wild cry of conquest heard!  
His feast is blood!—his sceptred power  
Is broken—vanish'd—in an hour;

And weighed, and wanting in the scale,  
 His life is but a dreamer's tale !  
 Yon western glow faint lingers yet—  
 It was his empire's sun that set ;  
 Secure in conscious glory then—  
 Now, trampled by the feet of men !  
 Eve saw his pride : the scarce gray morn  
 Beholds his midnight splendours shorn,  
 Another to his throne succeed,  
 His kingdom subject to the Mede ;  
 And this his night of boundless bliss—  
 His boast—his banquet—spread for this !'

Solomon says, ' he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow ; ' and he must have said it in a moment of *ennui*, when one of his seven hundred wives had given him some peculiar provocation, which he found all his knowledge incapable of teaching him to bear with patience. Without equal cause, or temptation, a thousand peevish mortals, who would willingly be esteemed philosophers, have since vented their spleen in invectives against knowledge, with which they were out of humour, for the same reason, perhaps, that the fox in the fable pronounced the grapes sour and not worth reaching. Lord Byron, a very *philosophical* person, found himself sadly incommoded by the extent of his knowledge, and seemed to insinuate that the weight of it would at length sink him to the grave. *He*, no doubt, had knowledge ; and of a certain species it might have been well, perhaps, had he had less ; but his lamentations at being too knowing have induced many honest and simple versifiers, very far from being in the same predicament, to bewail the too great abundance of their ideas, as if, God help them ! their minds were as rich and overflowing as the coffers of Delphi or Loretto. But among all this too-knowing generation, we never happened to find an adversary of *wisdom*, a thing which very few, from King Solomon down to Byron, could honestly complain of being oppressed with. The author of ' *Abassah*, ' however, has pushed the matter to extremities, and instead of vituperating geometry, or politics, or dialectics, has without the least ceremony thrown the first stone at wisdom, and declared boldly that whatever adds to the science of happiness (for wisdom is no other) adds to woe. This certainly is having clear ideas of things, and and being possessed of *too much* knowledge. To come to so profound a conclusion, a writer must be deep in logic, and have made long inroads on the domains of philosophy. But, lest the reader should suspect we have exaggerated the ignorance and confusion of ideas which display themselves in this passage, we copy it :

' Hard is his task who toils through art  
 To find a balsam for the heart ,

And learning's ransack'd stores but show  
Who adds to wisdom, adds to woe.'

The lines in which Abassah speaks of the feelings she experienced when Giaffar's image first awakened love in her bosom, are tolerably good ; and they are the only ones of that character which occur in thirty-eight pages :

' I ran, with restless feet, to press  
The garden's fragrant wilderness,  
And sought my bower: but could not stay,  
Some feeling forced my steps to stray :  
Wide stretch'd above the broad blue sky,  
Fresh worlds seem'd opening from on high ;  
Where'er I moved an Eden bloom'd ;  
A secret bliss my breast illumed ;  
Rapt, as when first the spirit eyes  
The blooming bowers of Paradise,  
And feels its balmy gales bestow  
A purer sense—a holier glow.—  
Earth, air, and heaven, appear'd my own ;  
Throughout their space I breathed alone ;  
All nature thrill'd with ecstasy ;  
Creation hung outspread for me ;  
And brightly smiled the future then,  
As life could never frown again.  
My heart was heaven!—but oh! how fast  
The visionary transport pass'd!—  
For though at times the thoughts of clay  
Through fields of æther, floating, stray,  
The habitant of skies alone ;  
And deem that sting of meaner care  
Can never reach the child of air—  
Too soon will earth reclaim her own ;  
And fancy droop her eagle wing,  
And sink, in human suffering.'

The following is Abassah's description of the secret fears which seized on her while uncertain whether or not the Caliph had discovered the real state of things:

' Despite of stars and mortal charm  
That strove to veil or soothe alarm,  
Too long to constant fears resign'd  
A secret terror fill'd my mind.  
Strange is the pulse that, 'mid repose,  
And ere the busier brain conceive—  
Presentient, coming evil knows  
By distant signs that ne'er deceive.  
The dark foreboding, justly deeming  
All is not tranquil as in seeming .

The Isfar\* presage, that pervades  
 The glimmering future's breaking shades,  
 As each unfolding form of things  
 Its impress on the senses flings,  
 And all the conscious soul imbues,  
 Slow darkening with their deepening hues.'

These are all the passages we could find worth extracting from this poem. The reader may judge, by *their* complexion, what the author is capable of, and, we can scarcely doubt, will agree with us in thinking that, whatever be his forte, certainly *poetry* is not that thing. No advice reviewers give to authors, especially to bad poets, is ever followed; or else we would venture to counsel this writer to draw up as quickly as possible a deed of eternal separation between himself and the Muses.

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#### L I N E S

*Occasioned by reading the 'Giaour.'*

WHEN to thy shrine revered, the votive bays  
 I lately bore of undissembled praise,  
 I deemed thy 'Bride' the loveliest saddest child  
 That ever on a Poet's dream had smiled.—  
 But, oh! I knew not, felt not half thy power:  
 These eyes had wept not Leila's blighted flower:  
 This heart had mourned not o'er the dying Giaour.  
 Oh, what a cloudless blaze of dazzling song!  
 In glory roll the golden tides along,  
 Melodious waves that glow in Fancy's beam;  
 Of soft ambrosial verse a fountain stream.  
 With pride I hail thee, Chief of Bards on earth,  
 And joy that favoured Britain gave thee birth.  
 Yet hold—I may not laud where praise were vain,  
 Nor with my lowly, uncongenial strain,  
 Th' indignant Muse offend, that will the lay disdain.

Berhampore.

H. S. E

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\* Isfar, or morning twilight.

MONSIEUR CESAR MOREAU'S NEW WORK ON THE ROYAL AND  
COMMERCIAL NAVY OF ENGLAND.

*ANOTHER* proof of the surprising industry and research of this really extraordinary individual has just issued from the *English* press: and we know not whether the sight of its crowded, yet lucidly arranged and instructive pages, has most excited our wonder or our approbation. There cannot be many such men as Mr. Moreau on the globe at any one time. They are wonders, that appear

‘Like angels’ visits, few and far between.’

One in every century would be as many as could be expected. To look at his labours, one is tempted to suspect, either that they are produced by the agency of steam or some other great modern improvement in the powers of production; or, as was believed of Napoleon in the East, that he never sleeps, but gives to labour the hours which other men consume in pleasure or repose. But his works are not *mere* monuments of patient labour, as might be said of those of the artist of Ispahan, who was occupied for fifty years of his life in carving and ornamenting a walking stick, or of those of many of the early monks, who spent years in illuminating parchment missals. Mr. Moreau’s labours are eminently useful, and highly conducive to the diffusion of a species of knowledge of the greatest importance in statistics, but which so few could muster the courage to undertake the painful task of acquiring by patient and unremitting research. He has had access to all the official records of the country, it is true, but this is no more than thousands of Englishmen have enjoyed every day in the year. Mr. Moreau’s merit is greater than theirs, however, chiefly because he has had the wisdom to perceive, and the industry to act on the conviction of the great advantage which must result to the community by reducing this mass of chaos into order, and acquainting them with the results of his researches as to facts, leaving them to deduce the reasonings and consequences necessarily resulting.

We conceive that no political economist, statesman, historian, mariner, or merchant, ought to be without a copy of the several tabular works which Mr. Moreau has from time to time laid before the world. An analysis of either of them would far exceed the limits of any periodical. They are indeed themselves the *essence* of all the materials which had come before him: and condensation and distillation having been already carried to their utmost limits, it would be impossible, without being unintelligible, to make any farther abridgment. We shall select, however, from among the



infinite number and variety of his tables, a very few only of those which come more particularly within the scope and tendency of our journal, and leave them to make their due impression on the reader.

## No. I.

## INCREASE OF THE NAVIGATION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ASIA.

*Number of British ships cleared outwards from Great Britain to Asia in the years specified—from 1820 to 1825.*

Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.
1800	67	1804	64	1808	52	1815	123	1819	117	1823	151
1801	77	1805	57	1809	43	1816	164	1820	126	1824	160
1802	77	1806	63	1810	55	1817	201	1821	115	1825	196
1803	58	1807	52	1811	58	1818	198	1822	145		

The records for the years 1812 to 1813, were destroyed by the fire at the Custom House, London, in 1814.

## No. II.

*A Statement showing the extraordinary Progress of the British Royal Navy, from the year 1652 to the 1st of January 1827.*

Years.	Number of guns, from								Ships of the Navy.		
	100 to 120	80 to 98	74 to 78	60 to 64	50 to 54	38 to 46	20 to 36	Sloops, &c.	Grand Total.	From 60 to 120 guns.	Of 58 guns & under
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
1652	1	1	—	1	11	11	33	44	102	3	99
1676	4	6	11	12	10	28	14	59	148	35	113
1683	5	17	31	10	10	35	11	60	179	63	118
1701	6	30	27	18	4	40	44	87	256	61	175
1714	7	29	26	19	50	24	42	50	247	81	166
1727	7	29	24	18	46	24	29	45	233	78	155
1744	6	30	20	31	35	30	40	104	302	93	209
1756	5	20	48	36	33	38	45	134	320	109	211
1760	5	20	43	59	28	32	88	142	412	127	285
1765	5	18	56	57	21	12	82	157	407	135	272
1770	3	17	61	54	10	9	70	141	367	137	230
1778	4	20	64	43	12	7	79	105	340	131	209
1780	4	21	67	51	20	24	86	174	400	143	257
1785	5	26	72	40	17	48	91	95	471	149	322
1790	0	26	72	42	17	45	80	181	478	140	338
1795	0	29	78	40	20	71	91	155	510	156	354
1800	11	30	97	45	24	07	91	352	757	183	574
1805	12	25	105	30	21	106	85	414	807	181	626
1810	13	34	160	30	10	158	88	533	1048	243	805
1815	17	26	140	22	20	160	65	425	884	214	670
1820	28	22	99	10	13	119	62	260	613	140	464
1827	26	23	81	12	23	117	127	197	606	142	464

The number of Foreign vessels captured and afterwards purchased for the use of the British Royal Navy, was, in the year 1793, 25 ships; in 1802, 253 in 1809, 272; and in 1820, only 54.

The number of ships of war and other vessels of the Royal Navy, sold since the conclusion of the Peace, has been, 445 ships of 229,847 tons; 112 of 136,317 tons, on condition of being broken up, and the other 333 of 93,53 tons sold unconditionally.

No. III.

*Comparative Statement of the Total Number of the British Naval Force in the East Indies, on the 1st of each Month, from the year 1794 to 1813.*

Years.	Total number of British Ships in the East Indies in											
	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
1794	8		8		10		13		16		10	
1795	10	10	12	17	21	20	23	26	25	21	19	20
1796	22	21	21	25	27	29	29	29	30	32	33	31
1797	33	37	36	41	41	41	40	39	37	41	41	40
1798	36	36	37	37	35	34	36	45	41	40	40	40
1799	39	41	37	38	40	40	41	39	37	39	39	37
1800	39	38	36	40	40	43	42	40	43	39	37	37
1801	57	37	35	36	38	41	40	41	37	37	39	44
1802	45	44	46	40	45	45	45	44	45	44	41	41
1803	41	43	41	35	27	27	23	25	25	26	26	26
1804	21	25	29	30	31	31	30	28	27	27	28	28
1805	28	28	31	32	33	34	28	31	33	32	35	39
1806	41	39	39	42	43	39	40	40	36	38	35	39
1807	37	37	37	36	37	40	39	37	41	44	44	41
1808	39	3	39	39	10	40	38	39	37	36	35	24
1809	24	39	38	36	35	34	35	29	36	36	29	35
1810	34	48	39	37	38	35	44	45	42	40	39	38
1811	37	36	36	32	35	36	32	37	42	37	34	31
1812	20	20	28	31	35	29	22	22	25	24	22	28
1813	20	21	24	26	27	25	30	32	24	22	22	22

No. IV.

*Statement, showing the distribution of the British Naval Force in the East Indies, in February 1827, under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir William Hall Gage.*

Ships' Names	No. of guns.	Commanders.	Lieutenants.	Masters.	Officers of Mar.	Surgeons.	Purser.	Number of Seamen and Marines on board each ship in	
		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Peace	War.
Warspite,	No. 76	1	5	1	2	5	1	351	to 650
Java,	52	1	6	1	8	7	1	160	to 350
Boadicea,	46	1	5	1	1	7	1	120	to 140
Atholl,	28	1	8	1	1	2	1	60	to 130
Rainbow,	28	1	3	1	1	2	1	60	to 130
Success,	28	1	3	1	2	2	1	60	to 130
Tamar,	20	1	3	1	1	2	1	40	to 130
Cyrene,	20	1	2	1		2	1	38	to 130
Hind,	20	1	2	1		2	1	38	to 130
Martin,	20	1	2	1		2	1	38	to 130
Slaney,	20	1	3	1		2	1	38	to 130
Champion,	18	1	2	1		2	1	30	to 100
Fly,	18	1	2	1		2	1	30	to 100
Pandora,	18	1	2	1		2	1	30	to 100
Total,	418	14	43	14	11	41	14	1,093	to 2,440

The Java and Boadicea have each a Chaplain. Pat. J. Blake is the Flag Lieutenant of the Squadron, and John Irving is Secretary of the Admiral.

## No. V.

*Navigation between Great Britain and Asia.*

BRITISH SHIPS						
Entered Inwards into Great Britain from Asia.			Years.	Cleared Outwards from Great Britain to Asia.		
Ships.	Burthen.	Men.		Ships.	Burthen.	Men.
No.	Tons.	No.		No.	Tons.	No.
39	27,741	The Men are not registered prior to 1792.	1787	33	24,537	The Men are not registered prior to 1792.
40	29,777		1788	35	28,768	
41	29,504		1789	30	24,213	
33	27,122		1790	31	26,408	
33	20,351		1791.	38	28,486	
28	21,560		1792	36	28,777	3,444
33	20,727		1793	52	40,816	5,031
42	34,729		1794	41	30,894	3,536
64	46,299		1795	40	35,430	4,008
51	31,575		1796	82	60,944	7,043
52	34,661	4,119	1797	55	41,058	4,933
72	63,880	5,477	1798	45	30,368	3,778
52	38,751	4,599	1799	47	43,429	5,180
62	49,635	5,880	1800	67	51,292	5,767
63	51,020	5,770	1801	77	56,048	5,973
88	65,718	7,372	1802	77	61,800	7,368
70	57,765	6,035	1803	58	51,606	6,241
47	43,941	4,737	1804	64	58,658	6,444
60	54,088	6,184	1805	57	45,369	5,029
42	38,131	4,298	1806	63	54,692	5,923
52	38,600	4,140	1807	52	42,715	4,460
58	56,009	6,104	1808	52	45,082	4,826
43	38,814	4,370	1809	43	42,015	4,416
68	58,238	6,427	1810	55	47,563	5,129
48	40,339	4,378	1811	58	51,817	6,251
*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*
103	73,649	8,353	1814	62	42,997	4,761
96	70,109	8,217	1815	123	80,967	8,700
116	84,691	8,737	1816	164	99,392	9,373
134	80,686	9,313	1817	201	109,404	9,582
187	104,110	7,953	1818	198	109,871	8,726
184	104,421	8,153	1819	117	71,599	6,193
152	88,874	7,024	1820	126	74,593	6,053
119	77,246	6,226	1821	115	74,436	6,196
103	68,169	5,948	1822	145	86,912	7,188
123	51,856	6,639	1823	151	82,799	6,929
150	80,738	6,982	1824	160	93,482	7,952
132	77,311	6,354	1825	193	101,198	8,419
			1826			

## No. VI.

*List of the Ships of War built at Bombay.*

Asia,.....	84 guns, launched in 1824.
Ganges,.....	84 ..... do. .... 1821.
Malabar,.....	84 ..... do. .... 1818.

\* The Records for the years 1812 and 1813 were destroyed by the fire at the Custom House, London, in 1814.

Melville,.....	74 guns, launched in 1817.
Wellesley,.....	74 ..... do. .... 1815.
Amphitrite,.....	46 ..... do., .. 1816.
Madagascar,.....	46 ..... do. .... 1822.
Seringapatam,.....	46 ..... do. .... 1819.
Trincomalce,.....	46 ..... do. .... 1817.
Zebra (brig),.....	18 ..... do. .... 1815.
Cameleon (brig),.....	10 ..... do. .... 1816.
Sphinx,.....	10 ..... do. .... 1816.

N. B.—The Bombay of 84 guns has been building since the year 1820, and will be very soon launched.

# THE RHINE.

*Written at Nonnenwerth.\**

In other lands I've wotk my song,  
Where eastern splendours shine,  
But oh! such minstrel would but wrong  
Thy lovely scenes, blue Rhine.

Yet still I fain one little wreath  
Of humble verse would twine,  
For memory's sake, though all beneath  
Thy beauty, glorious Rhine.

And I shall turn, when many a day  
And scene have passed, to thine,  
And envy those who happy stray  
By thy sweet banks, fair Rhine.

Far far away will be my grave,  
But I shall not repine,  
If my worn spirit freedom have  
To dwell by thee, dear Rhine.

Adieu, adieu! though on thy shore  
Ring mightier harps than mine,  
'There's not a heart that loves thee more  
Than I do, glorious Rhine.

The Rhine, the Rhine, the mighty Rhine!  
How regally he flows  
Through the flushed kingdom of the vine  
That in his presence glows;  
The Cæsars ruled no realm like his,  
From Thulé to Persepolis.

He is the monarch of our souls,  
'Gainst whom we ne'er rebel,  
Though, from the Tropics to the Poles,  
His countless subjects dwell.  
Cato himself would hold divine  
Thy right to rule, illustrious Rhine!

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\* From a Volume of Poems by Henry Meredith Parker—now in the Press.

A hundred princes win renown  
 In dwelling by thy tide ;  
 Who thinks of monarch or of crown,  
 Of regal power, or pride ?  
 Men only know each sovereignty  
 Because it lies, bright Rhine, near thee.

*The battle-shock of armies there*  
 Hath stained thy fields with gore ;  
 We only sigh that such things were,  
 And think of them no more ;  
 For who could dwell on aught of woe  
 Beside thy free and joyous flow ?

The Prussian Eagle floats above  
 'The forest and the fell,  
 Where nothing but the gentle dove  
 Should all alarmless dwell ;  
 But we forgive his soaring there  
 If he guard well a scene so fair.

The Rhine, the Rhine, the mighty Rhine !  
 As in the mid-day sky  
 One glorious scene alone doth shine  
 In matchless majesty,  
 So thou art peerless and alone  
 Of all the rivers earth doth own.

And, like the sun, thou sendest forth  
 Thy rich and cheering streams  
 Of liquid light, till South and North  
 Are joyous in its beams ;  
 And, what no sun or sunbeams can,  
 Thou warm'st the very soul of man.

Would I a new religion found,  
 Like Mahomet, of yore,  
 I'd bring men to the fairy ground  
 Of this enchanting shore,  
 When Autumn's glorious sun-set shines  
 On golden corn and ripen'd vines.

I want for Nectar, but the wine  
 That woos the glance of flame  
 Which the sun scatters, where entwined  
 The vines of Rudesheim ;  
 And for my Hours, Rhenish girls,  
 With deep blue eyes, and sunny curls.

And I would ask, what prophet e'er  
 Could shadow forth so well,  
 To human eyes, the heaven, where  
 His own true faith should dwell ?  
 But mine—behold it !—in the skies  
 Thus *ever* glows my Paradise.

## EXCURSIONS ON THE BANKS OF THE NILE.

## No. III

*Voyage from Cairo, by the Nile, to Gizah. Ascent to the Summit,  
and Examination of the Interior, of the Great  
Pyramid.*

I awoke at three o'clock in the morning from the pleasant slumber into which I had fallen, and found we had but just arrived at the edge of the Desert, which was as far as our barge from Cairo could convey us by the waters of the Nile, and that we had nearly a league to walk over the sands to reach the pyramids. We therefore disembarked, and, assembling all our armed force, marched forward by a brilliant moonlight. A few jackalls and straggling Bedouins crossed our way without attempting to molest us, and, after an hour's fatiguing exertion, we rested at the base of the largest of these mountain masses, and made a most luxuriant breakfast on cold fowl, biscuit, and wine.

The optical deception which the pyramidal form occasions is almost incredible. From the first view I caught of the pyramids, when sailing up the Rosetta branch of the Nile, they appeared like mountains; the magnitude of which did not sensibly increase by a nearer approach of several leagues. At Cairo, from whence they do not seem more than three or four miles off, their appearance is nearly the same; and, after advancing towards them for as many leagues more, they really seem to retire as one approaches, and even, at a hundred paces distant, had not that immensity of size which expectation attaches to them. But, seated actually at their base, and looking upward to their summits, they surpass in enormity the anticipation of the most sanguine minds. Instead of finding an edifice, such as one would imagine to have been the grandest production of human labour, the eye beholds a towering mountain built of rocks, the gigantic features of whose minutest parts fill the imagination with an awe and wonder that must be felt to be conceived. The space occupied by one of the stones which had been removed from the base formed a sort of cavern in which we breakfasted; and as the exterior of the angles were much injured by time and forcible violations, smaller fragments of those masses were scattered round in every direction; but, even amidst these, the straggling Arabs whom we saw, and the individuals of our party, looked rather like puppets than men, so diminutive were they in the scale of comparison.

As I was desirous of reaching the summit of the Great Pyramid sufficiently early to witness the sun-rise from its top, I dressed

snugly for the attempt, and, followed by my Arab servant, whose attachment to me overcame his fears, we ascended on the south-west angle, the most difficult to mount, but where we had the full light of the setting moon, while the opposite angles were darkened with the obscurity of night. Every step presented an obstacle ; for, independently of the height of the stones themselves, which is generally from three to four feet, the sandy winds of the Desert had so worn away many of them, that there was no hold for the hands nor feet, and we were frequently obliged to descend a little, remount again, and traverse the building, from right to left, in search of a practicable place. My servant's endeavours to dissuade me from the task were not more frequent than the suggestions of my own mind to the same effect ; but, though my head grew dizzy when I looked below, and my heart palpitated with fear, the idea of the ascent having been accomplished by others was sufficient to renew my courage, and inspire me with fresh perseverance, and my reward, on attaining the lofty summit, was correspondingly great. I looked below and trembled ; my clenched hands grasped the firm angles of the massive stones, as if they were determined never to forego their hold ; and when I had recovered my first sensations of alarm, although I walked upon a platform of thirty or forty feet square, I dared not approach the brink of this tremendous precipice. This turbulence of feeling, however, gradually subsided, and I sat with composure to view the full-orbed Luna sink into the western Desert, her brilliance fading before Aurora's blush. If rapidity of ideas, and quick succession of enjoyments, be a standard by which to measure the duration of time, the hour I passed here was at least a day. Its pleasures were as great as its novelty was delightful, and it was alone worth all the labour of a voyage to enjoy.

The stars began gradually to disappear : Aldebaran and the Pleiades were a little westward of the meridian, and Castor and Pollux were among the last that faded. The azure vault of heaven grew brighter from the smile that morning threw along it ; the orient blush still deepened, till Apollo, in the pomp of majesty, rose slowly from the glowing east, and bade the world again awake to life, to love, and happiness. I was among the first to kiss his beams on this meridian of our globe, and received his earliest rays on my uncovered brow, while those beneath me were still awaiting his approach in twilight. I remembered Moore's beautiful allusion to the pious orisons of Orpheus, who hailed the morning radiance of his god Apollo, in hymns as lofty as his lyre was sweet ; and if poetry and music possess a charm, never was an occasion more calculated to call it forth. Had Shakspeare, Milton, or Thomson been here, how would they have been enchanted ? Sweetly as they have sung the beauties of nature : sublime as all their strains have been ; their conceptions here would, perhaps, have soared beyond

them still, and been as elevated as the summit from which they would have gazed upon the world in miniature below. I never envied or coveted poetic talents so much as at this moment; I never felt my own deficiency so strongly. My mind seemed paralysed; for, amidst this scene of grandeur and magnificence, though I had taken my pencil to catch the images before they faded, my hand refused to do its office, and my imagination was as barren as the Lybian Desert that bounded the western view! How beautiful, how extensive, how rich, how varied was the landscape! The Nile, a wonder in itself, nearly at the highest pitch of inundation, covering the whole valley of Egypt with its swelling waters, depositing the germ of fertility and abundance in its prolific sediment, and dividing the fields and gardens into clustered islands, by the serpentine meandrings of its thousand streams—the domes and spires of the holy city—the chateaux of Gizeh and Boulak—the aqueductal arches of Fostat—the verdure of the isle of Rhoda—the white sails that glided through the channels of these floating fields, scattered like pearls and emeralds upon a liquid mirror—the contrast of the grey Mokattam and the sterile sands that form the boundaries of this delicious valley—all viewed from the lofty summit of this gigantic monument of human labour, whose origin is unknown, whose very violation is lost in the night of ages, whose massive strength seems to mock eternity, to hold destruction at defiance, and brave successive ages as they pass,—formed a scene which poets may imagine, but which another language must be created to describe.

After breathing a thousand regrets at the necessity of quitting this eminence so soon, and gazing again upon the scene as though I wished to carry away with me an impression never to be erased, we came down by the north-eastern angle, which, though much more perfect than its opposite one, is still difficult to descend. Where the work was uninjured the closeness of the jointures was admirable; these giants in art appeared to have united the greatest masses with much more skill and perfection than their degenerate descendants can now build up their cottage walls.

After reposing for a few minutes from the fatigue of our descent, we assembled on the hill of sand that has accumulated about the base of the Great Pyramid, and, placing the Janissaries to guard the mouth of the first channel, we left our clothes at the entrance, and descended the sloping passages, wearing only a shirt, night-cap, and drawers, each with a pistol in one hand, and a lighted torch in the other, precautions which are all necessary, because the Bedouins have been known both to conceal themselves in the interior, and to enter after visitors, as well as to block up the passage in order to prevent their return, with a view to the robbery of their persons.

This entrance, now level with the sand, was, in the time of



Strabo, about midway between the base and summit, so much has this moving soil gained upon the building. The passage itself is about five feet square, built of a yellowish marble, exquisitely joined and highly polished, inclining in a gentle angle towards its centre and base, but so filled with rubbish and sand, as to render it necessary literally to crawl on the hands and knees in several places. It extended for about a hundred feet in length, when we met with an immense block which seemed to close the entrance. On digging out the sand and stones, however, from underneath it, we worked ourselves through with great difficulty, like serpents, losing the skin in several places about the shoulders, knees, and elbows. Here we found ourselves in a sort of cavern, with a passage winding to the right, which had been cut through immense masses of granite, and at length discontinued.

Denon's plan, which I retained perfectly in my memory, taught me to search for the ascending gallery in another direction; but I was so deceived by the immensity of the scale, that instead of finding mere blocks of granite, as I expected from his description, they were literally rocks and caves.

We climbed over these without much difficulty, and ascending the first gallery, came to the well which is on the right-hand of the landing-place as we entered. The depth of this has been much spoken of, and traditions prevail of persons having gone into it without ever returning, the truth of which it is now impossible to ascertain; but on throwing down several stones it was easy to distinguish by their sounds that the passage was serpentine, and of great depth, as the noise of them did not suddenly cease, but diminished gradually by distance. Of all the conjectures which have been urged relative to the use of this channel, none appears to me so probable as that which assigns it to a communication with the Sphinx, by which the ancient Egyptian priests descended to inclose themselves in the body of that monster, and deliver their oracles to the admiring multitude. Who knows but that it was by some such stratagem as this that they acquired sufficient ascendancy over the minds of the people to induce their perseverance in this gigantic task, under the deceptive persuasion that this oracle repeated to their ears the commands of the Deity?

Pursuing the horizontal gallery, we reached the apartment called the Queen's chamber, now nearly filled with rubbish, and the abode of bats. As it offered nothing curious beyond the massiveness and perfect unity of its construction, we returned by the same passage, and ascended the grand gallery which leads to the royal chamber of the Sarcophagus. It would be difficult to explain the nature of this gallery by a drawing, and still more so by a written description. The angle of its ascent is about 45°; its whole breadth from six to eight feet, and its height from twenty-five to thirty feet. Its chief peculiarity is that the walls close in

toward the top in an inverted pyramidal form, the layers of stone, instead of retiring behind each other as they ascend, each projecting over the range below it, in the same proportion, and consequently rendering the passage an oblong pyramid of space, which is very imperfectly indicated by straight lines in all the plans I have seen.

On each side of the entrance to the royal chamber, are flutings, cut perpendicularly in the granite, the only species of sculpture or ornament to be seen throughout the building; and here the perfection of architecture, as it regards closeness of union and solidity, seems to have been displayed, in conformity to the rigorous inviolability which the ancients studied in their sepulchral retreats. This apartment is about thirty feet long, fifteen wide, and nearly the same height. The sarcophagus, which lies at the western end of it, is about the dimensions of a well grown man; but I knew not what to think of the veracity of travellers, when I remembered that M. Maillet, who, according to Savary, visited it forty times with all the care imaginable, supposes (and hopes, too, that all persons of sense will approve his judgment) that this hall contained many other sarcophagi besides that of the king; above all, of the persons who were shut up with him alive in this tomb, '*pour lui tenir en quelque sorte compagnie*:' and all this, founded on the important discovery of two small niches, through which he supposes they received their supplies of air and food! but which have no more resemblance to apertures of that description than the pyramid itself to a palace. When I remembered this, with the host of other conjectures that were fresh in my memory, and contrasted it with the positive assertion of Volney, that this chamber is so obscure and narrow that it never can have contained more than *one* dead body; I was more convinced than ever that it is as necessary to *see* as to *judge* for one's self, and that books are in general but imperfect guides compared with actual observation.

Plans and dimensions of the interior of this pyramid had been so frequently taken, that I despaired of rendering any service to future visitors by repeating them; and to convey an adequate idea of this colossal monument to the student in his closet, I candidly confess my perfect inability. Denon has said but little, yet that little has the merit of fidelity. Savary, joining his own observations to those of Maillet, has given a strange medley of fact and falsehood, certainty and conjecture; while Volney has expressed a volume, when he simply says, 'All travellers speak of them with enthusiasm—and enthusiasm they may well inspire.'

Recovering from the labyrinth of reflections into which my mind had wandered, as I sat within the sarcophagus, in which I had lain down with a view to ascertain its adaptation to the human form,—admiring the grandeur of the motive, detesting the tyranny of the means,—envying the skill of the masters, despising the servility of

the slaves,---applauding the ambition of rivalling eternity, yet smiling at the secret justice of that destiny which had dispersed in air the scattered atoms of a heart once swollen with more than human pride, and made the destruction of its organic being still more complete than the monument which once entombed it was enormous—I quitted this gloomy sanctuary with regret at the necessity of our departure, for there was a pleasure even in the melancholy it inspired, which I would willingly have prolonged.

After washing our bodies, which were covered with dirt from our crawling through the narrow passages, and dressing in clean garments, which we had prudently provided, we walked round the base of the first pyramid, each side of which, upon a rough measurement, was upwards of six hundred feet in length, so that the whole base would entirely cover the area of Lincoln's Inn Fields.

From this we went to observe the second Pyramid, situated at a very short distance only from the first. This, never having been opened, is more perfect in its exterior; and the celebrated marble plaster, which originally filled up all the inequalities of the surface, and induced Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus to suppose them to be built of that stone, still remains about the summit, for one-eighth of the depth, presenting a smooth polished surface impossible to be surmounted. Whether time, or the hand of man, has destroyed the remainder, cannot now be ascertained; but an analysis, by some skilful chemist, of this marble cement, as well as of the red granite plaster which lines the channels of the opened pyramid, would be likely to throw great light on a number of questions suggested by a view of ancient architecture; and if it led to the discovery of so important and useful an art as that of making stones of any magnitude from paste or plaster, one can imagine no research that would so certainly spread the fame of the discoverer, or be more favourable to architectural labours than this.

The second pyramid, though not quite so large as the first, is much more perfect in its proportions. Its angles are just, and the eye reposes with pleasure upon a uniformity of base and perpendicular; while the excess of length, by which the ground line of the other exceeds the height, renders the angle too obtuse to please a taste of mathematical precision, or to combine lightness and beauty with massiveness and strength, characteristics by which the second pyramid is eminently distinguished. Taking the authority of Herodotus, than which we have none more generally accurate, that this was the tomb of Cephrenes, brother to his predecessor, Cheops, who had employed a hundred thousand men for twenty years in building the first of these colossal monuments, it is possible that the architects of the second, perceiving the defects adverted to, had avoided the errors of their model, and produced a more perfect work. The third pyramid, sinking into insignificance by a

comparison with the two neighbouring masses, is yet nearly three hundred feet square, and would, in any other situation than its present one, be regarded as a surprising effort of human labour; but when we view it as the price of prostitution, exacted by a father for the violation of his child, it is even more repugnant to nature, more horrible in a parental eye, than the tyrannizing despotism which loaded a nation with chains, and forced from their groaning subjects these eternal monuments of pride and cruelty, of despotic power on the one hand, and abject slavery on the other.

The Sphinx, which is situated a little to the southward of the first pyramid, was the next object of our attention: and I was charmed with an inspection of it. How much did I regret the haste of the enthusiastic Denon's visit, and the impossibility of his making a perfect drawing of it on the spot; for, independently of his merit as an artist, he seems to have caught all the impressions requisite for such a task. The plate given in Aikin's edition of his travels, is stiff, and painful in the attitude of the uplifted head and eyes, while the complacent ease and rather downcast features of the original is the very picture of satisfaction and repose. Such a head as the engraving of the English edition gives us, could not have been the production of *his* pencil, after the admirably faithful character which he bestows on it, when he says: 'Though its proportions are colossal, the outline is pure and graceful, the expression of the head is mild, gracious, and tranquil; the character is African, but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, has a softness and delicacy of execution truly admirable; it seems real life and flesh. Art must have been at a high pitch when this monument was executed; for, if the head wants what is called *style*, that is to say, the straight and bold lines which give expression to the figures, under which the Greeks have designated their deities, yet sufficient justice has been rendered to the fine simplicity and character of nature which is displayed in this figure.' As far as we could trace it, the statue of the Sphinx is hewn out of one solid rock, the body being covered with the sand of the Desert, level with its back, on which we walked. Lines of red paint are still visible about the hair, which, from the complicated sculpture, appears to have been highly ornamented; but the features are at this moment much mutilated, the superstition of the Mohammedans teaching them to despise all representations of animal life, and the Bedouins having a traditional hatred of Pharouh, whose tomb they believe the pyramid to have been, and this his image. The conjecture, that this union of the virgin's beauty and the lion's strength was hieroglyphically emblematic of the inundation of the Nile, at a certain astronomical period, appears extremely happy, and is borne out by the universality of that ornament on all their temples and public buildings. Without the Nile, Egypt would

have been an uninhabitable desert; but, watered by its prolific stream, it becomes a second Eden; and if ever a superstition is pardonable, it is so when attaching divine virtues to that which is the source of life, fertility, and happiness, erecting statues to its honour, and lavishing the arts to record the gratitude of mankind.

I walked round the twenty or thirty fragments of pyramidal edifices, which are still found in the neighbourhood of the three great ones; compared the quality of the stones with that of the Lybian rock on which they are built, examined the tomb excavated in the rock itself, the positions of those buildings, their distances, and a thousand other particulars, the result of all which made me feel the full force of Volney's reasoning, when he labours to prove, first, that the assertion of Herodotus as to the materials being brought from Upper Egypt, was more than plausible; and secondly, that the idea of the pyramids having been temples or observatories, instead of tombs, was worse than stupid, and must have been suggested by a genius as dark as these chambers of the dead which they contain.

It was nearly noon when we embarked to return, from our excursion to the pyramids, to Cairo; and it was not until I reached the boat that I began to feel myself exhausted by fatigue. The interest which every thing about me inspired, had hitherto borne me above all sense of pain; but I now sunk upon the deck, weak, languid and trembling. We pushed off to pursue our way by canals to the Nile, and I slept for half an hour, notwithstanding the discordant noise of the Arab boatmen: but my dream of peace was soon disturbed, and I was awoken by the unwelcome intelligence that the boat had again grounded, and that we must disembark to lighten her before she could be floated off. Reluctantly as we complied with this suggestion, the relief was effectual; but, after repeating this sort of exercise, in quick succession, for nearly an hour, the barge at length adhered to the mud of the Nile with such obstinacy, that the united efforts of all the crew, and all the peasants we could impress into our service, availed nothing. We had therefore the choice of remaining on the mud all night, with a falling water, or of walking eight or ten miles to Gizeh, in a burning sun, and crossing the canal on foot, with our arms, clothes, and provisions. This was a sad alternative, but it was without a remedy. We undertook the journey on foot, and after a march as full of pain as the morning had been of pleasure, we reached Cairo late at night, overcome with a fatigue and weariness as great as the human frame could well sustain.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL VIEW OF THE LAW OF LIBEL  
IN ENGLAND AND IN INDIA.

No. XI.

*Practical View of the Law of Libel in England.*

AT the trial of Henry Redhead, alias Henry Yorke, for a conspiracy at York, July 23, 1795, the extrinsic indications of a seditious intention were extremely slight and inconclusive. The main facts proved were his making a vehement and declamatory speech in favour of universal suffrage and annual parliaments, on the Castle Hill at Sheffield, on the 7th April 1794; and being afterwards privy to the publication of a pamphlet, containing the proceedings of the public meeting held that day, and an Address to the British Nation, being an exposition of the motives which had determined the people of Sheffield to petition the House of Commons no more on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. No riot followed, no disturbance, no breach of the peace. He was found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of 200*l.*, to be imprisoned two years in Dorchester jail, and to give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 1000*l.*, and two sureties in 500*l.* each. Some years afterwards this defendant was called to the degree of Barrister at Law.

In 1797, Thomas Williams, who earned a bare subsistence chiefly by the sale of *religious tracts*, was prosecuted by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, for publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason,' to which the Bishop of Llandaff had, in the beginning of the year 1796, published an answer. Mr. Erskine was counsel for the prosecution; but after having succeeded in obtaining the conviction of the defendant, he cancelled his retainer, and refused to pray judgment against him, because the Vice Society rejected his proposition, that they should manifest their charity and Christian forbearance, by instructing their counsel to state that they were satisfied with the punishment already inflicted on Williams by his commitment to Newgate.

Mr. Erskine had, in the mean time, *seen* the squalid poverty in which the man lived, and his wife 'attending upon two or three unhappy children in the confluent small-pox,' and heard his voluntary offer to find out all the copies in circulation, and to bring them to him to be destroyed. But the Society stood upon their bond, thinking, with the Court, that a severe example was necessary, in proportion to the multitude who had openly and with impunity been guilty of the same offence; and accordingly Mr. Williams was sentenced to hard labour in the House of Correction

for one year, and then to give security in the sum of 1000*l.* for his good behaviour during the rest of his life.

The counsel for the defendant, Mr. Stewart Kyd, was, as usual, interrupted in his statement of the grounds of the controversy between Paine and the Christian world; and, as usual, it depended on the momentary caprice of the Judge, whether he would persist in his prohibition or retract it. Thus, after Mr. Kyd had read a passage from Bishop Watson's 'Apology for the Bible,' on the destruction of the Canaanites, he continued: 'Gentlemen, this is the answer which has been given a hundred times to this objection a hundred times taken; the objection is therefore called an *exploded*, and frequently *refuted* objection; and I suppose the crime imputed to the author of the "Age of Reason" is, that the answer has not *satisfied* him; that he has, from motives of malevolence, revived an objection which he knew was ill founded. Gentlemen, observe the weakness of this answer—'

LORD KENYON.—' *I cannot sit in this place and hear this kind of discussion.*'

MR. KYD.—' My Lord, I stand here on the privilege of an advocate in an English Court of Justice: this man has applied to me to defend him; I have undertaken his defence; I know no other mode by which I can seriously defend him against this charge than that which I am now pursuing: if your Lordship wish to prevent me from pursuing it, you may as well tell me to abandon my duty to my client at once.'

LORD KENYON.—' *Go on, Sir.*'

On a subsequent day Lord Kenyon said: 'Upon reflecting upon my conduct during the trial, I have reason to accuse myself of improper conduct for permitting such arguments to be used, (by Mr. Kyd.) For, if I remember the conduct of the Court in cases of this nature, I should have remembered the opinion of the whole Court in the case of the *King v. Woolston*, in 2d Strange, 834. The Court would not endure, would not suffer any thing to be said against the established religion of the country.'

In such cases the Court must beg the question as to what is against the established religion, and anticipate what is going to be said, or punish a man for declaring his true sentiments, after compelling him to do so. In the majority of cases, however, the firmness of the defendant, or of his counsel, has extorted a hearing and then the Judges have vainly deprecated the publication of the trial.

After the verdict of guilty in this case, Lord Kenyon said, 'I have observed several persons, very likely from curiosity, taking notes of what passed here. This publication is so shocking, that I hope nobody will publish this: I mean that a general detail of i

will not make any part of that publication. Nobody who has any regard to decency, nobody who has any regard to their own interest, will endeavour to disseminate this publication, by publishing what has passed to-day.'

In reply to the defence, Mr. Erskine said, 'Suppose him (Paine) to have cast off, with the belief of divine revelation, every sense of moral obligation, would it follow that he might *do* just as he pleased?' 'In fact, intellectual differences of opinion are respected, and great latitude ought to be allowed to writings, whether they regard religion or government; but not when they are obviously intended to strike at the very foundations of both.'

When Hume struck at the foundation of all revealed religion, Hobbes at the foundation even of natural religion, Filmer at the foundation of all but monarchical government, and Locke at the foundation of all but representative government,—what did they exemplify but 'intellectual differences of opinion'? But none of them pretended, no sane or responsible man ever pretended that he had a right to *do* what he pleased, (which would be conceding a right to others to do to *him* what they pleased,) or struck at the foundation of *all* 'government,' under whatever form.

Mr. Erskine denied that prosecuting an author, or publisher, to conviction, was an attempt to suppress a book. 'The law of England,' said he, 'acknowledges no licenser, neither before nor after publication. It should be known and understood, that after judgment, this book is *as open to publication as it was before*; but let him that publishes it, remember that he trespasses against the law of the land, which now gives him notice, that it will be subject to the determination of a court of law hereafter.'

The avowed object of the Vice Society was, and must have been, to suppress the book; but though such hostility has often promoted, it has never checked, much less destroyed, the circulation of the work against which it was directed. Never was the neglect, disuse, or extinction of an objectionable book precipitated by such means.

In 1797, Peter Finerty, editor of 'The Press', newspaper, of which Mr. Arthur O'Connor was proprietor, was tried at Dublin for a seditious libel, of which the main topic was the conviction and execution of William Orr, on a charge of administering unlawful oaths. After remaining upwards of a year in jail, Orr was brought to trial, and two witnesses called in support of the prosecution, of whom the principal was a common informer. The jury recommended him to mercy; the Judge transmitted their recommendation to the Lord Lieutenant. Two of the jurors made affidavit that liquor had been conveyed into their room, and that they had concurred in the verdict from intoxication and intimidation. The unfortunate man was thrice reprieved, and then executed. Here



was a cue for passion, and theme for invective, among a people of ardent temperament, and in a season of ferment! \* Whatever were the real merits of the case, they could not be discussed on a criminal trial, nor determined by a packed jury.

Mr. Curran, whose speech on this occasion is well known, reminded the jury, that they 'must feel under what influence they were chosen, and for what qualifications they were particularly selected.' Yet, at the conclusion of his speech, he could bring himself to address these *chosen* men as follows: 'I have been hitherto speaking of my client, let me say one word in favour of yourselves and the public. When the nation is sinking under the tyranny of debauched counsels, what is it that gives it a chance of being saved? It is that the voice of the public may reach even to the ear of the first personage in the state, that he may know what the people say. Let the patriot's heart be still animated, by showing that YOU GUARD THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, when it speaks to power with zeal, however unaccompanied by ceremonial. You are now upon the edge of a precipice, to which not many steps must conduct you: stop before you arrive at it; while you are yet upon the brink, while you are yet visible, let me remind you that the people may at length find repose from their troubles, and that you have to choose whether you will be numbered among the instruments of their degradation, or the means of their deliverance.'

These *faithful guardians* of the liberty of the press retired for a short time, and brought in a verdict of guilty; and Mr. Finerty was sentenced to the *pillory* for one hour, to imprisonment for *two years*, to a fine of 20*l.*, and to give security for his good behaviour for seven years in 1000*l.*

In 1799, John Viut, George Ross, and John Parry, printer, publisher, and proprietor of the 'Courier' newspaper, were tried, on an information filed *ex officio*, for the following libel on Paul, Emperor of Russia, viz.: 'The Emperor of Russia is rendering himself obnoxious to his subjects by various acts of tyranny, and ridiculous in the eyes of Europe by his inconsistency. He has now passed an edict, prohibiting the exportation of timber, deals, &c. In consequence of this ill-timed law, upwards of 100 sail of vessels are likely to return to this kingdom without freight.'

That a man should not be able to publish such a sentence without being haunted with apprehensions of fine and imprisonment, may help to show what sort of security authors and publishers enjoy in England for freedom in the expression of their sentiments, and to explain the perpetual alternation of boasting and remonstrance on the existence or non-existence of a free press, according

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\* On this, as on all other occasions, the Press itself was abundantly capable of vindicating the conduct of Government, as far as it was justifiable.

as the verdict of a jury has turned up a prize or a blank ! Whether Vint, Ross, and Parry had good reason to entertain apprehensions of being subjected to the ordeal of a special jury on this occasion, the result will show.

Mr. Erskine, counsel for the defendants, said : ‘ Since the Libel Act, the Judge cannot say what is a libel as a judgment of law ; he can only give his opinion as I have, upon general principles, though with the high authority of his station ; but the jury, after all, are bound upon their oaths to decide from all the circumstances of the case, and I feel myself obliged to say, cannot, in the present instance, decide against the defendants without manifest injustice. Writers, in all times, have not only written with impunity on such subjects, but the press has literally teemed with them without censure or question. Paragraphs, ten times more severe than the present, against the Emperor and King of Prussia, have been in great circulation within these few hours past, which the ‘ Times ’ and ‘ True Briton ’ have re-printed, and I confess I see no fault in it ; but, be that as it may, I will, for a most trifling premium, underwrite their security, because they are truths which nobody can deny, and which all England has an interest in exposing.’ [Mr. Erskine here read the letters from Mr. Sharp, the British consul at St. Petersburg, to the Governor of the Russia Company, to prove that the edict was in fact issued and existed as represented in the ‘ Courier ’ by the article in question, and made a forcible appeal to the feelings of the jury upon the injustice of subjecting innocent men perhaps to an ignominious punishment, as the punishment was discretionary, and the judgment of the Court, when a humiliating sacrifice was to be made to a supposed insult upon a foreign ally on the principle adverted to, might not be easily satisfied.] ‘ I do not wish,’ continued Mr. Erskine, ‘ to see the laws relaxed ; but it would be still worse to see them *strained* for any foreign power, however deserving, in opposition to the liberal policy of our ancestors, and the freedom of the British constitution, both of which would be grossly violated by a verdict against any of the defendants. Mr. Parry I know personally to be a liberal gentleman, incapable of malicious falsehood ; and it has been candidly admitted by the Attorney-General himself, as well as established by proof, that the paragraph was a literal narration of a fact extremely important to be generally known, and which had therefore been circulated by the Russia Company, for the express purpose of communicating it to the mercantile world. Thus, what related to the edict was *strictly the fact*, not enlarged upon in any manner whatsoever ; and as to the introduction so much complained of, it was general and just observation, quite within the scope of history, upon the transactions of the great political world : for who ever heard of a history which confined itself to facts only, without the qualities and characters which belonged to them ? Justice, too, should be

impartially administered; the matter complained of did not originate with the 'Courier,' but notoriously came to it from the 'Caledonian Mercury,' whose proprietors or publishers have never been questioned by the Crown. IF, THEREFORE, THE PROPRIETOR, PRINTER, OR PUBLISHER, NOW BEFORE YOU, ARE TO BE HELD RESPONSIBLE, AND DEPRIVED OF THEIR LIBERTY, ON SUCH AN ACCOUNT AS THIS, OUR BOASTED LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IS BUT AN EMPTY SOUND!"\*

In summing up, Lord Kenyon said: 'As to the paragraph itself, gentlemen, you have heard it; the substance of it is, that the Emperor of Russia is a tyrant to his own subjects, and ridiculous in the face of Europe.' [His Lordship immediately proceeds to show that he *ought* not to be a tyrant, and that *therefore* it is a libel; and hints, that if the jury do not find it so, he may call the nation to account for it!] 'Between the sovereign and the people of every country there is an express, or an implied, compact for a government of justice; by which the former is most solemnly and emphatically bound *not* to be tyrannical or unjust: yet here he is WANTONLY said to be a transgressor against all decency in the administration of his trust. I can only say, that if one were so to offend another in private life in this country, it might be made the subject of an action; and when the papers went to Russia, and held up *this great sovereign* as being a tyrant, and ridiculous over Europe, it might tend to his calling for satisfaction as for a national affront, if it passed unreplicated by our government, and in our courts of justice. It is for you, gentlemen of the jury, who come out of that rank which enables you to judge of the interests of the commercial world, to pronounce whether this is, or is not, a *dangerous* publication. I am bound by my oath to declare my own *opinion*; and I should forget my duty if I were not to say to you that it is a gross libel.'

The special guardians of the liberty of the press, whose English blood even this charge ought to have warmed to some sense of individual justice and national dignity, after nearly an hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of *guilty* against *all* the defendants. The proprietor was sentenced to be confined six months in the King's-Bench prison, to pay a fine of 100*l.*, and to give security for his good behaviour for five years in 1000*l.*; the printer and the publisher to be confined one month in the same prison.

In 1799, three booksellers, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Jordan, and Mr. Cuthell, were prosecuted and convicted for publishing the Rev. Gilbert Wakefield's 'Reply to the Bishop of Llandaff's Address to the Nation.' Mr. Cuthell dealt almost entirely in books of classical learning, and had no suspicion that the subject of Mr. Wakefield's

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\* State Trials, vol. xxvii. p. 637. 638.

pamphlet was political, much less seditious. He began to sell without due examination, but instantly stopped the sale upon the first intimation of the nature and character of the work. On the ground of a total absence of the *intentions* charged by the indictment, Mr. Erskine laboured to obtain a verdict of acquittal, but in vain.

Lord Kenyon said to the jury: ‘If you think *that it is possible to keep government together with such publications passing through the hands of the people*, you will say so by your verdict, and pronounce that this is not a libel; but, in my opinion, *that would be the way to shake all law, all morality, all order, and all religion in society.*’

Mr. Cuthell was found guilty, and fined thirty marks.

Mr. Wakefield was tried, after three convictions had been obtained against publishers of his pamphlet.\* The following extracts from his defence will show the peculiar character of his mind, and the sincere enthusiasm by which he was actuated:

‘Of one thing at least I am perfectly persuaded: with the education of this Attorney-General, [Sir John Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon,] with such distinction in society, such professions of honour and generosity, and sensibility and religion, this illiberal seizure of me, a helpless and painful student, with the iron grasp of obdurate tyranny, will leave, in the estimation of all considerate and benevolent observers, a stain upon his character, which no future titles will varnish over, no course of time will wear away from the memory of his contemporaries: nor shall he escape that damning fame, which immortalizes, in the execrations of posterity, such barbarous accusers, such unsympathizing persecutors, of their brethren. Thankful am I to the Supreme Disposer of Events for an absence from these temptations, for an incapacity of so much mischief! May no peaceful slumbers revisit these eye-lids more, no transports of self-congratulation ever warm this breast, if an idea, so characteristic of ignorance and barbarity, should occupy my mind for a single moment to the latest period of my existence! an idea of inflicting bodily punishment on a creature of the same feelings and infirmities with myself, for the errors or perversities of his understanding! Let me never deserve the friendship, nor regret the enmity, of men like these! Their approbation is indelible reproach; their persecution the truest panegyric. “O! my soul, come not thou into their secret! Instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.”

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\* The passages quoted in the information denounced the war as one of the greatest grievances under which the people laboured; treated war generally as unjustifiable and criminal; and imputed abuse and corruption to the frame and administration of government in church and state.

‘I then discussed [in a more elaborate defence which he had prepared] most copiously a topic of incomparable dignity, very superficially apprehended even by philosophers themselves, the Liberty of the Press; and proved, I persuade myself, from arguments irrefutable by human wit—that no forcible interference with this unalienable privilege of free men can be supported, but by the mere brutish principle of arbitrary power, impressing its own persuasions on another by the coarse ratiocination of threats and punishments, an instrument of conviction fit only for ruffian tyrants or infernal spirits;—that no pretence for prosecuting my opinions can be set up by the Attorney-General, which I in my turn might not as justly set up for prosecuting his, the savage law of force; no pretence, which would not justify the Jewish and heathen magistrates in their crucifixion of Jesus, their murder of his apostles, and all the primitive professors of Christianity; ferocities to which the persecutors of this day would certainly have lent their aid; no pretence, which would not justify the burnings of Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and the noble army of protestant martyrs at the Reformation, with all those imprisonments, and tortures, and mutilations, and executions of our species, for mere differences of opinion, which time has registered on the black roll of history in characters of human blood;—That whoever sanctions this scheme of violence, by the most trivial specimen of correspondent practice, or by a passive encouragement of such practice, is a prime accessory to any conflagration which a spark of this active and spreading principle may finally produce:—that all impediments to a communication of thought and intellect, on every assignable subject of debate, infringe the rights of society, the laws of humanity, and the prerogative of heaven;—that all our civilities, all our institutions for mutual happiness, moral, political, and religious, are derived from the dissemination of knowledge by inquisitive and learned men;—and that, consequently, an obstruction of the press, the chief medium of this knowledge, tends to an introduction of universal barbarism through the earth, and fastens, therefore, on the obstructor that enormous guilt of a direct unqualified antipathy to God and man.’

‘The size of the print and the goodness of the paper, if ye will observe them, gentlemen, disprove a contemplation in me of general dispersion among the public; and without this view of general dispersion, I am at a loss to conceive how a charge of sedition can be entertained.’ ‘The composition, also, is learned and scholastical, or, if you will, pedantic, interlaced with Latin and Greek quotations; refuting instantaneously all imputation of seditious application to the passions of the multitude, and demonstrating an exclusive appeal to the more enlightened classes of society.’

‘But, gentlemen, I stand here as an apologist, not a suppliant; as Socrates before the Athenians, and, in my proportion and the

proportion of the circumstances, as Jesus before the Roman governor, an assertor of my integrity, an undissembling deliberate approver of my conduct in this whole transaction. Still I regret that the book was ever published; nor, should I survive another century, would I publish a single syllable on politics again, under such a paroxysm of alarm and phrenzy, and rulers of such despotical complexion. Not that my opinions have undergone a change: No; my antipathy to wickedness is durable as my existence, and persecution is not acknowledged to be a legitimate process in changing the opinions of reasonable men; but because I feel too powerful an interest in the comforts of my fellow-creatures, to wish their annoyance from the infelicities of my conduct. I lament exceedingly that publishers are suffering so severely in body and estate for my liberty of speech and boldness of rebuke. I wish it were in my power to indemnify all their losses by personal inconvenience, and to become their substitute in prison for all the moments of all their sufferings. I should welcome these sacrifices in their behalf, as the truest test of evangelical love that a Christian can exhibit for his brethren; I would thank my accuser for this indulgence of alleviating their burden by placing myself beneath it. Yet, I repeat it, gentlemen, ye behold not in me a repenting suppliant, but a challenger of your applause. Your verdict is of much more importance to you, than to myself. "My days of life are few and evil." They cannot be expended better, nor shall be otherwise expended, than in witnessing a good practical confession for truth and peace and righteousness before my countrymen, against corruption in all its forms. But a final reckoning of high solemnity is appointed for yourselves, and me, and all men. "The judge, who is subject to no alarms, no influence, no partiality, no prejudice, is standing at the door. The measure that ye mete, will be measured to you again."\*

The jury, without retiring, returned a verdict of *guilty*; and Mr. Wakefield was sentenced to *two years* imprisonment in Dorchester jail, and to give security for his good behaviour for five years in 1000*l*.

A subscription for his benefit and that of his family was immediately set on foot by his friends, and no less a sum than 5000*l*. collected. He died, aged forty-five, on the 9th of September 1801, only fourteen weeks after the expiration of his imprisonment.

The Bishop of Llandaff thus notices the subject in his *Anecdotes of his own life*: 'These publications of mine had excited the displeasure of Mr. Wakefield, (one of the first scholars of the age,) and unfortunately for himself he published a pamphlet against

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\* State Trials, vol. xxvii. p. 707, 708; 721, 725.

them. The Administration prosecuted him for some expressions in his pamphlet, and he was fined [a mistake] and imprisoned. I took some pains to prevent this prosecution, thinking the liberty of the press to be the palladium of the constitution; but I did not succeed in my endeavours, nor did the minority acquire any credit from their over-watchfulness.'

It was certainly no compliment to Bishop Watson that it should have been thought necessary to inflict temporal penalties on the publishers of a work (Paine's 'Age of Reason') which he had answered; and against the author and publishers of the work which had answered him.

TO A NAMELESS BROOK.

THE world so little know of thee,  
Thou beauteous stream, that none as yet  
Have named thy waters wandering free,  
Or sought where thou dost rise or set.

And I, that by thy rushy side  
Now sit, will leave thee nameless still,  
Nor follow where thou meet'st the tide,  
Nor seek thy home in yon blue hill.

Enough that on thy rippling face  
I see the cheerful sunbeam fall,  
And hear remote no noisy chase,  
No hound's loud bark, or hunter's call.

Instead, the sky-lark mounts above,  
And seems a wandering voice from heaven;  
Hovering o'er scenes of former love,  
And hopes indulged, and pledges given.

And, see, the wild flowers bent with dew  
Visited by the matin bee!  
Ah! would I could, like him, renew  
Each morn my converse dumb with thee;

And sit beneath yon broad oak's shade,  
While thou went'st sweetly murmur'ing by,  
To view the trembling reflex made  
Upon thy face, of yon blue sky!

Grandeur may pile the Tyber's banks,  
And draw the pilgrim world to gaze;  
Give me, through yonder willow ranks  
To view where wild thy water strays.

BION.

A LETTER FROM ATHENS, ADDRESSED TO A FRIEND IN  
ENGLAND.

A purely classical and exceedingly beautiful poetic epistle under the title given above, has recently come into our possession, and as the scene and subject belong indisputably to the Eastern world, and we have reason to believe that the work is less known than it deserves to be, we have great pleasure in bringing it to the notice of our Eastern readers. Where there is no imagined plot or real story, nothing beyond the didactic outpourings of the mind and heart, the task of analysis is not easy. The glow of genius, the play of fancy, and the fervour of an exalted imagination, cannot be condensed into a critical description. The passages in which these display themselves, must be given in their original language, for no translation into unmeasured prose will convey correct notions of their force or beauty. We shall do greater justice, therefore, to the author, and impart more gratification to the reader by confining ourselves to such brief observations as may serve to connect the parts which it is our intention to select from the whole, than by any laboured analysis of what, to be enjoyed in perfection, should be read in its original form. The Epistle opens thus:—

‘ In regions bleak, where hoary winter throws  
O’er floods and wilds a glitt’ring sheet of snows,  
Where houseless Tartars dream their lives away,  
And fur-clad Russ, more barb’rous yet than they;  
Still mock’d by airy hope, I toil to find  
Some spot to true or fancied bliss consign’d,  
Some vale where peace distributes smiles around,  
And sorrow’s shafts fall blunted to the ground.  
But not where Neva’s stream in silence creeps,  
Nor where on oozy bed Mæotis sleeps,  
Doth innocence to blithe content give birth,  
And bid the cot resound with guileless mirth.—  
There the lorn trav’ller disappointment chills,  
No heart-felt joy his craving bosom fills,  
At sight of peasant by no lord oppress’d,  
Whom guilt nor racks, nor passions storm whose breast.

Too oft has Fancy forged such scenes of bliss,  
As gladden’d once the rough and artless Swiss,  
And fondly dwelt on visionary tales,  
Where Baydar’s hamlets laugh like Uri’s vales.  
Magnificent indeed wild Tauris shines,  
Boasts here her mountains, there her blooming vines;



The forest crowns the lesser hills, and shows  
 A grateful contrast to Trapezus' snows ;  
 Extensive prospects greet the roving eye,  
 And flowers and fruits in gay confusion lie ;  
 Here plains extend, there promontories rise,  
 Here rocks in castellated forms surprise ;  
 'Tis hard (so vast the precipices stand,)   
 To hear the sullen Euxine lash the strand.  
 Yet, though indulgent Nature opens her stores,  
 And o'er the land her cornucopia pours ;  
 Though fruits spontaneous deck th' exuberant soil,  
 And the rich glebe scarce asks the ploughman's toil,  
 What boots it, if no joy the Tartar feels,  
 If lust of power th' usurping Russian steals ;  
 If in those vales which Providence design'd  
 As bless'd retreats to th' uncorrupted mind,  
 Pale misery stalks, and in her train appear  
 Disheart'ning bigotry, and skulking fear ?

From hyperborean climes I wearied fly,  
 And, led by thee, divine Philosophy !  
 Remote and cheerless, guide my wand'ring feet  
 To thy once loved, but now forsaken seat.  
 And thou, sweet Friendship ! ignorant of guile,  
 Whose presence oft has made the desert smile,  
 My thirsty soul with draughts ambrosial fill,  
 Matron, with look serene, my solace still,  
 When sickness wastes, when difficulties vex,  
 When dangers threaten, and when doubts perplex—  
 Whether o'er Seythian wastes my course I bend,  
 Stem Hadria's wave, or Ætna's steep ascend,  
 Or hear the Euxine roar, where'er I go,  
 My yearning heart solicits still to know  
 How does my friend ; doth converse sweet detain,  
 Do Raphael's lines enchant him ; doth he drain  
 Nectareous cup of pure domestic joys,  
 That never bosom unpolluted cloy ?  
 Doth architecture chaste provoke his toil,  
 And bid him, as he wastes the nightly oil,  
 Compare each Gallic sanctuary's pile,  
 Or thine, Scamozzi, with Palladio's style ?  
 Say, Britain's Genius ! if entranced he views  
 Some scene embellish'd by Scott's airy muse ;  
 Climbs he o'er Staffa's rude basaltic pile,  
 Or scans with art, Melrose, thy moss-grown ile ?  
 Descries, when twilight flings her dusky veil,  
 When purple mists ascend, and stars grow pale,  
 The thousand streams that meet in Cona's vale ?

O say, (and haply now his eager eyes  
View thy bluff rocks, and heathy uplands rise,)  
A foreign realm with raptures I explore,  
By mem'ry cherish'd, famed in classic lore;  
Where azure skies, and genial airs conspire  
To wake Poësy's all-creative fire—  
The Muse, ambitious, wings her feeble flight  
O'er cleft Parnassus' steeps, that meet her ravish'd sight;  
There are her haunts—there flow Castalia's streams;  
There's all that Poets have beheld in dreams.—  
And though she dictate no immortal verse,  
Nervous like Johnson's, or like Goldsmith's terse,  
Requited shall she be, if thou approve,  
Dear friend! this earnest of unshaken love—  
And, (O forgive fond fancy,) as I rove  
Through field in story famed, or Attic grove,  
The Nine, my labours willing to befriend,  
Seem, unsolicited, my course to tend;  
For, wheresoe'er my devious footsteps tread,  
Some sage has reason'd, or some patriot bled,  
Some bard has here been crown'd with deathless bays,  
Some statesman there has won his country's praise—  
Great Nature, too, exalted to the sight,  
Transports me with ineffable delight!  
The sun, by chilling mists, unsullied here,  
With uniform effulgence marks the year;  
Here flowers of liveliest hues bedeck the ground,  
Here balmy odours scent the air around;  
Ærial music's wafted by the breeze,  
And more than whispers murmur through the trees;  
The rocks themselves beguile the ravish'd sense,  
And speak with more than echo's eloquence.

Bear me, some god, to where those wavy pines  
Screen Helen's isle, or Laurium's shelving mines;  
Hide me, O hide me, in some cool retreat,  
When Sirius pours intolerable heat.  
I'll court the air in yon sequester'd glade,  
Where his spent limbs th' Æolian shepherd laid;  
Watch by Callirhœ's fount, at even's close,  
Ægina melting into Night's repose—  
Then o'er my temples as soft slumber creeps,  
And ev'ry sense in sweet oblivion steeps,  
The sullen god, that storms and darkness brings,  
Shall shroud all Actë with his tawny wings,  
And bearing in rude grasp the fainting fair,  
With whirring flight, shall speed through boundless fields of air!  
Or from those rocks, which Sciron's name retain,  
Theseus shall hurl the robber to the main—

The lowing herd, reclined in darksome dell,  
 Shall haply break the airy vision's spell;  
 The her'ns that skim the foaming surges o'er,  
 Pouring shrill notes that echo from the shore;  
 The kids disporting in the sun-burnt meads,  
 The locust's chirp, the undulating reeds,  
 Or Procnè's scream, or Philomela's song,  
 This high in æther heard, that the dark shades among.'

To this succeeds an apostrophe to the 'Degenerate Athens,' and a spirited burst of indignation at the contrast which it now presents to the pictures of the glorious city in the days of its splendour. The local features are enumerated, the poet's contemplations among its ruins are indulged, and all his classic reading brought to aid his illustrations of the progressive and degrading change. He then resumes:—

' Among these awful piles Indiff'rence reigns;  
 Declining joys, and agonizing pains  
 Her presence fly—I feel her influence creep  
 O'er inmost sense, and bid each passion sleep,  
 Calm ev'ry tumult of the throbbing breast,  
 Root out each care, and lull the soul to rest.—  
 Say, chilling power, Death's resemblance, say,  
 Why feels the bosom here thy empty sway,  
 Why is the heart of ev'ry wish bereft,  
 And the whole soul to ataraxy left?  
 Tread I some stone from which Chrysippus taught,  
 Whereon Cleanthes stood immersed in thought?  
 Some shaft, 'gainst which Antigonus reclined,  
 To cull the fruit of Zeno's steadfast mind?  
 Who freed the soul by passion's yoke oppress'd,  
 Hid gen'rous Arria's blade in Pætus' breast;  
 Bade Seneca no agonies to feel  
 In Death's chill grasp; empurpled Cato's steel;  
 Through whom, Cornutus, thy disciple bold,  
 O'er Rome's fell lord his moral thunder roll'd,  
 And dauntless pointed his satiric rage  
 At the dark deeds of baneful Nero's age;  
 Through whom th'untainted Phrygian sage defied  
 Temptation's lure, and passion's boist'rous tide,  
 And drew immortal precepts to confine  
 The will to rectitude's unerring line:  
 Who heal'd a wounded world through Antonine.  
 Within those walls which envy's search defied,  
 Where Polygnôtus' tints with Micon's vied;  
 Where sages met t'emanipulate the soul  
 From pleasure's snares, and passion's loose controul,  
 The stork's shrill cries, and screech-owl's hoots resound,  
 And ivy flings her mantling tresses round.'

The lines which introduce *Antigonus, King of Macedonia*, reclining against a shaft, and listening to the discourse of *Zeno*, is made the subject of a very beautiful engraving, representing the interior of the ΠΟΙΚΙΛΗ ΣΤΟΑ, the columns and entablature of which are restored from Stuart's '*Antiquities of Athens*.' The scene is designed by the author, drawn by H. Howard, R.A., and engraved by Anker Smith, A.R.A.; and the whole forms a picture of exquisite, though chaste and simple beauty, highly honourable to the respective artists named.

To this succeeds the following description of the present aspect, as compared with the former condition of the celebrated port of Athens, than which we have rarely seen any thing more beautifully yet mournfully expressive of the actual change from prosperity to decay:

' I pass the fields laved by Cephissus' flood,  
And gain the spot where erst Piræus stood.  
No more, famed port, thy commerce stirs, no more  
Hurries the busy crowd along the sounding shore;  
Thy walls are levell'd by the hand of fate;  
Sunken are thy piers, thy streets left desolate!  
Where are those merchants who, intent on gain,  
In long processions moved to Neptune's fane?  
Those sacred bands array'd in costly guise  
To institute the splendid sacrifice?  
Those hecatombs with flow'ry chaplets crown'd,  
Which bled on silver shrines to music's solemn sound?  
That Libs might waft from Afric's palmy land  
Phœnician cargoes to Munychia's strand?  
Where are those fleets, O Hellas! once thy pride,  
Which chain'd the ocean, and the world defied;  
Which streams of wealth diverted from afar,  
Or stunn'd the nations with the din of war?  
Where now is heard the joyous sailor's song,  
Where, where are fled the mart's tumultuous throng?  
The chariot's clash, the carrier's piercing cries,  
The buyer's glee that with the vender's vies?  
Where the blithe courtezans that Susa sold,  
Caskets of orient pearl, and Ophir's gold?  
The heaving vessel's groan, the flapping sails,  
The chests that teem'd with Tyre's sumptuous bales?  
The barks that plough'd th' inhospitable main,  
Deep-fraught with Pontus' drugs, and Tauris' grain?  
The sullen bulks that pour'd upon the shore  
Syênè's granite, and Iberia's ore,  
Massilia's forests, Phrygia's varied stone,  
Tartessus' fleece, and th' Æthiop's stubborn bone?

*Letter from Athens.*

All, all are fled.—Nought breaks that blank repose,  
 Which casts a deeper shade o'er Athens' woes.  
 Save where some gulls their snowy wings expand,  
 Shriek as they skim the waves, or gain the land ;  
 Save where the waves, by storms impell'd, resound  
 From shelving rocks, and lash the pebbly ground ;  
 Save where yon Christian slaves their fate deplore,  
 Their eyes turn wistfully toward the shore,  
 Now shake their rattling chains, now ply the sturdy oar.'

The poet reverts again to the sages and heroes of antiquity, roving among the groves of the academy ; with the Stagyrte and his disciples ; with Plato and his followers ; with Eschines and the sophists ; with Socrates and his friends ; with Alcibiades and his plans ; with Diogenes and his contempts ; with Laïs and her fascinations ; with Euclid and his problems ; not omitting Phidias and Praxiteles, with their immortal productions ; and after a catalogue of names and qualities, of deeds and thoughts, which cannot fail to awaken the most agreeable and most ennobling associations in the reader's mind, he pursues the same enlivened strain through several succeeding pages, from which we select the following passage only :

' Lo ! where the aconite with deadly twine  
 Of curling tendril clasps the stunted pine ;  
 Where clouds drive fleet with heav'n's artill'ry stor'd,  
 And streams of lightning, from black æther pour'd,  
 Glare on Leucippus's bust ; another sits,  
 Whose eyes are motionless, who starts by fits,  
 Unfriended, and with painful thought oppress'd ;  
 And Bion's there, in Iazygian vest ;  
 Bion, whom thirst of metaphysic lore,  
 Like Anacharsis, parch'd on Scythian shore ;  
 And o'er the wither'd blade, where yellow trees  
 Sigh to the murmur of the fitful breeze,  
 Moon-struck Diag'ras stalks, with visage sad,  
 And hurrying step, in tatter'd mantle clad.—

Arcesilaus moves with graceful mien,  
 Where rows of scarlet arbutus are seen,  
 And leaves to Lacydes the crowd that hung  
 Mute, on what fell from his persuasive tongue ;  
 He, tir'd of hot debate, and circling throng,  
 With Lesbian strains, or lov'd Mæonian song,  
 Seeks to unbend his mind in yonder glade,  
 Where quiv'ring aspens Homer's statue shade.  
 Lo ! where Carneades harangues aloud,  
 From Doric porch, the rude illit'rate crowd  
 Escap'd from martial Rome ; he drowns their sense  
 With torrents of resistless eloquence.

Great Africanus deeply ruminates  
On rising kingdoms, and on falling states ;  
The Rhodian sage by Plato's statue roves,  
And Lælius the sweets of friendship proves ;  
And where Cephissus' silent waters creep,  
And rustling willows from the margin weep,  
The woes of Carthage Asdrubal deplores,  
And toils to heal his bleeding country's sores.'

The Romans are happily introduced to mingle with the scene in the metropolis of Greece; and though the quickly successive personages are but briefly discussed, enough is said to sketch the great outlines of character, and to stamp, sometimes by a single epithet, the prominent feature of each :

' Lucullus roves where tow'ring cork-trees rise  
With twisted stems in rude fantastic guise ;  
Struts, as he wastes the visionary hour  
In dreams of pomp, and exercise of pow'r ;  
Now Phanagoria's hordes in fancy scares,  
Now Mithridates to the battle dares,  
The senate awes, Artaxata alarms,  
And sees Tigranes' legions ground their arms ;  
His fever o'er, he starts, and clasps his hands,  
And motionless as sculptur'd marble stands ;  
And as he contemplates the Samian's bust,  
Weeps, and remembers that he is but dust.  
Hortensius, from beneath yon spreading lime,  
Propounds aloud his postulate sublime ;  
While Brutus, with abstruse reflection pale,  
Perambulates the solitary dale,  
Where round its od'rous scents the citron throws,  
And where Alcamenos' creation shows  
How he who first to passive matter join'd  
The all-creative, all-pervading mind,  
In deep abstraction, on Milesian shore  
Stood, as he gaz'd the empyræan o'er.  
In Academic stole great Julius hies  
O'er yonder mead, where loftier laurels rise :  
As pride inflames, as mad ambition tears  
His feverish soul, he runs, and wildly stares ;  
Thrones, armies, temples, swim before his eyes,  
And to his nod the world submissive lies—  
He gains the vista where, on either hand,  
The Stagyrte and his disciple stand  
(Lysippus' bronze) ; and Molo bids him weigh  
Whether 'tis best to aim at wordly sway ;  
To imitate the youth who Asia won,  
Or him, whose genius with such lustre shone,  
As made the intellectual world his own.

**On** Parian couch, which round the Muses stand  
 In bright array, emboss'd by Phidias' hand,  
 Reclined at ease, the youthful Tully lies,  
 Searching Platonic scroll with greedy eyes ;  
 Heedless of thee, Pomponius ! whose hours  
 Are pass'd in culling Epicurus' flowers.—

O unremitting toil ! O ardent mind,  
 'Mong lore recondite roaming unconfined !  
 Still lab'ring to become the good man's theme,  
 In justice firm, in eloquence supreme ;  
 To stand alone th' applause of ev'ry age,  
 Scourge of the factious, legislator, sage ;  
 In vain shall envious nations hope to find  
 Thy counterpart, O boast of human kind !  
 In vain shall seek, when foreign arms assail,  
 When discord rages, and the bad prevail,  
 One to arrest, like thee, his country's fate,  
 And prop alone the bulwarks of the state.'

The conclusion of the Epistle we must give at length. It is here that the result of all these previously indulged reflections is seen. The poet sorrows, (as who would not ?) over the fallen fortunes of lovely Greece and this its honoured capital. He invokes (as who would not ?) the aid of heaven and of earth to rescue the fallen from their misery, and to inflict vengeance on their ruthless oppressors. But we must give the author's own thoughts and feelings in his own lines, and with these we shall close this brief and necessarily imperfect notice of a very elegant and beautiful work, the production of a mind warmed by the fire of genius, and a heart animated by the most philanthropic and benevolent aspirations :

' Delusive dreams, ecstatic visions, hail !  
 Yet round my temples spread your mytic veil ;  
 Hide from my sight that slave in fetters bound,  
 Close to the dwelling which great Phocion own'd ;  
 Conceal that spot with Turkish fence enclosed,  
 Where Aristides' dust perchance reposed—  
 Where Metrodorus haply used to pause,  
 As Epicure discuss'd his atoms' laws ;  
 Whilst num'rous friends, reclining by his side,  
 Indi-soluble knots of union tied—  
 Let not my eyes that multitude discern,  
 Who only with the thirst of lucre burn,  
 Pore o'er the fatal die with anxious stare,  
 And with their noisy cavils rend the air,  
 Disputing eager for their paltry gains,  
**Where Thrasybulus broke his country's chains—**

Or where Harmodius, whom his country crown'd,  
Upheld the reeking blade with wreaths of myrtle bound.  
Lo ! where th' echoing horn and trumpet shrill  
Sound from the crowd that cover yonder hill ;  
A sinewy arm their boast, a bow their pride,  
Their chief ambition how with skill to ride ;  
While high above his arrogant compeers,  
Their chief, bedaub'd with tinsel lace, appears,  
Whose grave deportment, and austere grimace,  
Pronounce him kindred to the Sultan's race ;  
Who even reads the Koran, and can tell  
How many Muftis in Medina dwell ;  
How Asia sends her tribes to drain the sacred well ;  
What numbers yearly bow to Mecca's shrine,  
How surely Selim's lineage is divine ;  
He strikes with awe the gaping crowd, whose lot  
Is to applaud his sure, or erring shot ;  
With hemlock there the Alopeceian sage  
Extinguish'd Anytus' vindictive rage ;  
While Crito, by severest grief oppress'd,  
With floods of tears relieved his aching breast.  
I mark a wither'd hag in murky cell,  
Where vice and abject superstition dwell ;  
By night she pilfers on the public way,  
But kneels before a crucifix by day,  
And while its glumm'ring rays the taper spreads,  
Invokes a gilded saint, then tells her beads ;  
Hopes thus her God omniscient to cajole,  
And by her gestures to redeem her soul :  
'Twas there Aspasia taught persuasion's art,  
Spread her soft toils, and won the coldest heart ,  
Saw at her feet wits, poets, statesmen, laud,  
Who own'd her empire, and their homage paid--  
Haply where yon Albanian lies reclined  
Beneath those pines that murmur to the wind,  
Or where the sober kine wearily move  
Toward the cooling rill, or tufted grove ;  
He, whom the nations sought in crowds t' admire,  
Whose lips persuasion touch'd with purest fire,  
His country moved to spurn a tyrant's peace,  
Roused the last struggles of expiring Greece.--  
Some careless children prate, or cry for food,  
Some sport, where once the Ptolemæum stood--  
And heifers graze, and kids disport around,  
Where rich Corinthian foliage strews the ground ;  
And where yon octagon its summit rears,  
And Eurus' hoist'rous brotherhood appears



*Letter from Athens.*

In high reliefs, the envious ivy grows,  
 And *Bolus* through his fractured temple blows—  
 Where *Marathon's* immortal heroes lie,  
 The drowsy *Musulman* walks heedless by,  
 Whose torpor no incentive can disturb,  
 But lust, or Indian drug, or *Moka's* herb—  
 Cannot the sight of *Marathon's* famed plain  
 Stir thy great efforts, *Attica*, again?  
 Nor patriotic zeal, nor thirst of praise,  
 Kindle that flame which blazed in ancient days?—

O'er thee, *Byzantium*, at th' *Eternal's* word,  
 Th' avenging Angel holds the threat'ning sword—  
 Th' horizon darkens, and the sky o'ercast  
 Portends a tempest driving on thee fast.  
 Loud thunder rends the skies: *Distraction*, *Care*,  
 Spread their pale pinions in the darksome air;  
 While lightnings flash around with vivid glare.  
 Half *Asia* trembles, and a conscious dread  
 Of civil outrage o'er th' *Ægean's* spread—  
 Long has oppression gall'd each subject isle,  
 And rag'd from th' *Euxine* to remotest *Nile*;  
 Let loose on *Afric's* sons contentment's foes,  
 And deluged *Asia* with a flood of woes—  
 Each province by a dubious tenure held,  
 'Gainst thy tyrannic arm has long rebell'd;  
 Each chief erects an independent throne;  
 The proud *Pashās* thy firmans now disown,  
 Withhold allegiance, and in scornful pride,  
 Thy threats contempt, thy impotence deride.  
 A panic too thy crafty priests invades;  
 By fraud emblazon'd, all their influence fades.  
 Scarce do *Arabia's* sons their prophot own,  
 Scarce in his heav'n confide, or *Mecca's* stone.—  
 Two warlike nations, each a cumbrous state,  
 Thy fall contrive, their spoil anticipate.  
 I see thee strive some respite to obtain,  
 Some help through wily politics to gain;  
 I see thee strive thy system to reform,  
 To pluck up courage, and repel the storm:  
 Propitiate, if thou canst, th' offended skies—  
 Crowd *Mecca's* mosques—let clouds of incense rise—  
 Arm, arm thy hosts—resort to secret spells—  
 And moor thy fleets within the *Dardanelles*.  
 Or, like the counterfeiting lion, wake,  
 And in thy tolls th' outwitted nations take;  
 On thy deluded foes indignant bound,  
 With unexpected feats the world astound—

Rise, rise, and do the deeds thou didst of yore,  
When Candia's fields were red with Christian gore;  
When Hadria's winged lion roar'd in vain,  
Bound by thy myrmidons in circling chain,  
And prove, that nought the Ottoman appals;  
Go, raze as heretofore, Vienna's walls—  
Shake Malta's bastions—range the Tyrrhene o'er—  
Unfurl thy standards on the Caspian shore—  
Beset the Gaul—redeem the Tauric land—  
And take a late revenge on Samarcand.  
But ah! no keen-eyed Mahomet presides,  
No murd'rous Bajazet thy councils guides,  
No Solyman, whose nod could now restrain  
Myriads of burnish'd scimitars, again  
Force from their sheaths, and brighten all the plain.  
Thy crimson'd banners spread dismay no more,  
From Calpè's mounds to th' hoarse Calabrian shore;  
No more the seas are throng'd with Turkish sail,  
Which palsied Venice, and turn'd Europe pale.  
Loosed from their props, fanaticism, lust,  
I see thy min'rets crumble into dust;  
Thy frantic crowds 'mid burning mansions roam,  
Now fly for safety to Justinian's dome,  
Now to th' illuminated Hippodrome;  
While on all sides the redd'ning flames arise,  
And pitchy clouds envelop half the skies.  
Ah! what despair thy Sultau's bosom rends,  
When th' all-devouring element ascends;  
When he his blood-stain'd Bosphorus surveys,  
Illumin'd with the proud seraglio's blaze;  
When from those walls which broider'd silks display,  
With Serian gauze, and vitrous lustres gay,  
Relentless flames through gilded roofs ascend,  
Divans and iv'ry thrones in hideous ruin blend;  
Blithe from their baths where now Circassian fair  
With India's odours scent their jetty hair;  
Where Georgia's damsels, as they strike the lyre,  
Or tread fantastic maze, create desire  
In breasts, which love consumes with hopeless fire.  
In vain thy Galata on Pera calls,  
Pale at beholding her dismantled walls,  
When eagles o'er thy waned crescent fly,  
And exultations echo through the sky—  
Dire is the carnage, loud the battle's roar,  
Responsive to the shrieks from Asia's shore.—

Haste then, some power, the tott'ring Porte invest,  
Where vice exults, and virtue sinks oppress'd;

Where rotten justice is by gold obtain'd,  
 And murd'rous axe with guiltless blood is stain'd :  
 Where fell revenge on hearts obdurate feeds,  
 Prompts in broad day unwarantable deeds ;  
 Stalks wide at midnight hour without controul,  
 Points the dire dagger, and prepares the bowl.—  
 Rise, Britain, rise ! (for to thy sons is given  
 That high prerogative of fav'ring Heav'n,  
 To rescue nations from the tyrant's lust,  
 To scourge the guilty, and avenge the just,)  
 Pour forth thy dauntless legions, and release  
 The fetter'd Hellespont—ah ! rescue Greece !—  
 Through thee, let Actè's sons assert their cause,  
 And own no other but their Solon's laws.  
 Let youths from Athens borrow as of yore  
 The patriot's ardour, and the sage's lore.  
 And whilst a Pericles the helm directs,  
 And fosters genius, and the arts protects,  
 Discards ambition, seeks no empty fame,  
 Knows how to vindicate his country's name ;  
 Some Plato rise, with mind of heav'nly mould,  
 T' expound the truth, the sov'reign good t' unfold,  
 Under whose guidance, O that I could store  
 The wav'ring mind with philosophic lore ;  
 In meditation pass life's fleeting hours,  
 And roam with thee, 'mid Academus' bowers !"

*A Table showing the latest authenticated state of the Population, Revenue, Public Debt, and proportion of Burthen each Country imposes on its Inhabitants.*

Countries.	Population	Revenue.	Public Debt.	Tax per Head.
Sweden, 1815 .....	£ 2,400,000	£ 1,140,000	£ 1,387,500	£ 0 9 6
Norway, 1819 .....	900,000	300,000	200,000	0 6 8
Denmark.....	1,700,000	1,700,000	10,000,000	1 0 0
Prussia, 1817.....	10,536,571	7,520,000	26,000,000	0 14 3
France.....	30,000,000	35,000,000	200,000,000	1 3 4
United States, 1826.	11,300,000	3,000,000	19,800,000	0 9 4
England, 1826.....	22,700,000	70,000,000	800,000,000	3 1 8

The public debt of Sweden has been reduced, since 1813, 250,000l., and will be redeemed in 1838

In 1819, the revenue of Prussia exceeded the expenditure by about a million sterling.

The revenue of France includes the provincial rates and expense of collection.

The present expenditure of the United States is estimated at 2,314,000l., which will make the pressure 8s. 2d. per head. The debt is reduced to 16,000,000l.

The revenue of England includes the expense of collection and poors' rate, but takes no notice of innumerable direct and indirect burthens.

## ON THE LICENSING SYSTEM.

## No. II.

*Theatres, Plays, and Public Gardens.*

EVERY argument against the arbitrary licensing of public houses applies with greater force to theatres. Drinking naturally tends to disorder: not so the attendance on a theatrical spectacle. Public houses are numerous, and always open. Theatres would, under any circumstances, remain comparatively few, and would require the vigilance of the police for a shorter time. Yet the restrictions on theatres, are even more oppressive than those on public houses. The principle on which the law seems to be framed is, that as a general rule, there ought to be no theatres, but that such rule should be relaxed on particular occasions.

Players have, by many statutes, been classed as rogues and vagabonds. By the 10th of Geo. II., no play could be acted except in the city of Westminster, or at a place where the King resided; 'unless by persons legally settled in the place where they performed.' This bill, which also subjected the pieces themselves to a censorship, was opposed by Lord Chesterfield, in a speech which it would be well for his fame were it read instead of his letters. The bill, nevertheless, passed into a law, and was tamely endured from the year 1737 to the year 1788, when its provisions were extended, by 28th Geo. III., c. 30, in conformity to a cautious preamble, reciting that 'whereas divers acts of Parliament have since (10th Geo. II.) been solicited and obtained for divers cities, towns, and places, for exempting them respectively from the provisions of the said law: and whereas it may be expedient to permit and suffer, in towns of considerable resort, theatrical representations for a limited time, and under regulations; in which, nevertheless, it would be highly impolitic, inexpedient, and unreasonable, to permit the establishment of a constant and regular theatre.'

By this act, the justices at sessions are authorized to grant *one* license within their jurisdiction, to continue in force for 60 days, &c. &c., with minor regulations conceived in the spirit which dictated the preamble.

Such being the state of the law, our first inquiry, as in the case of public houses, is how far has the object been attained, viz. the preservation of rigorous decorum. Two facts will set that question at rest. A portion of each of our London theatres is set apart for the reception of prostitutes; it is called the Saloon, and is expressly built as an Exchange or market for adultery and fornication.

tion. Not a word by the way of this in the police report, although some house at Shadwell containing rooms for dancing, which appeared to have been abused to the purposes of a theatrical saloon, furnished matter for strong and perhaps just reprobation. The publicans of Shadwell, however, had the decorum to give the sailors and their girls a decent pretext for entering the room, which is not thought necessary by those who pander to the irregularities of the higher classes. The other part will be fresh in the recollections of our readers, we refer to "the O. P. row," as it was called; *i. e.* Riot versus Monopoly. In this instance, the public feeling of injustice bore down the restraints of law, and properly so in our opinion. But what became of order and decorum? It is evident that this, the greatest tumult recorded in theatrical history, arose altogether out of the licensing system. If there had been no monopoly, competition would quickly and silently have resolved the question of prices. A conspiracy to force them down would have been so contrary to the most obvious principles of justice, that it could not have had the support of public opinion, and must, therefore, have quickly failed.

There are only three theatres in the metropolis which have a right to represent the regular Drama, viz., Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and the Haymarket. Of these, only the two former are open in the winter months—that season of the year when dramatic entertainments are most appropriate. But the patentees of the winter theatres have thought it to their interest to build their houses so large, that the greater part of the audience is too distant for the due appreciation of any thing but shows and music. Shows and music have consequently been gaining ground, till wit and poetry are almost driven from the stage. We English are always talking of Shakspeare, and at last we begin to think it worth while to build him a monument. Would it not be better to take off the proscription against him? One-eleventh of the population of England resides in London. A much larger proportion of the intelligence and influence of the country is to be found there. Yet what provision has the law made for erecting him that monument in the hearts of his countrymen, which Milton thought so much better than

‘The labour of an age in piled stones!’

to say nothing of Roman cement, the more probable material, if the project which has now slept for five years, should be accomplished at all? In London proper he must not show his face. He ‘has no legal settlement’ there. An order of removal would be made out against him instantly, if he were not committed as a rogue and vagabond. He must no more be seen at the Surrey Theatre or the Cobourg, than a debtor living within the rules of the King’s Bench prison. Astley, ‘rejoicing in horses,’ will have

nothing to say to him; the Haymarket is closed six months in the year; and the taste of the town, depraved by the spectacles of the great theatres, creates but a feeble demand even during the short time that the want can be supplied. At the winter theatres, the proprietors are the parties to be blamed, if indeed it is either just or useful to blame individuals for preferring their own gains to the preservation of good taste in the public. London sets the fashion to the provinces, and this is the respect paid to the great bard, and all other English dramatists, by the laws of their own country.

The arbitrary licensing of plays is another crying evil. Surely our law of libel is sufficiently tyrannical for every decent or even indecent purpose, which any government could wish to carry. The insult of a licenser, and *such* a licenser as the present, might be spared. That a worn-out ribald should have the means of picking up a little vicarious morality by preventing others from making forced approaches to his own style, is really showing the royal contempt for human nature a little too openly. If Swift had introduced such an incident into his *Gulliver*, it would have been considered an instance of extravagance, in which his hatred of kings had got the better of his fine tact for verisimilitude.

In the proceedings of the Surrey magistrates, with respect to Vauxhall Gardens, we see the same spirit at work as that which generally actuates magistrates in their interference with public houses, when they happen to interfere honestly—a belief that men and women are to be governed by rules too minute and vexatious for an infant school. The magistrates must regulate the tap-room—must prescribe the number of doors to it. One poor man's license was suspended, because he had made his front look too much like that of a banking-house! So Mr. Holme Sumner must regulate the time of letting off the fire-works, and adjust the number of lamps in the walks! Heaven preserve us from microscopic legislation.

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‘ON THE RUINS OF BABYLON.\*

Thy kings are dust, O Babylon!  
Thy glories all are gone;  
The eagle will not 'light upon  
Thy desolate piles of stone.

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\* From a volume of Poems, by Henry Meredith Parker—now in the press.

*On the Ruins of Babylon.*

Though wearily he saileth by,  
 He will not rest his flight,  
 But shuns thy ruins, where they lie,  
 As good deeds shun the night.

Where dark against the hunning West  
 Thy giant outline falls,  
 The weary Tartar seeks no rest  
 In thy unhallow'd walls.

When to her rest the moon is gone,  
 And morning wakes the hill,  
 Darkness and Mist erect their throne  
 Upon thy ruins still.

No living creature dwelleth there,  
 Save venomous things alone ;  
 The toad and scorpion make their lair  
 In thy foundation stone.

The toad sits in the long dark reeds  
 That skirt thy fallen towers,  
 The scorpion, in the flaunting weeds  
 That mock thy ruin'd bowers.

'Thou, mighty ' Queen of Nations.'  
 How lonely art thou now !  
 How many desolations  
 Are written on thy brow !

Where banners flap'd, while harps of gold  
 Peal'd through the royal hall,  
 The desert wind blows shrill and cold,  
 Slow waves the spider's pall.

Where Binoth's love-girt altars stood  
 'Midst smiles and sighs of bliss,  
 The viper rears her speckled brood,  
 Which echo back her hiss.

A curse rests on thee, Babylon,  
 Like midnight on a lake ;  
 A spell is on thy ruins thrown,  
 A sleep—thou shalt not break.

Strong as thine own proud tower,  
 And mighty didst thou seem,  
 But the Lord stretch'd forth his arm of power,  
 His wrath burst on thy festal hour.  
 Thou hast vanished as a dream.

## NEW ARABIAN NIGHTS ENTERTAINMENTS.\*

THE old genuine 'Arabian Nights' Entertainments' are the first, indisputably, amongst all collections of fictitious narratives. It is a great hive in which all the sweets of Oriental fancy are treasured up. We take it in hand, here in the west, almost as soon as we leave the cradle, and can spell our way through a book; and it is impossible to calculate correctly the amount of the influence it exerts on our budding faculties. The whole world has read it, or parts of it, and been intoxicated by its marvellous inventions. Who has not voyaged with Sindbad, laughed with Abon Hassan, or at the adventures of little Hunchback's body, or trod fearfully with Ali Baba in the robbers' cave? Who can forget the 'Three Calenders,' or 'Aladdin'? Or the beautiful simplicity of 'Nouredin,' or of 'Ganem,' that Slave of Love?

*'Post, hæc meminisse j'avabit.'*

To the taste of many, these noble fictions, rich, moving, and varied to infinity, appear, however, little better than mere nursery tales, worthless in matter, and in style and construction unskilful. Upon the whole, we allow the worthlessness of romance of every kind: it is the canker of all true literature and taste; perverting at once both writers and readers, by engendering a ravenous appetite for adventure and mystery and the marvellous, and throwing all sober writing, in consequence, into the shade. Whoever harbours, habitually, a preference in his mind for the charms of this kind of composition, becomes gradually, but necessarily, a slave to it, in the same manner as men become the slaves of other irregular, unlawful appetites. To certain minds, indeed, fiction, however coarse, appears always a more fascinating thing than truth; they love whatever is false, because it is false, from a natural aversion to verity, you cannot, in their estimation, discommend a book more vehemently, than by accusing it of containing truth, a thing they have always taught themselves to regard among the most insipid of all earthly commodities. History, for this reason, is a dead letter with them. They hate your imperfect heroes, they abominate your doubts, they loathe your dates and authorities. Give them smooth fiction; give them superhuman virtue, or vice, no matter which; and let nature lower her face to the author's dictatorship. This will delight. This will succeed.

But the region of romance is not wholly peopled with monsters. It contains forms so nicely resembling truth, or in themselves of so extraordinary a nature, that for their likeness, or for their singu-



larity, they must be excepted from the generality, and command our admiration. Among these are the 'Arabian Nights'—the old, genuine tales—the Thousand and One. Of the new stories, lately *translated from a translation*, and put forth as real members of the ancient family, we shall now proceed to speak.

With the notions of the German translator, M. Von Hammer, on the origin and merit of these stories, we shall not meddle in the least. The compositions themselves, whatever be their merits, are before us; and, perhaps, there may be but little arrogance in judging of them differently from their learned translator. In their character they are various. So, likewise, are they in their merits. But in our opinion, there are not more than two or three stories in the three volumes, which could be advantageously admitted into the old collection. Of the others, however, several have a degree of merit; and all, perhaps, may deserve a single reading, as many of them certainly illustrate, if they do nothing more, the manners of the Orientals in times comparatively modern. We never remember, in the old work, to have found any one tale written in imitation of any other of the same collection; other writers they made no scruple of laying under contribution; they borrowed and seized upon the wonderful and the striking wherever these were to be found; but, true to the maxims of his country, the ancient Arab tale writer spared those of his own tribe. The moderns have not, we observe, been so scrupulous. Imitations of the more ancient stories occur in these volumes perpetually; for instance, Aladdin's adventure in the subterraneous gardens with the ring and the lamp, are copied awkwardly more than once; the story of Alnashkar is repeated with a very trifling variation; the incident of the forbidden door in the story of the third Calender, is imitated no less than twice; and the contrivance by which Hassan of Bassora obtains his Peri-wife, is again put in practice, in the story of Jehaushah, to gain possession of another lady of the same race. These princesses of Ginnistan abscond, likewise, from their husbands in the same way, repeat nearly the same words at parting, and are recovered at the expense of more toils and miracles than ladies so extremely capricious seem to have been worth.

Besides, the writers of many of these new tales, in whatever country they may have resided, were unquestionably ignorant of Eastern manners and history. They err every moment in the grossest manner against chronology; and, which is still more absurd, if possible, carry Christian monks and monasteries and Latin liturgies and psalms into the Yemen, where no such things were ever seen or heard of. This extraordinary blunder occurs in the story of Mesroure and his mistress, a tale which, if M. Von Hammer had had one spark of the exquisite taste of Antoine Galland, he would have utterly rejected. It is, in fact, the history of a rogue and a harlot of the most consummate vice, who are, however, made to

carry on their villany triumphantly, in spite of earth and heaven ; and to finish at last their adulterous lives in great comfort and happiness. The writer, it is clear, was a man of the coarsest mind, unenlightened by the ordinary knowledge of the East ; taste he had none, nor virtue, for no person possessing either of these could imagine that the picture of such a woman as Zeinal Mewasseif would ever please.

Indeed, judging from the stories that M. Von Hammer has admitted into this collection, we fear that, in amassing materials for a book, the learned translator was not over solicitous about the merits of his choice, but swept into his editorial net whatever lay within his reach. It is absurd, however, to suppose that we can feel any curiosity to know how badly the Arabs can write, and how ridiculously confound all times and all places ; we know well enough already that every country has its dolts and dull storytellers ; and expect, therefore, that, in selecting works for translation, authors would exercise a nice discrimination, that they might bring before us only such compositions as we could approve. It signifies nothing that in the course of time certain stupid writers have chosen to insert their productions among the immortal gems of the Thousand and One Nights. Dross has no right to be preserved in that golden cabinet. It was made for pure metal.

Had the learned editor chosen for translation only such tales as were worthy of the ‘ Arabian Nights,’ we should have had one small volume, instead of three, or the new scions might have been carefully engrafted on the old stock. The remainder we could have dispensed with. But even supposing there was some necessity for giving us *all the stories*, still he had it in his power to re-model or omit passages that were found tedious, if any thing in the world be tedious to a German translator. The readers of these volumes will often need to be reminded that ‘ patience is the key of delight,’ a golden saying that frequently occurs in them ; and may often find that, after all, the key has been turned in vain. The Brazen City—Judar, (notwithstanding some good passages)—The Abdollahs—Abu Hassan of Khorasan—Ibrahim and Jamilah—Mesrour and his Mistress—The Converted Prior—King Jilia—The Queen of the Serpents—The Story of Jehanshah—The Devout Son of Haroun al Rashid—The Angel of Death and the King—all these are peculiarly insipid, and many of them are positively too dull to be read with ordinary patience. Of the remaining stories, only six in number, *two* might be reduced to half their length with great advantage, and, *one*, perhaps, may be added by many to the Index Expurgatorius ; we mean the story of Abukir and Abusir. To fill up one of the volumes, an anecdote of a Bedouin is introduced, which seems to us worth a hundred stories. It resembles what the ancients relate of Damon and Pythias, and is full of energy and passion of a truly Oriental cast.

Among those few tales which we can reckon good, the story of **Maruf**, the saddle-mender of Cairo, is unquestionably the best. It has much of the genius of the old genuine tales, and without any abridgment or correction might very well take up its station among them. There is a great deal of the marvellous in it, but we expect *that* in an Arabian tale, and are never offended, if it does not run into mere extravagance. Maruf is an interesting fellow, who runs away from a termagant wife, and a life of poverty, to plunge into adventures; and rises rapidly, by the help of genii and good luck, from poverty to riches, and at length to sovereign power. He supports all these changes with admirable coolness, and acts continually as if he were made exactly for the situation he happens to be in. Perfect, of course, he is not; he gets intoxicated, loses his talismanic ring, is reduced to the brink of the grave, and is rescued only by the prudence and affection of his new wife. This pattern of a princess, fearful of her husband's prudence, thenceforth preserves the ring herself, and Maruf receives it from her again only on her death-bed. To show that a thorough shrew never loses her nature, but haunts till death the man who happens to be united to her, Maruf's old Cairo wife is brought again, by the agency of a genius, upon the stage, towards the conclusion of the story, and is narrowly prevented from murdering her husband in his sleep, by the scimitar of his son, by the princess. The saddle-mender, having escaped numerous dangers, sits down at last in peace upon a throne, and reigns till death, with vast éclat.

In thus raising an ignorant mechanic from his workshop to a throne, and exhibiting him as performing without much difficulty the functions of royalty, the author by no means outrages probability; to make quite sure, likewise, and to avoid all cavils, he borrows the aid of a genius; but without any such help, men have risen in the East from equally mean beginnings to the height of empire, both in modern and ancient times. And undoubtedly it must be a silly mechanic indeed who could not, if placed upon a throne, enact royalty at least as well as the usual run of hereditary kings. In the East, both prince and peasant receive much the same kind of intellectual cultivation, for both are left almost wholly to the influence of circumstances, and owe whatever knowledge they acquire to chance. It is not much otherwise, perhaps, in other parts of the world; princes, even in Europe, possessing frequently a smaller stock of original ideas than their boot-makers or their taylor. Fate gives them power, though Nature has omitted to give them intellect; so that we sometimes hear of a mighty king, who spends half his life in discussing the shape or fit of a coat, or in playing whist with persons who seldom venture to win. Maruf, the saddle-mender, was a superior prince, and with far more dignity swayed his sceptre over his realms. Birth does

not always shield a man from contempt, nor the want of it expose him to it; we disdain a royal blockhead, even on a levee day, while the capacity of men whose fathers are unknown, sometimes awakens our highest admiration.

But we must pass on to other stories. In some of the tales, scraps of poetry, which the translator has rendered into prose, occur; and although on the whole they are somewhat commonplace, there are thoughts in them occasionally of great splendour and beauty. The greater portion of these verses are mere moral reflections adorned with poetical imagery, or else love ditties distinguished by quaint conceits, like those which occur in Cowley and Dr. Donne, or in our contemporaries, Mr. Moore and Mr. Proctor. In the midst, however, of these puerilities, sparks of genuine poetical fire now and then flash forth, and give extraordinary light. Of course they lose much in their prose dress. They lose, too, undoubtedly, in coming to us through the medium of a prosaic translator, for Von Hammer has nothing of the *vivida vis animi* in him; but still, in spite of all these disadvantages, we discover ideas that have evidently been in the crucible of genius. Some of these occur in the story of Maria the girdle-maker, towards the beginning, where a company of young men, assembled in a beautiful garden to enjoy the pleasures of wine and music, torture their imaginations to extract something new in honour of the rose. The writer cites numerous verses in praise of gardens, and applies them to the one he is speaking of. The following are the first: 'The hand of God waters this garden, and the branches of the trees raise their heads to catch the liquid gold which trickles from the clouds.' He goes on, quoting without mercy, and with little judgment, verses, good, bad, and indifferent, on his garden, and every thing in it: his apples, 'sweet as sugar, and scented like musk,' his almonds, his fig-trees, his green and yellow pears, his peaches, red and yellow, which some poet compares to balls of gold that have been rolled in blood, and his lotus-fruit, which, says another poet, are suspended in garlands of flowers like the golden bells attached to the rings which encircle the ancles of the fair.

Omitting the praises of the rose, notwithstanding they contain some very pretty thoughts and brilliant comparisons, we shall extract a short poetical passage which we consider of singular beauty. Nour-reddin, the chief personage of the story, obedient to the commands of the prophet, had never tasted wine until that night; his gay companions, however, now prevailed on him to neglect the precepts of the Koran, and to drain the maddening bowl to the dregs. In consequence, his imagination became inflamed, and to the joys of wine, he proposed, during the evening, to add those of music. The master of the gardens hastened into the city, and brought back with him a beautiful music girl, whose charms the writer compares

to the splendour of the sun and moon. She was fair, though 'Night,' according to the poet, 'had imparted to her hair a prodigious portion of its own darkness.'

'Fairest of the fair! Morning-Star!' said the owner of the garden, 'we have fetched thee merely to gratify our guest and friend Nouredin, who has, for the first time, done us the honour to spend the day with us, and is exceedingly fond of music.' 'Had you but told me of this before,' said she, 'I would have brought my instrument with me.' 'I will go for it, forthwith,' said the master of the garden; 'only give me a token, to show that I am commissioned by you.' She gave him her handkerchief, and he soon returned with a green satin bag. 'The fair one took out of it thirty-two pieces of wood, which she put together, and at length composed with them a beautiful Indian lute. *She pressed it to her bosom, like a mother embracing her child, and began to sound it.* The lute, animated by her lovely fingers, began to acquire consciousness, and to recollect its origin and its fortunes. It remembered the countries where it had been planted as a tree, the waters by which it had been irrigated, the wood-cutter who had felled it, the artist who had wrought it, the ships which had carried it, and all the different hands through which it had passed. 'Touched by the fingers of the beautiful girl, it responded, in harmonious tones, to the following effect:

'I was once a tree, on which dwelt nightingales, who first imparted to me a relish for harmony. I bent down my branches and silenced my leaves, that I might listen to, and learn their strains. A cruel hand cut me, though unconscious of any fault, into pieces, and transformed me, as thou seest, into a lute. The fingers touch me, but I bear with patience the blows of a fair hand. As a reward for my submission, I enchant by my notes all those who have a relish for the amusements of a charming company. I repose on the bosom of the fair, and the arms of houris entwine my neck.\*

In the story of Hassan of Bassora, the perpetual and importunate recurrence of the image of a beloved object, is expressed more forcibly and vividly than we have ever seen it done by the greatest poets: 'Since thy departure,' said she, 'I have seen none in whom I did not fancy that I beheld thy form; even when I closed mine eyes I still saw thee, *and it was as if thou hadst taken up thy abode between my eye-lids and the pupils of my eyes!*' The feeling of intolerable grief is thus admirably pourtrayed in the same story:

\* Many of the thoughts, and the whole turn of this passage, will remind the classical reader of Catullus's poem, 'Ad Hospitem,' in which he gives the history of his adventurous bark, which he says was once—*comata sitra*. It is possible that the same idea should have occurred to the Roman and the Arab, without the one being indebted to the other: it is also possible that Catullus's poem may have been known to the Egyptian *litterateur*; but whether this was the case or not, his thoughts are exceedingly pleasing, and in the original not inferior, perhaps, to those of the Roman poet.

‘Earth and heaven seemed to him to be too confined for the feelings that racked his bosom.’

To be sure these good thoughts lie very far apart from each other, and are often separated by huge wastes of dulness; and frequently they belong not to the author at all, but are quoted from the poets. Upon the whole, and to conclude our notice of these volumes, we have been considerably disappointed in the ‘New Arabian Nights Entertainments;’ and though this is by no means an uncommon case with the readers of *new books*, it is something to say on the present occasion, for our expectations were very low when we began to read. In fact, unless the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages contain tales more worthy of being known than the greater number of those before us, we would humbly advise our great Orientalists, both German and English, to let their pens sleep in peace, or labour at something of more value. Dulness is wearisome enough in all situations, but never more provokingly so than when it attempts to assume the shape of amusement.

## SONNET.

*On visiting the Moravian Missionary Settlement at Enon, South Africa\*.*

By Heaven directed, by the world reviled,  
Amidst the wilderness they sought a home,  
Where beasts of prey and men of murder roam,  
And untamed Nature holds her revels wild:  
There, on their pious toils their MASTERS smiled,  
And prosper'd them, unknown or scorn'd of men,  
Till in the Satyr's haunt and Dragon's den  
A garden bloom'd, and savage hordes grew mild.  
So, in the guilty heart when heavenly grace  
Enters, it ceaseth not till it uproot  
All evil passions from each hidden cell,  
Planting again an Eden in their place,  
Which yields to men and angels pleasant fruit,  
And God himself delighteth there to dwell.

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\* Enon is a beautiful valley at the foot of the Zureberg Mountains in the district of Uitenhage, about 600 miles from Cape Town. The Missionaries and their peaceable Hottentot disciples were driven out of it in 1819, and the place burned by the Caffers; but it has been since re-established in greater security, and its groves and gardens replanted in greater beauty than before. It was visited by the Author in 1821 and 1825.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE  
BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

No. XII.

THE next event of any importance was the journey of the Governor-General to the Upper Provinces, which took place in the summer of 1781. Mr. Hastings departed from Calcutta on the 7th of July, and arrived at Benares on the 14th of August. His avowed object in undertaking this journey, was to obtain money, under one pretence or another, from the Rajah of Benares, and the Nuwaub of Oude. The former of these chiefs was an old and faithful ally of the Company, and in consideration of his many services, and the advantageous position of his country, which was a strong barrier to the Company's territory, it was established in 1773, that no increase of revenue should thenceforward be demanded of him. He was rendered completely independent of the Subahdar of Oude, who exceedingly desired the possession of his country, and was raised to the character of an independent sovereign, except that he was to pay a fixed tribute to the Company.

The Rajah continued firm in his faith to the English, and paid his tribute with more exactness than is usually found in Hindoo princes. But in the disputes and contentions between the civil functionaries at Calcutta, in 1777, he incurred the eternal hatred of Mr. Hastings, by sending, as it is asserted, a man named Sunboonaut, to treat on certain affairs with the Governor-General's adversary. The fact seems doubtful, as it appears to rest wholly on Mr. Hastings's own testimony, and it is not even pretended that this agent had proceeded farther on his journey than Moorshedabad, before he was recalled. From that moment, however, the Governor-General was resolved on the destruction of the Rajah, and exercised towards him every excess to which cupidity and revenge could prompt so vicious a character. Money was extorted from him under every conceivable pretence; he was menaced with military execution; troops were dispatched into his country to plunder him, and the expense of these predatory expeditions he was afterwards compelled to defray. To ward off some of these evils, he had made every possible submission to the Governor-General, and had even hoped, by obtaining his acceptance of an enormous present, to blunt the eagerness with which he pursued his ruin. In vain. The profligate Governor received his money, and forthwith demanded more.

When the Rajah heard that the Governor-General was approaching his territories, he came out to receive him with a very splendid retinue, and every mark of submission and respect. His reception,

however, by Mr. Hastings was most repulsive ; he was, in fact, immediately dismissed with disdain ; and the Governor, soon after his entry into Banares, finding that the Rajah was disposed to defend or excuse his former conduct, arrested him, and kept him prisoner under a guard of soldiers in his own house. On acts of this kind, flagrantly unjust, history has no occasion to lavish blame and condemnation ; for every reader, whose understanding is of a nature to be benefited by reflections, will be perfectly competent to judge for himself. The actions are described ; he perceives the nature of the evidence ; it is for him to draw his conclusions and decide.

From the flourishing condition of the country, as well as from the direct evidence of several British officers, it is certain that the government of the Rajah, Cheyte Sing, was mild and beneficent, and had secured, to a degree extraordinary in India, the affections of the people. This was quickly manifested on the present occasion. For the news of the arrest and imprisonment of their sovereign was no sooner made known to the people, than they flocked in prodigious numbers, and in great indignation to his place of confinement. It is natural to suppose that altercations at first took place between the multitude and the sepoy guard, but these soon ended in violence and bloodshed ; and during the confusion attending so sanguinary a conflict, the Rajah escaped by a wicket which opened to the river, and crossing over to the other side, was followed by the crowd, leaving the palace in the hands of the English.

That this was no more than a mere mob affray, in which the Rajah had no concern, was clear from the conduct of the people after it was over ; for instead of hastening to Mr. Hastings's quarters, and terminating the struggle, at least with him, by a decisive blow, they retreated, as we have said, across the river, and left the tyrant to plan in peace the ruin and subjugation of their country. Warren Hastings, who seems in this instance to have acted with that want of prudence which sometimes foreruns the fall of the wicked, had with him nothing of a military force, for even by calling to his aid six companies of Major Popham's regiment, he could muster no more than about four hundred and fifty men.

On the other side of the river stood Ramnagar, a fortified palace belonging to the Rajah, which it was determined to reduce forthwith. The troops, however, which were dispatched on this service, by the rash conduct of their commanding officer, suffered severely and were repulsed.

The Governor-General, with that pusillanimity which often accompanies a tyrannical spirit, was now vehemently alarmed for his own personal safety ; and after writing to all the commanding officers at the neighbouring military stations the most pressing



letters for aid, he was terrified by the report of an intended attack from Ramnagar, and fled by night from Benares to the strong fort of Chunar, leaving the wounded sepoys behind him. It could be of no utility to relate the trivial operations of the short-lived war carried on against the slender power of the Rajah, as there is nothing in these details to instruct or amuse. He was soon subdued; the sooner, we suspect, because from the beginning he was averse to hostilities, and endeavoured by letters and otherwise to soften the implacable hate of the Governor-General, who, he perceived, was eagerly forcing him into measures that must prove his ruin.

When he had effected the overthrow of Cheyte Sing, Mr. Hastings lost no time in returning to Benares, where he offered, by proclamation, pardon to every body, excepting Cheyte Sing and his brother. The next step was to choose a new Rajah; and a grandson of Bulwunt Sing, at that time only nineteen years old, was selected, though the Government was actually placed in the hands of his father, under the title of Naib. It was determined, however, that the dignity and power of the Rajah should be diminished, and his tribute increased. The administration of the laws was taken out of the hands of the Rajah, and placed under the superintendence of a Native officer, denominated Chief Magistrate of Benares, who was made responsible to the Governor-General and Council. The power of coining money at will was likewise taken from the Rajah.

Cheyte Sing had meanwhile taken refuge in the fortress of Bidgegur, the usual residence of his mother. Here his wife and all his family were now collected, and hither the English army pursued him. One of the laws of nations in the East, and for obvious reasons, the one most rigidly observed, is, that no prince shall ever violate the haram of his vanquished enemy. Fear of retaliation is the sanction of this law. When misfortune overtakes one of these despots, he, therefore, does not fear to leave his wives and sisters behind him when obliged to have recourse to flight, since he knows they will suffer no indignity from the victor. On the present occasion, Cheyte Sing, who feared to await in Bidgegur the coming up of the English, and escaped into Bundelcund, relied upon the humanity and civilization of his enemies, and persuaded himself that his mother and wife would run no risk of suffering brutal indignity from such hands. He, however, reflected not that the untameable thirst of gold transforms even those nations termed civilized into beasts, and soils their consciences with every crime that can contribute to enrich them. The fortress of Bidgegur did not long withstand the attacks of the English, but yielded by capitulation on the 9th of November. And here took place one of those transactions which stain our Eastern annals. It had been stipulated with the besieged, that the prin-

cesses, who were all the near relations of Cheyte Sing, should go out of the fort unsearched, not merely to preserve from plunder some portion of their effects, but far more to shield their persons from the indecent hands of the soldiers. Warren Hastings, with a malignity almost unequalled, contrived, however, by artful insinuations to awaken the most violent cupidity in the troops, and in consequence, these unfortunate princesses, who all their lives had been kept even from the sight of men, were subjected, in retiring from their ravaged home, to indignities and insults which history refuses to describe. The result of all these crimes by no means answered the expectations of the Governor-General; the army retained possession of whatever money it had captured, refusing even to advance it to Government as a loan; and to the difficulties previously existing, the expense incurred in this unjust war was thus added.

When the particulars of these transactions reached England, the Court of Directors condemned the conduct of Mr. Hastings towards the Rajah of Benares, but in terms by no means sufficiently strong. The series of resolutions they passed on occasion of this condemnation, the Governor-General treated as a string of falsehoods, because they criminated him, although every single resolution was founded on the public records of Bengal and the terms of recorded treaties. What is most surprising, however, in all this transaction is, the declaration that the dethronement and proscription of Cheyte Sing, consequent on actions the Company's own servants compelled him to commit, were justified by the war.

Close upon the heels of this war followed a treaty with Mahdajee Scindia, and another with the Mahratta government of Poonah, by which we gave up considerable territories. The Bombay Government, who in every respect were fitter to negotiate with the Mahrattas than the Government of Calcutta, arraigned the terms of this agreement as inadequate and humiliating; and declared that had the negotiation been left, as it ought, to them, they would not have failed to obtain terms much more advantageous.

The next affair in which the Governor-General engaged, was an arrangement with the Nuwaub of Oude. Before entering on this business, he removed the Resident, Mr. Bristow, whom he had once before displaced in the same manner, and been compelled to restore to office by the imperative orders of the Court of Directors; and in his stead again appointed Mr. Middleton, his own private agent, and one who, as he himself expresses it, was in his confidence. He then proceeded with his new arrangement. It should be observed, that this was very much accelerated by the impatience of the Nuwaub himself, who, observing the confusion created by the insurrection in Benares, hastened to meet Mr. Hastings at Chunur, no doubt in the hope of obtaining, under such circumstances, more tolerable terms than otherwise. He was immensely in arrear in the

payment of his tribute to the Company, which had been constantly increased by the injustice and cupidity of the Bengal Government, and the Company's officers were quartered against his will in his dominions. To obtain some abatement of the Company's enormous demands, was the object he had now in view; and with extraordinary celerity he succeeded in his undertaking. It was agreed that all the superfluous troops and other English, subsisting forcibly on the Nuwaub's revenues, should be withdrawn, and other terms were likewise granted, favourable to the Nuwaub's interest, but making nothing for the advantage of the Governor-General or the Company. It was, therefore, easy to understand that some secret agreement lay concealed, from which Hastings was to draw those advantages which he never could consent to forego; and shortly afterwards it appeared that this advantage was the plunder of the Begums. These Begums were, the mother and the grandmother of Asoph ul Dowla, the Nuwaub; who had already been more than once robbed by this prince, and one of them, his own mother, had been compelled to claim the Company's protection against the violence and injustice of her son. To strip these princesses, who unfortunately had inherited considerable estates, (jaghires,) had long been an object of eager desire with Asoph ul Dowla. Originally he desired this plunder for himself; but, finding that without yielding large sums to the English, he could no longer hope to retain possession of his dominions, he changed his intention, and agreed that, in consideration of being freed from the expense of maintaining a large military force, which was not only useless but hateful to him, he would transfer the property of the Begums to the Company. The pretext under which these princesses were thus plundered was, that they had been discovered meditating rebellion: and Mr. Hastings, therefore, feared that unless they were deprived of their rights, these two old ladies would endanger our empire, and perhaps drive the English out of Hindoostan.

On departing from Chunar, and returning to his own dominions, the Nuwaub seems to have felt some stings of conscience for the treaty he had entered into, and evinced great reluctance to commence the robbing of his parents. But whether this unwillingness arose from any sense of duty, or merely from considering that he was to commit a heinous crime chiefly for the benefit of others, is not known. Perhaps both motives operated upon his mind, and were strengthened by the reflection that the measure could not fail to render him more odious than ever to his people, a consideration which, though seldom sufficiently attended to by despots, has always some weight with the most profligate rulers. But the rapacity of Hastings would admit of no delay. He cared nothing for the Nuwaub's scruples of conscience. He had bribed him to commit a crime, and he expected him to commit it without pause

or hesitation. He therefore urged the Nuwaub by every means to accomplish the deed, and finding no end to his reluctance, instructed the English Resident at Lucknow, to proceed, in case the Nuwaub delayed any longer, to resume the jaghires of the Begums in the name of the Company, or of the Nuwaub himself. It was the dread of this measure, and of the contempt which it would throw on him in the eyes of his people, that at last precipitated the Nuwaub into the commission of the nefarious action he had previously engaged to perform; but, even while issuing his orders for the robbery, he loudly declared, both to the British Resident, and to his own ministers, that he acted under compulsion.

The Governor-General was not content with the mere resumption of the jaghires, but further urged the immediate seizure of the treasury and personal property of the princesses. Even to this the guilty Nuwaub now consented, and marched with the British Resident and a body of English troops to Fyzabad, the residence of his mother, where they arrived on the 8th of January, 1782. Here open violence and secret torture were employed to accomplish their purpose. The town and castle were stormed; but as the princesses retired with their treasures to the sacred apartments of the haram, the Nuwaub would not pursue them thither, to extort the prey they were in quest of. It was then determined that the treasures could be obtained only by putting the humanity of those defenceless ladies on the rack, by seizing and torturing their ministers. This was done. The two principal eunuchs were seized, put in confinement, and tortured, until the elder of the Begums, who had the keeping of the treasure, consented to give it up to the English. The amount, which was received in liquidation of one portion only of the Nuwaub's debt to the Company, satisfied neither the Nuwaub, apparently, nor the Resident. The Begums were required to furnish greater sums; but as they declared with the greatest solemnity their inability to comply with these new applications, the wretched eunuch ministers were subjected to fresh tortures, and deprived of all food, until a bond should be given for the amount demanded. To escape from these cruelties, the eunuchs undertook to raise the sum themselves in the course of one month, supposing naturally that they should be meanwhile set at liberty to use their best exertions to fulfil their engagement. In this expectation, however, they were miserably disappointed; for not only were they *not* set at liberty, but their earnest request to have their irons taken off, when they were attacked with illness, and were desirous of taking medicine, and to be allowed to walk in the garden, was refused. By great exertions they succeeded in obtaining part of the required sum, but failed totally in their endeavour to raise the whole. The Begums also, with their utmost endeavours, were equally unsuccessful, though they disposed of their household furniture, down even to the table utensils. As the

Resident still believed, however, that they possessed more treasure, he attempted to wring from them these imaginary riches by the force of hunger, and they and their women were frequently deprived of food until they were on the point of perishing for want. The miserable eunuchs were carried away to Lucknow, and there made to undergo fresh tortures, the nature of which has never been made known: but when it became quite manifest that no further treasure could by any means be extorted, the parties were released from confinement. As a part of this transaction with the Nuwaub, it should be remarked, that Mr. Hastings received from him, at a moment when he was unable to discharge his debts to the Company, a present of no less than one hundred thousand pounds.

A very singular event followed the close of this odious affair. It will be remembered that Mr. Bristow, the former Resident at the court of Lucknow, who had been expressly nominated by the Court of Directors to fill that station, was removed by Mr. Hastings previous to the commencement of this famous series of robberies, and Mr. Middleton, in whose capacity to conduct such affairs the Governor-General had more confidence, was appointed in his stead. The business was no sooner concluded, however, than the Governor-General discovered reasons for disapproving of Mr. Middleton's conduct; and a quarrel, which subsequent events proved to be mere mockery, ensued. Mr. Middleton was forthwith recalled: and, to anticipate the orders he expected from England, Mr. Hastings now discovered that Mr. Bristow was a very fit person to be Resident at Lucknow, and dispatched him immediately to fill that station.

In spite of the Governor-General's unaccountable antipathy to Mr. Fowke, which, as he himself acknowledged, was founded on reasons he dared not put on record, that gentleman was appointed Resident at Benares by a majority in council. In this principality, or district, affairs by no means answered the expectations which Mr. Hastings had formed, when he appointed the father of the new Rajah to the office of Naib. His disappointment, though arising purely from his own extravagant hopes, he now revenged upon the Naib, by casting him into prison, and threatening him with death.

When the ruin of the Rohilla nation took place in 1774, Fyzoola Khan was the only chief that remained. He occupied a strong post on the hills, on the frontiers of Oude, and under the sanction and guarantee of the English Government, concluded a treaty with the Nuwaub Vizier, by which he obtained in jaghire several districts of Rohilcund, producing a revenue of fifteen lacs of rupees. The number of troops he was to keep up was specified, as was that also which upon occasion he was to furnish to the Nuwaub. This rapacious and unprincipled prince, who never saw a subject or an ally flourishing whom he did not wish to plunder, no sooner found that Fyzoola Khan was in a somewhat better con-

dition than he could wish, than he formed the design of destroying him and seizing his country. This, however, he knew well he could never effect without the sanction of the East India Company; and, to the further disgrace of the Bengal Government, if the Government that had already concurred in the design against the Begums could suffer further disgrace, Asoph ul Dowla was permitted by the Treaty of Chunar to dispossess Fyzoolla Khan, whenever it might seem convenient. According to Warren Hastings's own interpretation of this treaty, the article relating to this Chief was never meant by him as any thing but a mere piece of deception upon the Nuwaub; for he says, in his letter to the Council, that that prince would never be allowed to act upon it. But, whatever was his intention in agreeing to the terms of this odious treaty, the Governor-General soon after eagerly sought out every possible pretext for ruining Fyzoolla Khan; he sent agents into his country, who seem to have been instructed not to fail in discovering proofs of his guilty designs; and upon the mendacious reports of these agents, the Governor-General proceeded without delay to effect his perdition. Nevertheless, the whole matter ended with extorting from this proscribed Chief fifteen lacs of rupees, in lieu of the military service he owed to the Vizier; and in endeavouring, unsuccessfully, under other shapes, to extort fifteen lacs more.

The various despotic acts which mark the conduct of Warren Hastings so nearly resemble each other in their features, that they only require, after the first, to be enumerated, as they need but one description. They were uniformly distinguished by cruelty, insolence, and injustice. In the affair of the Begums, the Nuwaub, as we have seen, shrunk back when matters came to extremities, and could scarcely be wrought up to the parricidal attack by all the urgent and even menacing letters of the Governor-General. Afterwards, when the crime had been perpetrated, the guilty Vizier became desirous of restoring to his mother and grandmother the possession of the jaghires of which he had deprived them; and from the letters of the Court of Directors transmitted to Calcutta, it was evident that they also desired the same thing; but the Governor-General resisted the wishes of both, intimidating the one, and disobeying the others, for though the Directors commanded inquiry to be made into the conduct and treatment of the Begums, Mr Hastings would allow no such inquiry to be made.

When at length it appeared to the Governor-General that the Nuwaub was an instrument unwilling and incompetent to effect his purposes, and that Hyder Beg Khan, the Minister of Oude, struggled earnestly against English encroachment, he began to treat Asoph ul Dowla as a mere cipher, and the Minister himself as the necessary tool of the Company. His communications, indeed, with the Minister were exactly those of an offended tyrant with his slave,—abusive, fierce, and menacing. It was clear he designed to

seize entirely on the whole administration of the government, regardless of what might become of the Nuwaub, and of all other considerations, excepting that of acquiring money and power. The Resident, therefore, was directed to take into his own hands the whole administration of justice, and business of the revenue, and was informed that he would be held responsible for the result. It should be remembered, that the Resident to whom these extraordinary instructions were transmitted, was that same Mr. Bristow whom Mr. Hastings formerly removed from Lucknow, in favour of Mr. Middleton, and against whom he appears to have cherished the most implacable hatred. This was soon made evident by new proofs. For, when the Nuwaub felt himself aggrieved by the interference of the Resident, though this interference was marked with peculiar delicacy, and forwarded a letter of complaint to the Governor-General, the latter immediately threw all blame upon the Resident, declaring that he had by no means authorised him to usurp the sovereignty of the Vizier; and that, even if he had transmitted to him such authority, he now revoked his orders, and declared them to be no longer of any force. He proceeded afterwards, upon various pretences, to accuse Mr. Bristow; but, as a majority of the Board decided that a copy of these accusations should be sent to the Resident, and an opportunity afforded him of defending himself, he was compelled to submit, and soon after had the mortification to receive Mr. Bristow's defence, which was declared to be entirely satisfactory by the whole Council-General.

Defeated in this mode of attacking the Resident, the Governor-General hit upon another, which was attended with better success. All letters from the Nuwaub, it is now known, were dictated by Mr. Hastings himself, and therefore, after he had, for some reason or other, which has never been exactly known, determined on again removing Mr. Bristow, he directed the Nuwaub to complain of the Resident, and even to request that the residency might be withdrawn altogether. The complaisant Nuwaub did as he was ordered,—the residency was withdrawn,—and now that the field was clear, Mr. Hastings prepared for a second visit to the Upper Provinces. In proceeding to Lucknow, he passed through the province of Benares, and there witnessed the effect of his unjust removal of Cheyte Sing, in a devastated country and wretched population. He allows, that from one frontier to the other nothing met his eye but ruined villages, and all the misery attendant on mal-administration of government. Arrived at Lucknow, he succeeded in obtaining certain sums of money from the Minister; and as he agreed to withdraw from the country and pretended service of the Nuwaub an English detachment which had hitherto been quartered upon that prince, it is by no means doing injustice to his character to suppose that for this his private treasury received some considerable accession. It was also further agreed between him and the Nuwaub, that the plundered Begums should have their jaghires

restored, reduced, with their *good will*, as was said, to a much smaller compass than before. Having in some way or other effected his purpose in visiting the Upper Provinces, he returned from Oude to Calcutta, made immediate preparations for departure from India, and on the 8th of February, 1785, he resigned his office, and embarked for England. He was a politician of the worst kind, a dealer in shifts and expedients, and none of his important enterprises ever produced any important result, except increasing the confusion of the revenue. At the time of his departure, the ordinary expense of the Indian Government exceeded its receipts, and he had added to the debts of the East India Company twelve and a half millions of money.

At Madras, affairs were involved in difficulties hardly less pressing than those which existed in Bengal. The Nuwaub of Arcot, a man of an ambitious but impotent mind, was found totally incapable of governing his dominions, and the Governor, Lord Macartney, found it necessary to obtain an assignment of all his revenues, in order to keep up sufficient forces to defend the country from its enemies. However, when the Nuwaub had yielded this point, he felt a diminution of dignity, and his own vanity and the instigations of his flatterers prompted him to aim at recovering what he had lost. Among his most inveterate adulators and instruments were his second son, Emir ul Omrah, and Mr. Paul Benfield. In favour of the former he was desirous of disinheriting his eldest son, and they hoped, upon the occasion of assigning the revenues, to obtain Lord Macartney's consent for changing the order of succession. Failing in this, their resentment and hatred knew no bounds; and they immediately began to concert measures for embarrassing the collection of the ceded revenues. From equal hatred to Lord Macartney, by whom he had been dismissed from certain offices, Mr. Benfield was a willing coadjutor to Emir ul Omrah, and secret orders were sent to the renters and others to delay their payments.

After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain the co-operation of Sir Eyre Coote in organising an opposition to Lord Macartney's views, the Nuwaub applied to the Governor-General, who immediately entered into their plot, gave, or seemed to give, credit to their representations, and transmitted an account of them to England. Though he had formerly approved highly of Lord Macartney's policy in obtaining the assignment of the revenues, the Governor-General now looked at the matter in a different light, and, to oblige the Nuwaub, agreed to restore him his revenues, and transmitted to Madras his orders to that effect. It happened, however, just before this, that contrary orders had arrived at the Presidency from the Court of Directors, commanding the holding of the revenues, and ordering the Bengal Government to render the assignment effectual by its assistance. To these orders the Governor-General and Council not only refused to yield any obedience, but they per-



sisted in urging their commands on Lord Macartney to deliver up the revenues to the Nuwaub. The Governor of Madras, however, understood too well the dangers to which obedience to these commands would expose the Presidency, to think of yielding to them : the possession of these revenues was the only means by which he could hope to discharge the arrears of the army, or provide in any way for the defence of the country. For these reasons, he rejected the authority of the Governor-General at all hazards ; and Hastings was now too much involved in other affairs, or too much taken up with preparing for his departure, to desire to enter into the contest.

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SONG.—THE LADY-WELL TREE.

*To an old Scottish Air.*

O FRAGRANT was the bower  
Of the hawthorn in flower,  
And the wild-briar rose just blowing,  
When I parted with my love  
In Glen-Garva's birchen grove,  
And we plighted our vows ere going  
*O the Lady-Well Tree,*  
*It grows fresh and fair to see,*  
*By the old ruin'd tower in the wild-wood,*  
*Where the thristle loves to sing,*  
*And the primrose in the Spring*  
*Decks the green where we danced in our childhood.*  
Ye brawling wild-duck brooks,  
Ye recal her bashful looks,  
When I found my lovely maid 'mong the willows,  
With her dark-brown tresses fair  
Waving in the wanton air,  
And her snowy feet bathed in the billows.  
*O the Lady-Well Tree, &c.*  
And the mossy Nine-Well Stone,  
Where I met my love alone,  
Like some bright blue-eyed Fay of the Fountains—  
Musing 'neath the milk-white thorn,  
While the young moon's yellow horn  
Slowly tower'd o'er the pine-tufted mountains.  
*O the Lady-Well Tree, &c.*  
Ah ! those tearful eyes of blue,  
When we look'd our last adieu,  
And her soft timid arms first entwined me '  
Ah ! that virgin lip so chaste—  
And the tender trembling waist—  
And the fond breast I then left behind me !  
*O the Lady-Well Tree, &c.*  
Awake, ye lagging gales—  
Waft me quick with swelling sails  
O'er the wide surgy deep, that divides me  
From my happy native land,  
And sweet Helen's plighted hand.  
And the peaceful home Fortune provides me.  
*O the Lady-Well Tree, &c.*

## ILLUSTRATIONS OF SACRED HISTORY.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

April 5, 1827.

I have always regarded the connection between sacred and profane history, and the light which the one frequently casts on the other, as providing a highly interesting and very instructive occupation of what leisure the duties and anxieties of life can allow. With the hope of gratifying any of your readers who may be like-minded, I beg leave to offer you what occurred to me "upon the wild ass," as described by the author of 'Anabasis,' quoted at p. 81 of your Number for the present month.

I have a translation of that work, earlier than Spelman's. "John Hawkey, A. B.," who published at Dublin, in 1738, with notes, 'The Ascent of Cyrus the Younger; and the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks.' He was, probably, from the place of publication, an inhabitant of the sister island, as we complaisantly call that injured Catholic country, which England has seldom treated with wisdom or liberality, and, ever since her own reformation, has especially subjected to restraint, spoliation, and insult, the *via vietis* of Protestant ascendancy, and Ireland's share in the bill of rights, that over-vaunted blessing of the revolution. On the passage of the 'Anabasis,' which you quote from Spelman, Mr. Hawkey has the following note:

'The swiftness of the wild ass is most sublimely described in the 39th chapter of Job. Nothing can be expressed with more grandeur, nor is it in the power of words to give a stronger idea of swiftness. "Who hath sent out the wild ass free? Or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass? He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver." I chose to instance this, to show that as the Scriptures excel in the spirit of poetry, so they are most agreeable to truth, and the relations of profane writers,' (p. 25.)

The Rev. Thomas Scott published, in 1773, 'The Book of Job in English Verse; translated from the original Hebrew, with Remarks.' The learned translator observes, that "the word *free* does not here imply an antecedent state of bondage," but "freedom in opposition to slavery, an exemption from the servitude to which the domestic ass is made subject," as "expressed in the next sentence." Give me leave, *en passant*, to recommend the 'Adventurer,' No. 37, "on cruelty to brutes," to those who would appreciate "the servitude of the domestic ass." The following is Mr. Scott's version of the passage:

'Who from the *forest-ass* his collar broke,  
 And manumiz'd his shoulder from the yoke?  
 Wild tenant of the waste, I sent him there,  
 Among the shrubs to breathe in freedom's air.  
 Swift as an arrow in his speed he flies,  
 Sees from afar the smoking city rise;  
 Scorns the throng'd street, where slav'ry drags her load,  
 The loud-voiced driver, and his urging goad:  
 Where'er the mountain waves its lofty wood,  
 A boundless range, he seeks his verdant food.'

Before I quit this passage of Job, I cannot refrain from adding the following, which I find in the 'Critical Notes on the Old Testament,' published in 1734, from the MSS. of that learned clergyman of the Church of England, Dr. Wall, who died a few years before. The epithet bestowed on "the tax-gatherer or exciseman," however it might be received a century ago, could scarcely fail, in 1827, to fix on any writer the imputation of a radical.

For *driver* the margin has *exactes*, and so it is in the 'Septuagint, μέμψιν φορολόγων, the demand of the tax-gatherer or exciseman. There were, it seems, such creatures, in some countries, in Job's time. The Vulgate also is *exactores*,' (i. 304.)

"The bustard," (p. 78.) probably, according to Spelman's translation, Mr. Hawkey renders "the otis," and adds the following note:

'This bird was so called from its long ears, or from its quick hearing. The Greek and Latin authors write that it flies very slow, and but a short way, because of the weight of its body. But the Eastern writers affirm that it has a very strong flight, and that it is found at a prodigious distance from the parts where it feeds, with its ment undigested. Pliny also writes that it imitates the voice of other birds.'

Should you accept this tender of correspondence, I shall know that such communications are comprehended in your design. You may thus probably hear occasionally from

SACRO-PROFANUS.

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#### MOHAMMEDAN SONG.\*

His breath is amber,—sharp his reed;  
 The hand which holds it, O! how white,  
 He writes fair talismans,—a creed  
 For maidens doth the loved-one write:  
 'Of him that will not have thee—think not!  
 'From him that fain would have thee—shrink not!'

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\* From 'Servian Popular Poetry',—translated by John Bowring.

GOVERNOR ELPHINSTONE, THE LATE GOVERNOR ADAM, AND  
THE INDIAN 'JOHN BULL.'

AMONG other illustrations of the mode in which even such high and mighty personages as Indian Governors can sometimes use the Press to the injury of those whose independence renders them obnoxious, we may instance the conduct of the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay. It is now ascertained beyond a doubt, that this Governor had for some time in his possession the manuscript of an anonymous pamphlet, containing gross and libellous insinuations against the Chief Justice of the presidency of which he himself was the Governor, which manuscript was afterwards published in a pamphlet, distributed throughout India, sent even to England, and published in the 'John Bull' of Calcutta, while the Press was under Mr. Adam's regulations, which expressly prohibit, on pain of forfeiture of licence, any reflections on the conduct or the character of the King's Judges in India. Notwithstanding this violation of a positive law, for which any other paper but the 'John Bull' might have been suppressed, no notice was taken of this infringement of the law by that privileged journal. The reason is plain; but it will show what manner of man Mr. Adam was, who made one law for his opponents, and executed it on them with the utmost rigour; while he himself was the first to break it on his own behalf, in the case of the celebrated Manifesto published by him, in contravention of his own regulations, from the Government Press of Calcutta, and his eulogists passed unpunished when they also published libellous insinuations against the Judges at Bombay in direct violation of the rules pretended to be laid down for the observance of the whole Press of Bengal, and to be equally binding on all its proprietors and editors.

The chain of evidence in this case completely establishes the fact of a connection between Mr. Elphinstone, Mr. Adam, and the Calcutta 'John Bull,' and is equally *credible* to them all.

Mr. Elphinstone has the libellous manuscript in his possession, before it is published. It afterwards appears in the 'John Bull' of Calcutta, the secret organ of the Bengal Government, whilst Mr. Adam (who was Mr. Elphinstone's first cousin, and whose acts toward the Indian Press, Mr. Elphinstone has so extravagantly praised) was a member of the Bengal Government, and this at a period when the Press there was under his own severe restrictions, and could not dare to publish any thing in contravention of these restrictions, unless it were well ascertained beforehand that it would be agreeable to those in authority.

All this may seem very extraordinary to some persons; and many will perhaps doubt whether such conduct in two such *amiable* men

as Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Adam, be really possible. But what will the reader say when we assure him, as we can do on good authority, that the Chief Justice of Bombay has himself charged Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor of the Presidency, with these facts, in an official and public correspondence, and that the Governor has not even ventured to deny their accuracy. Whether any communications from Mr. Elphinstone on this subject have been sent home to the India House or not, the Committee of Correspondence there can best tell. But as it is now well known that charges have been made against him of his being privy to the sending to the Press of Calcutta, there to be printed under his first cousin's paternal care, libellous insinuations against the King's Judge at his own presidency, whom he was bound in honour as well as duty to support in the discharge of his functions and the dignity of his office, it is due to the character of Mr. Elphinstone that his defence, if he has offered any to his honourable masters, should be produced ; and if he has but one friend in the East India Direction, we call upon that friend to communicate, on his behalf, whatever exculpatory matter such defence may contain. Like his worthy colleague, Mr. Warden, he may perhaps think that he is responsible *only* to his honourable masters for any portion of his conduct, and therefore conclude he has done all that can be required if he has satisfied them. But, if this be true, Mr. Elphinstone's former sensitiveness to public opinion, and his extreme love of popularity, must have greatly declined---and we cannot hail this as a favourable omen. We shall be happy to become the recipient of any thing that may be offered on his behalf, and be as ready to communicate it to the world, as we have felt it our duty to do the facts here narrated.

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SPRING.—A SONNET.

THE beauties that o'erspread the fields in Spring,  
 And glad the eye and heart, are like the cloud  
 That hangs, when sleeps the breeze and tempest loud.  
 At sunset o'er the burning West : the King  
 Of Day, in parting, varying hues doth fling  
 Upon its mimic creeks and opening bays,  
 While not a streak of light or glory stays  
 The same, but every busy moment brings  
 New garniture of tint. So o'er the earth,  
 The passive frame of swift mutation, sheds  
 The Spring her spells, and calls to rapid birth  
 The grass and fading flower, and on the heads  
 Of lofty woods spreads leaves ; and, as in mirth,  
 Leaves marks of wondrous change where'er she treads.

BION.

FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS AND PERNICIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE  
LAWS OF QUARANTINE.

No. III.

BEING satisfied of the decided hostility to his investigation by all the bodies in the state, to whom its results had hitherto been submitted, the season for any efficient application to Parliament being over, and the subject being scarcely ripe for popular discussion, Dr. Maclean next determined to apply to Lord Grenville, that nobleman having, as he learnt, perused his work with much attention. He accordingly addressed two letters to his Lordship, on the 30th of May and 1st of June, 1818, in his several capacities of a legislator, a member of the Privy Council, and Governor of the Levant Company. In his latter capacity especially, the application was preferred as a formal appeal. In these letters, the Doctor entered into an historical detail of his proceedings, and of the unjustifiable manner, as he conceived, in which they had been met and frustrated, especially by the College of Physicians; and concluded by soliciting the aid of Lord Grenville and the Levant Company towards procuring for him the means of completing his experiments on the plague, in all those respects in which they might be deemed by others to be still deficient.

‘I beg then to be understood, (he says,) as wishing to renew the proposition which I originally made to Lord Castlereagh, and subsequently repeated to Earl Bathurst, Mr. Vansittart, and the Board of Trade, to make the *experimentum crucis*, by contact, under unequivocal circumstances; the experiments to be conducted on board a vessel, which should be placed entirely at my disposal. The expense of this process would not exceed that necessary for the maintenance of one of his Majesty’s ordinary sloops of war; and, as the results must speedily be manifest, even this expense could not be of long duration, whilst the saving consequent upon success would be *annually* very considerable.’

‘As it cannot be supposed to be the wish of his Majesty’s Government that the present decision of the Privy Council, grounded upon a mere *dictum*, and, as I contend, an erroneous one of the College of Physicians, respecting a matter of extraordinary importance to the world at large, and capable of being appreciated by every man of ordinary education, and of sound understanding, as well as by members of the medical profession, should continue to stand good against a future more overwhelming accumulation of the materials of conviction; and as it must, on the contrary, be presumed to be their most earnest desire to see this investigation happily terminated, so I cannot persuade myself that they will refuse acceding to so reasonable a proposition, especially if approved, and recommended upon the authority of the Levant Company, who, in such matters, may be regarded as the virtual representatives of the nation.’

To these letters, the noble Governor of the Levant Company returned the following answer, worthy of the philosopher and the legislator:

SIR,

Dropmore, June 2, 1818.

I have received your two letters, and, had I been in town, I should have had real pleasure in seeing you again upon the subject to which they relate. A man must indeed have a mind very strangely constituted if he could avoid taking the deepest interest in the question which the result of your courage and perseverance appears so strikingly to affect. I have carefully perused both your volumes. I am myself in the situation of having seen only the statement on one side of the question. The report of the College of Physicians is known to me only upon what you say of it; and I am in entire ignorance of the grounds of their opinion. Nor have I the folly to presume that, on a point of mere medical science, my judgment could be of any value between the contending opinions of professional men. But no man of liberal education is ignorant of the general laws of experimental inquiry and induction; laws not confined to any one science, but common to all the branches of natural philosophy. It is a matter of professional knowledge, and one often of much difficulty, to judge in such cases whether a series of experiments has been so conducted as to exclude extraneous circumstances, to apply exclusively to the real point of inquiry, and to establish an induction sufficiently comprehensive for the conclusions to be grounded on it. Admitting these points, the result of your experiments would be undeniable; and if any of them are questioned they ought to be so with precision and distinctness, that the matter may be brought to its real issue.

With this reserve, I think myself bound not to withhold from you the avowal of the strong impression which your experiments have, *prima facie*, left upon my mind. Your conclusions may not be decisively proved, for they may be liable to exceptions of which I am ignorant; but I must consider them as being so far at least established, as to call, in a matter of such inestimable importance, for all practicable inquiry and investigation.

With respect to any legislative measures to be taken on the subject in its present state, I cannot say that I should myself venture, when the lives of thousands may be concerned, to recommend, on my own judgment, the relinquishment of the present system, in opposition to the united sense of those to whom Parliament would naturally look for advice in such a case. But if my opinion were of any weight on the subject, *I should unquestionably think that you have done enough to establish an imperious call for the fullest and most minute inquiry that the case can admit of; and I should hope that the King's Government would naturally be desirous of requiring those professional men whom they have consulted, to state to them, if it has not already been done, in what respects your experiments are considered as inconclusive, and in what course and at what hazards it is probable that results might be obtained not liable to the same exceptions.*

These sentiments, when asked for, I do not think myself at liberty in such a case to withhold from you. As Governor, however, of the Levant Company, I am not aware that there are any official steps that I can now properly take, except that of desiring, as I have done, that your letters may be laid before the Company. That body has no greater or stronger interest in the

matter than I trust every other subject of this realm feels in common with them. Who is there that can avoid looking with the deepest anxiety to the best means of ensuring the health and safety of those who resort to the countries most afflicted with this calamity? What object is there of nearer concern to us all, than continuing to the end of time, if it shall so please Providence, that exemption from this scourge which this island has enjoyed for more than a century and a half?

The question of the recompense to be made to you for what you have done, is obviously one for the consideration of the Crown and of Parliament, not of the Levant Company. *If, as a member of Parliament, I should be called upon to give my opinion on that point, I think, from the contents of this letter, you cannot doubt what it would be. My sentiments must undergo a very great change indeed, and such as nothing could produce except the knowledge of some new circumstances hitherto unknown or unobserved by me, before I could hesitate to declare my warm concurrence in what has already been officially declared on that point by the King's Ambassador on the spot.*

I am, Sir, with great truth and regard, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

GRENVILLE.

The following letters require no explanation.

*Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. to Lord Grenville.*

MY LORD,

Levant Company's Office, 25th June 1818.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, in compliance with your Lordship's directions, the Secretary has laid before a general court the papers addressed to your Lordship by Dr. Maclean upon the subject of his late investigation of the plague, together with a subsequent letter from that gentleman, wherein he more concisely states, that the object of his application to your Lordship is to request the Company, as guardians of the commercial relations of this country with Turkey, to use their endeavours for obtaining from his Majesty's Government the means of enabling him to renew his experiments for the purpose of removing such doubts as may yet be entertained respecting the validity of his conclusions; and also for some suitable reward for his past services, which, however, in the event of his being employed, he is willing to postpone.

The Court, my Lord, have given this most interesting subject all the consideration of which they are capable; and without entering into the discussion of inferences which may depend exclusively upon medical science, they entirely concur in opinion with your Lordship, that enough has been done by Dr. Maclean to call irresistibly for the fullest and most minute investigation; and therefore I request your Lordship, as Governor of the Company, to lay the subject, which is truly national, in such manner as your Lordship may think proper, before his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in Council, for his Royal Highness's most gracious consideration. And to pray that Dr. Maclean, *who has shown himself to be singularly qualified for the perilous undertaking*, may be enabled, at the public expense, to renew his experiments for demonstrating the real character of the plague. *And in acknowledgment*



*of the zeal, resolution, and devotedness, which he has already shown in the service of mankind, that he be encouraged by some present reward.*

I have the honour to be, with the highest regard, my Lord, &c.

JACOB BOSANQUET, Deputy Governor.

Lord Grenville to Dr. Maclean.

Dropmore, June 30, 1818.

Sir,

In conformity to the desire of the Levant Company, I have requested that the Lord President would lay before his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in Council, their humble request that the subject of your memorial might be considered and fully investigated. If any other steps that I can properly take in the progress of the business shall appear to me likely to promote that object, I shall have great pleasure in doing so to the utmost of my power.—I am, Sir, with great truth and regard, your faithful servant,

GRENVILLE.

*The Secretary to the East India Company to Dr. Maclean.*

Sir,

East India House, the 28th August 1818.

I have to acquaint you, that the Court of Directors of the East India Company have resolved, with a view to mark the sense which they entertain of your merits, as well as to defray, in part, the expenses which must have been incurred by you in the prosecution of your laudable and useful inquiries, to present you with the sum of two hundred pounds, (200*l.*) a warrant for which now lies in the Company's treasury payable to you accordingly.—I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

J. DART, Secretary.

The system of procrastination still continued to be acted upon. On the 24th of September, Dr. Maclean was informed by Lord Grenville that he had received a letter from Lord Harrowby, apprising him that the consideration of the Levant Company's representation had been referred to the Committee of Trade. On the 29th of September, in an interview with the President of the Board of Trade, (the Honourable J. F. Robinson,) it was agreed that the second volume of Dr. Maclean's work upon Epidemic Diseases should be referred to the College of Physicians. Mr. Robinson, however, cautiously evaded all reference to the resumption of the investigation, and alluded very ambiguously to the reward of past services, both of which had been recommended by the Levant Company. The reference to the College of Physicians was made on the 30th of September, and their answer is contained in their second report, published in the preceding number of the 'Herald.'

It was in vain that Dr. Maclean addressed a remonstrance dated October 8, 1818, to Dr. Latham, the President of that learned body, respecting their unjustifiable Report upon his first volume.

'Notwithstanding the proofs,' (says he,) 'with which that volume abounds, of the non-existence of contagion in epidemic diseases, the college thought fit to uphold that palpable imposture of the sixteenth century; and the Privy Council did not feel themselves warranted, against the advice of the college, in abolishing the existing establishments of plague police.'

The injurious effects of this authoritative advice of the college he comprehends under the following heads: 'A continuance of all that portion of the calamities incidental to epidemic and pestilential diseases, which depends upon their adventitious causes; or a destruction of the human race, at the rate of several millions annually. 2. A continuance of the immense expenditure, and numberless vexations and inconveniences, occasioned by quarantine lazarettoes, and other establishments of plague police. 3. A continuance of great and extensive injury to commerce, navigation, and many others of the best interests of communities. 4. The prosecution of inefficient, or pernicious, and most expensive measures, and the neglect of cheap and efficient ones, in respect to the fever, falsely denominated contagious, which now afflicts this and other countries. 5. Private injury and injustice.

'The conviction,' says Dr. Maclean, in his Remonstrance to the College, 'which has been already produced by (the first volume of) my work, has not been confined to this country, or to medical men. In America, where there are neither prejudices nor prepossessions to gratify, respecting myself, my doctrines, or my opponents, the 'Medical Reviews,' as far back as November 1817, have proclaimed the triumph of my refutation of contagion in epidemic diseases, regarding my proofs as conclusive.\* Was this unknown to the (London) College in March 1818?'

After the Report of the college on the second volume of his work had been transmitted to the Privy Council, and the Privy Council had communicated the purport of it to Dr. Maclean, he thought it expedient, in a letter dated the 8th of December 1818, to represent to Lord Grenville 'the injurious consequences of the delay on the part of that body, in replying to the representation of the Levant Company, transmitted through his Lordship in June last.' He had, at this period, been already kept in suspense three years by the various departments to which he had occasion to apply.

'Under these circumstances, (he concludes,) I trust your Lordship will not deem it intrusive, especially at a moment when an approaching removal of the actual President of the Council is publicly announced, and the appointment of a successor might occasion further delay, if I solicit the favour of your Lordship to be pleased to take such steps as may seem to your Lordship most fitting, in order to obtain a decision, which should put an end to a state of uncertainty, so greatly injurious to the individual, to the nation, and to the general interests of humanity and of science.'

To this representation the following answer was shortly afterwards returned:

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\* 'New York Medical Repository' for November 1817.

*Lord Grenville to Dr. Maclean.*

SIR,

Dropmore, Dec. 11, 1818.

I am truly concerned to learn that the investigation of the subject to which your letter refers, is still attended with so much delay. But I do not well see what more it belongs to me to do, to accelerate the inquiry. My own individual opinion of its importance (strong as it is) I have no right to obtrude on the offices of Government. And the representation which I have already made on behalf of the Levant Company, and at their desire, must fully demonstrate the strong interest taken in the subject by that respectable body.

I should advise your presenting a fresh memorial upon it directly to the Committee of Trade, to which office the Lord President informed me it was officially referred. My letter is already before them, which can leave no doubt either of my own most earnest wish (if my individual wish could be of any importance in such a case) that the matter may be fully and impartially investigated, or of the manner in which the Levant Company view the subject, as connected with their commercial interests, with those of the country at large, and with the general interests of humanity. To these circumstances you are at full liberty to refer, if you judge that any advantage can arise from your doing so, either by the production of this letter, or by any more direct reference to my testimony.—I am, Sir, with great truth and regard, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

GRENVILLE.

In conformity with his Lordship's advice, a Memorial, dated the 11th of December 1818, was transmitted to the Board of Trade, referring to the various proceedings and representations of Dr. Maclean, and adverting to the great and unnecessary delays which had taken place. The result of this Memorial was an acquiescence on the part of the Board of Trade in the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons to investigate the subject. This Committee was appointed on the 11th of February 1819, of which Sir John Jackson, member for Dover, and a Director of the East India Company, was chairman. The Report was as follows:

*Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Contagion of the Plague.*

The select Committee appointed to consider the validity of the doctrine of contagion in the plague; and to report their observations thereupon, together with the minutes of the evidence taken before them, to the House, have considered the matters to them referred, and have agreed upon the following report:

Your Committee being appointed to consider the validity of the received doctrines concerning the nature of contagious and infectious diseases, as distinguished from other epidemics, have proceeded to examine a number of medical gentlemen, whose practical experience or general knowledge of the subject appeared to your Committee most likely to furnish the means of acquiring the most satisfactory information. They have also had the evidence of a number of persons whose residence in infected countries, or whose commercial or official employments enabled them to communicate information as to facts, and on the principle and efficacy of the laws of quarantine; all the

opinions of the medical men whom your Committee have examined, with the exception of two, are in favour of the received doctrine, that the plague is a disease communicable by contact only, and different in that respect from epidemic fever; nor do your Committee see any thing in the rest of the evidence they have collected, which would induce them to dissent from that opinion. It appears from some of the evidence, that the extension and virulence of the disorder is considerably modified by atmospheric influence; and a doubt has prevailed, whether, under any circumstance, the disease could be received and propagated in the climate of Britain. No fact whatever has been stated to show, that any instance of the disorder has occurred, or that it has been brought into the lazarettoes for many years; but your Committee do not think themselves warranted to infer from thence, that the disease cannot exist in England; because, in the first place, a disease resembling in most respects the plague is well known to have prevailed here in many periods of our history, particularly in 1663-6; and further, it appears that in many places, and in climates of various nature, the plague has prevailed after intervals of very considerable duration.

Your Committee would also observe, down to the year 1800, regulations were adopted, which must have had the effect of preventing goods infected with the plague from being shipped directly for Britain; and they abstain from giving any opinion on the nature and application of the quarantine regulations, as not falling within the scope of inquiry to which they have been directed; but they see no reason to question the validity of the principles on which such regulations appear to have been adopted.

*June 14, 1810.*

This further scene of the farce of inquiry being terminated without any other result than what had been anticipated, in the suppression of truth, and the strangulation of discovery, it was deemed necessary by Dr. Maclean, on the 22d of July 1819, again to address the Secretary to the Board of Trade, 'requesting to be specifically informed of the decision which the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade had been pleased to form on the subject of the representation of the Levant Company to the Privy Council in June 1818,' *more than a twelvemonth before.* He received the following reply:

Office of Committee of Privy Council for Trade,  
Whitehall, 29th July 1819.

SIR,

Having laid before the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade your letter of the 22d instant, wherein you request to know their Lordships' decision on the subject of the representation made by the Levant Company in June 1818, respecting your inquiry into the Plague, &c., I am directed to acquaint you, that their Lordships have made application to the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury, with the view of ascertaining what sum could be assigned out of any fund which may be at their Lordships' disposal for the purpose of granting a remuneration to you. This course of proceeding has been found to be absolutely necessary, as the Lords of this Committee have no control over any fund whatever.

With respect to the prosecution of your inquiries at the public expense, as

proposed by you in a former communication, the Lords of this Committee have only to say, that, after the decided opinion expressed by the House of Commons, founded upon a long and laborious investigation, and in exact conformity with the sentiments previously expressed by the College of Physicians, they do not feel that they should be justified in laying a charge of such a description on the public purse.—I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS LACK.

Seeing that the *opinions* of the House of Commons and the *sentiments* of the College of Physicians were to be made the pretext for discouraging further inquiry, and considering the application to the Lords of the Treasury, now announced, on a matter which had been pending more than a twelvemonth, as nothing more than a mere evasion, Dr. Maclean thought it necessary, in order that all the proceedings might remain on permanent record, to address a 'Solemn Remonstrance and Protest' to the Board of Trade, against all the decisions which had been formed upon the subject of his researches. It is dated September 29, 1819, and begins thus :

' My LORDS,

' Were I silently to acquiesce in any of the decisions which have been formed, on the subject of my discoveries respecting epidemic diseases, I should justly forfeit all pretensions to the character which I am ambitious of deserving amongst honest and enlightened men. I now, therefore, in the name of science, of humanity, of justice, and of what may be deemed not unworthy the attention of all administrations in the present time, real economy, do hereby remonstrate and most solemnly protest against the whole of these decisions.

' The various tribunals, which, since my return to this country, have taken cognizance of the results of my Researches in the Levant, concerning the Plague, may be said to be in their composition so interwoven with each other, if not identified, that the different decisions which have emanated from them cannot be otherwise considered than as parts of a connected whole; the Lords of the Committee for Trade being members of the Privy Council; the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider the validity of the doctrine of contagion in the plague, containing members of the Privy Council and the Board of Trade; and each of these bodies being interspersed with Cabinet Ministers; whilst to the College of Physicians seems to be assigned the special duty of covering, with the mantle of arrogated authority, the delusiveness of the investigation.'

In this document, it is shown, that in their origin and effects, the quarantine or sanitary laws, ought to be considered in no other light than as choice engines of despotism: the responsibility is explained, which is incurred by those, who, by persisting to maintain a demonstrated imposture and pernicious delusion, contribute to withhold from the world the benefits of highly important discoveries: the proofs of those discoveries are shown to be as conclusive as have ever been adduced in any department of science: the reports of the College of Physicians to the Privy Council,

dated March 31 and Nov. 7, 1818, concerning the first and second volume of Dr. Maclean's work upon *Epidemic Diseases*, are proved to be wholly composed of assertions, either absurd, evasive irrelevant, or palpably unfounded: the report of the Committee of the House of Commons on contagion in the plague, dated June 14, 1819, is demonstrated, in as far as it is intelligible, to be contrary to the evidence laid before them; it is shown that, if even contagion were admitted to exist in the plague of the *Levant*, quarantine could have no object in *England*; the attempts, upon false and frivolous pretences, to obscure the credit, and to withhold the reward due to the exertions and discoveries of Dr. Maclean, are proved to be unjust, unwarrantable and disgraceful: It is made clear, that, in refusing to grant, out of the public purse, the means of further prosecuting his inquiries, the administration are not justified either by the report of the Committee of the House of Commons, or the reports of the College of Physicians; but that, on the contrary, further investigation is, upon the showing of both these bodies, an imperious duty; and that to persist, in the face of demonstration, to maintain expensive and pernicious regulations founded on a palpable imposture, and a delusion disgraceful to the human intellect, can be regarded in no other light than a wilful and criminal perseverance in error. All these propositions, together with many others of importance, will be more fully considered when we come to a subsequent stage of these proceedings.

On the winding up, in 1819, of the inquiries which related to the validity of the doctrine of pestilential contagion and the merits of the laws of quarantine, it became manifest to Dr. Maclean, that hostility to efficient investigation, if not to himself personally, was so strong and general in those quarters in which the principal power resided of accelerating or retarding the progress of knowledge on the subject of his pursuits, that any further efforts of his in England were likely to be for the present unavailing. It was not long, however, before circumstances arose in another quarter, which called, on his part, for fresh exertions. The existence of a popular government in Spain, at the period of the occurrence of the fever of Barcelona, in 1821, afforded a favourable opportunity of explaining to the inhabitants of that country, to whom, from the recentness of free discussion, such investigations were necessarily new, the true nature of sanitary laws, their objects, and effects. Relying upon a fair examination of facts by the real representatives of the people, even in a country so backward as Spain, he proceeded, by the authority of the Spanish government, to investigate that fever.

'Among the medical faculty of the capital of Catalonia,' (says Dr. Maclean in his "*Evils of Quarantine Laws*,"') 'I was rejoiced to find the spirit of free inquiry, and of liberal discussion, in a state of high activity. In co-operation with ten native and four foreign physicians, who agreed regularly to assemble

two evenings in the week, I immediately entered upon a minute and patient investigation of the subject of my inquiry. Our Society, thus spontaneously formed, had the remarkable, and probably unprecedented peculiarities, of being composed of physicians of four different nations, of being all volunteers serving at their own expense, and of being actuated neither by hope of reward nor dread of displeasure from any government, sect, corporation, or individual.'

The result of their united labours, continued for two months, was an exposition of facts, emphatically called 'The Manifesto of the Fifteen Physicians,' published in Barcelona in February 1822, presented to the Cortes on their assembling in March, and reprinted by Dr. Maclean at Madrid in April, for general circulation. But as this Manifesto only related to the individual fever of Barcelona, in 1821, Dr. Maclean thought it necessary to address separate memorials to the national congress, 'disproving, upon the broad basis of general principles, the existence of contagion universally in epidemic diseases.' To this effect, he successively transmitted to them four different representations; and had the satisfaction to find, that, among the non-medical members of the Cortes, their perusal was followed by a rapidly increasing conviction. The principle, that, on a question of science, facts alone should be attended to, was virtually recognised and consecrated in a very remarkable manner, by a memorable decision of that body, in October 1822. It was the first decision ever pronounced upon this subject, in a legislative assembly, precisely in point. Regardless of the *unanimous dictum* even of the medical members of their own body, being *nine* in number, as well as the known opinion of an immense majority of all the physicians of Spain, they rejected *in toto*, after a solemn debate, and by a majority of sixty-five to forty-eight votes, the project of a code of sanitary laws, which had been for years in careful preparation, successively by a commission of the government, and two committees of public health of the Cortes. This was a result that far exceeded even his most sanguine expectations. Previous to his departure from Madrid, the King of Spain conferred on Dr. Maclean the cross of the order of Charles III., as announced to him in the following terms by the minister of the interior :

*Government of the Peninsula.—Section of Benevolence and Health.*

'I have, of this date, communicated to the Minister of Grace and Justice, as follows: "In order to recompense in some measure the important services rendered to humanity by the English physician, Don Carlos Maclean, in proceeding at his own expense from London to Barcelona, under the critical circumstances in which that city experienced all the calamities of the yellow fever, with the philanthropic object of examining the nature and progress of that malady, and also in presenting, as the fruit of his interesting investigation, a printed exposition, manifesting the principles on which that celebrated professor founds his opinion of the non-existence of contagion in the yellow fever, his Majesty has been pleased to invest the said Don Carlos Maclean

with the cross of the royal and distinguished order of Charles III., directing at the same time his Exposition, above mentioned, to be transmitted to the General Direction of Studies for their opinion in a matter of such great importance." By order of his Majesty, I communicate this to your Excellency, that you may take such measures in consequence as belong to your department.

' By royal command, I transmit this for your information and satisfaction. God preserve you many years.

' *Moscoso.*

In passing through Paris, on his return from Spain, Dr. Maclean learned that the medical commissioners of the French Government to Barcelona, smarting under the ridicule with which their proceedings in that place had been overwhelmed, had thought fit to suppress their promised reports on the subject of the fever; and it was only through the kindness of Mr. Galatin, envoy from the United States, that he was enabled to peruse a copy of their first report, which had been presented to that minister by Dr. Pariset, before its suppression; from which perusal he found reason to regard that measure as by far the most discreet act connected with the proceedings of this extraordinary commission for maintaining pestilential contagion on its usurped throne. Nothing could be more extravagant than the narratives of that commission, excepting, indeed, the honours heaped upon its members by the French Government, for disgracing themselves by politically violating all the laws of philosophical investigation. But although the ravages of this epidemic were, for political motives, almost incredibly exaggerated by the French press, of which Dr. Pariset, the chief commissioner, *was at that time, or had been recently, a censor*; these exaggerations being spread by repetition in the journals of other countries; yet its mortality, owing principally to these hypocritical extravagances, and the consequent increased severity of the Sanitary Laws, was truly formidable, as is evident from the fact, that nine physicians and ten surgeons, being a fourth, or perhaps a third, of all the medical faculty of Barcelona and Barcelonata, perished in the course of its progress.

Upon his return from Spain, Dr. Maclean occupied himself in vain in making fresh representations, founded on his recent proceedings, to the usual quarters, in the hope of obtaining some direct parliamentary proceedings, or the opportunity of affording further proofs of the validity of his conclusions. The accustomed shuffles, evasions, delusive references from office to office, and subterfuges without end, were almost undisguisedly resorted to upon this occasion. The royal permission to wear the cross of the order of Charles III., which had been conferred upon him by the King of Spain, and a sum of 750*l.* from the treasury, in reimbursement of the many thousands which he had expended, were all that he could obtain from the justice of the Government. But, although they would not adopt any of his conclusions, as the avowed grounds of



their measures, they did not scruple to act upon them by a side wind, and in a manner that cannot fail to be deemed, by unbiassed persons, as most disgraceful. A parliamentary Committee had been sitting on the foreign trade of the country; and to this Committee, by which not only all allusion to the proceedings of Dr. Maclean was cautiously suppressed, but even his evidence, and that of all other persons who did not believe in the received doctrine of pestilential contagion, positively refused to be received, was referred in 1824, the subject of the quarantine laws. Dr. Maclean was, at this period, occupied in publishing his '*Evils of Quarantine Laws*,' &c., as the results of his researches in Spain and other countries; and, being determined not to allow personal consideration to interfere with the progress of elucidation, in a matter of such great public importance, he regularly communicated the sheets, as they were printed off, to a member of the Committee, by whom his evidence had been refused; and the degree in which their Report surpasses in sense and liberality the evidence of the medical believers, to whom they thought proper to limit their examinations, affords satisfactory proof that they made ample use of this new source of information. It is worthy of notice, that, although *eight* Fellows of the College of Physicians, regularly drilled, were examined by the Committee on the contagion of the plague in 1819, not one of them appeared before the Committee on Quarantine in 1824, although no doubt could be entertained of their continued orthodoxy: and that none of the *five* orthodox medical gentlemen, who were selected for examination in 1824, with perhaps one exception, had ever seen a case of plague in his life!

The majority of these medical witnesses were for retaining the probationary airings, whilst the Committee, in their Report, recommend their abolition. The former talked of thirty-five or forty days, as the minimum of quarantine for ships with foul bills of health, whilst the latter were for reducing them to twenty-one days, probationary airings included. It is, indeed, most strongly evinced by the language of the first paragraph, as well as by the whole tenor of their Report, that this Committee were almost, if not wholly, convinced by the arguments of Dr. Maclean; and, that, in forming the inconsistent conclusions at which they thought proper to arrive, they were actuated much more by the supposed force of public prejudice in favour of the institution of quarantine, than by any deference for the medical opinions which were presented to them in evidence. We say '*inconsistent conclusions*,' because nothing can be more inconsistent, in persons believing the existence of pestilential contagion, and the utility of quarantine laws, than to recommend any diminution of restrictions, which, if the doctrines upon which they are founded are true, ought to be everywhere augmented, and universally extended.—We now proceed to consider their Report:

'The influence' (they say) 'which this law is *supposed* to have in the protection of the public health, *its bearing on some of our strongest prejudices*, and its embracing the various precautions which have been long deemed our safeguards against the introduction of contagious diseases, from whatever part of the world the danger may be apprehended, renders every recommendation that may effect it a matter at once of general interest and peculiar delicacy. On the one hand, care is to be taken that in the attempt to relieve commerce from burdens and inconveniences which press upon it, and to afford it the utmost freedom of which it is susceptible, we do not expose the country to the most formidable risk. On the other hand, that neither ancient prejudice, nor an excess of anxiety to avert possible danger, should induce the continuance of restrictions *inessential to their object*, and should thus deny to the trade any of those facilities which, consistently with every prudential regard to considerations of protection and safety, it may be permitted to enjoy.'

The Committee then enter into a detail of their proceedings, as follows:

'In the commencement of their inquiry, your Committee thought it right to call for the report of a select Committee, which was appointed, in 1819, to consider the validity of the doctrine of contagion in the plague, and the evidence on which their report was founded. At that period, the long received opinion that the plague was a contagious disease, liable to be conveyed from infected countries, and communicated by means of persons and articles of merchandize, had recently been called in question, by some persons of the medical profession, *with such effect as to induce the House to institute an inquiry into the subject by means of a select Committee.*

'Your Committee feels that the burthens and inconveniences complained of by the mercantile and shipping interests are of considerable magnitude, and that some relief from them would be not only a great boon to the trade on which they generally operate, but seems necessary as well to the preservation of a part of it, as to afford encouragement to a new and improving branch of commerce, likely to become highly valuable to our manufactures. They allude to that which promises to be produced in consequence of the increased cultivation of cotton in Egypt, the export of which to this country first commenced about two years ago, and has so rapidly grown, that the amount of fifty thousand bags is expected to be imported in the present year. From hence the manufacturers of this article will probably derive, in future, a large proportion of their supply; the interest therefore of our national industry, in one of its most productive branches, unites itself with that of the ship-owners and merchants, in making it a matter of importance to extend to the importations from Egypt every facility of which they are capable, without too much relaxing in the attention due to the security and health of the United Kingdom.' (Report, p. 7.)

That the quarantine laws press singularly hard, in their effect upon the price of the raw material of cotton, is most certain. It is not too much to say, with the prospect which now presents of the increased culture of that article in Egypt, that the abolition of these restrictions would considerably diminish the price to the manufacturer. At present, their effect is to impose upon cotton an amount

of charges, after arriving at the quarantine establishment, at Milford Haven, considerably exceeding the half of the total amount of charges incurred in the transmission from Egypt to England. The idea continues to be entertained, that France may compete with us in the manufacture of cotton. If our quarantine laws impose a tax of ten per cent. on raw cotton, or, in other words, increase the price to the manufacturer to that extent, is it not evident that we pay a premium of ten per cent. to excite that competition? And would there be any longer danger of competition, if the premium were discontinued? Whilst this premium, or any part of it, is maintained; just in that ratio shall we be giving a bounty to excite competition on the part of the continental manufacturer.—The Report proceeds thus:

‘ With a view to determining to what extent the increased facilities to that and every other branch of commerce affected by these laws may be with safety and prudence afforded, your Committee have called before them several medical men of eminence, whose opinions appeared the best calculated to assist them in pursuing the object of their inquiry, and coming to a satisfactory conclusion. In making their selection, the House will observe they have confined themselves to those whose attention had not only been directed to this subject, but whose opinions were understood to be in favour of the received doctrine of contagion; their reason for this was, that it being their object to ascertain the degree of relaxation in the present regulations that might be safely adopted, consistently with the existence of danger, no advantage could arise from having recourse to the opinions of those who entirely disbelieved the possibility of contagion, and considered every precaution against it misplaced and unnecessary.’ (Rep. p. 8.)

If the conduct here openly avowed does not amount to the suppression of truth, and the strangulation of discovery, we do not know the meaning of words. How very different were the proceedings of the Spanish Cortes and Government upon a similar occasion! In consequence of a decree of the Extraordinary Cortes, in December 1821, the Government addressed an order to the Political Chiefs of Catalonia and Andalusia, &c., directing that these authorities should concur with the academies and schools of physic, in commissioning the most enlightened professors and other persons of distinguished talent, who should be requested to transmit data and observations concerning the yellow fever, for the information of Government; taking care that THOSE OF DIFFERENT OPINIONS, ON THE POINT OF CONTAGION, SHOULD BE AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE IN EQUAL NUMBERS. This contrast between good faith and bad faith in matters of scientific inquiry, deserves to be recorded for the benefit of our successors in all future generations.

‘ In the opinions delivered by the medical men who have been examined,’ say the Committee, ‘ there has appeared some variety as to particular points.’ The truth is, that ‘ there has not only

been no general agreement whatever among them upon any single point,' but that each is, on many points, *wholly inconsistent with himself*. Respecting probationary airings, for instance, whilst Dr. Pym 'is of opinion that they may be discontinued,' Sir Gilbert Blane 'considers them useful,' Dr. Newberry as 'the best security we have,' and Mr. Saunders as 'indispensable.' Respecting the periods of quarantine, the efficacy of fumigation and baths, and every other point, the witnesses equally differ. And one of them, after having, in one place, stated that 'no part of the quarantine laws could, in his opinion, be dispensed with,' in another place says, that 'considering the period from October to March to be less susceptible than the other months of the year, he would be for greatly abridging quarantine for the accommodation of commerce, and, if it were not for timidity and some share of responsibility lighting on his head, he should say, that in the susceptible months also, it might be very safely abridged! Sir Gilbert Blane will perhaps show us, how, by the aid of medical logic, these contradictions may be reconciled.

Another of the medical witnesses of 1819 (Dr. Granville) makes the three following contradictory statements almost in a breath. He 'ascribes our not having the plague in England for 154 years to quarantine regulations.' 'The only way he can account for the plague not having taken place during the last 151 years, is, that *it was never shipped from the Levant*.' Again, he 'does not admit, that, if the disease be shipped, *any circumstances will prevent its spreading*.' Here quarantine is doubly demolished by one of the most orthodox of the faithful; for, if 'it was never shipped from the Levant,' and if 'no circumstances will prevent its spreading when shipped,' it is self-evident that our not having the plague in England cannot be ascribed to quarantine regulations.

Let us now show that the doctrines respecting quarantine are universally at variance with the doctrines respecting pestilential contagion, whether we take those of the medical witnesses of 1819, or of 1824, or of the elder or younger contagionists of any other periods. Here every man who is not in favour of an interminable quarantine, (a doctrine which probably no man will avow,) is necessarily at variance with himself, as well as with all his neighbours. But in order to avoid repetition, it will be sufficient for us to take the doctrines of the medical witnesses of 1824, once for all, as examples of these absurdities and contradictions.

Drs. Pym and Granville, in proposing a curtailment of quarantine, are acting in direct contradiction to the version of the doctrine of pestilential contagion, which they themselves profess to entertain; and they, as well as the three other medical witnesses, in not recommending that quarantine should be lengthened in duration, increased in rigour, and universally extended, are acting in equal contradiction to the version of that doctrine transmitted to us by

the elder contagionists, who may be regarded as the fathers of the system. Fracastorius, Forestus, Benedictus, Diemerbroek, and Mead, are at least entitled to be considered as equal in authority to the five medical witnesses who have been selected for examination by the Committee. And what is the version of the doctrine of pestilential contagion, which they have transmitted to us? That a pestilence has been produced, by a contagion, which had lain in a feather-bed *for seven years*; and another by a contagion which had lain in rags *for fourteen years*. (A detailed account of these, and of similar ridiculous narratives, will be found in Dr Maclean's *Researches in the Levant concerning the Plague*.) Here we have two periods assigned, that are, at any rate, specific—*seven years for feathers*, and *fourteen years for rags*, indicating also specific periods for quarantine; not like the vague and indefinite periods of Dr. Granville of '*many months*,' and of Dr. Pym of '*a considerable time, of which it is impossible to judge*,' leaving us in a state of utter uncertainty respecting the length of quarantine that ought, upon their own principles, to be imposed. It does not appear whether Sir Gilbert Blane, Dr. Newberry, and Mr. Green, adopt the shorter or the longer of these periods, or any intermediate one. But, since they are believers in pestilential contagion, it is certain, that whatever version of the doctrine they follow, they are inconsistent, in not considering an extension of duration, an increase of rigour, and a universal extension of quarantine regulations to be necessary. As the small pox and vaccine viruses, after being transmitted to the East or West Indies, or the Mediterranean, produce their appropriate maladies, after several years, so a virus still more powerful, as the supposed contagion of plague is presumed to be, might be expected to remain in feathers, rags, or cotton, seven, fourteen, twenty-one, or almost any number of years, that it might continue undisturbed. Taking this doctrine to the extent that it fairly admits of, no quarantine could be deemed efficient that was not of the duration of *years*. A quarantine of twenty, thirty, forty, or sixty *days*, would be a mere mockery—a farce, under the shortest period that pestilential contagion is supposed capable of remaining in goods.

From the evidence of all the witnesses, medical and non-medical, of 1819 and 1824, as well as from official custom-house returns from Rochester, Portsmouth, Falmouth, Milford, Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull, it does not appear that any case of plague has ever at any period of time occurred at any of the quarantine stations of England. And, if we may judge from the manner of performing the expurgation of goods at the principal stations of England and Ireland, this exemption from sickness could not in any degree have depended upon that operation. At Stangate Creek, according to the evidence of Mr. Saunders, the Superintendent, 'the first class goods are sometimes left without the probationary airings. In the

case of a ship with a thousand bales of cotton, it would not be possible to air them within fifteen days upon deck. The whole of the interior of the cotton is not opened to the air, with a clean bill of health.' The testimony of Mr. McNeil, Superintendent at Carlingford, is still more unequivocal. 'There is no floating lazaretto, or lazaretto ashore. There is no other place to air goods than the deck of the vessel in which they come. In the last three years, there have been forty-two vessels. They never do more than hoist the bags upon the deck, as many as they can get at near the hatches. There is no means of examining or airing the cargo with a foul bill of health. The bags have never been opened. The captains have always stated, that it was impossible to do it. Has never heard of any sickness at Carlingford. There is no physician within ten miles. Vessels with foul bills of health have repeatedly arrived at Carlingford. In point of fact, a bale of cotton is not opened at any time.'

It cannot be supposed that the Superintendents of Quarantine would have represented the expurgation of goods to be performed less perfectly than was in reality the case. But, according to their testimony, it must have always been inefficient; and, if contagion existed, every ship that arrived in England from a pestilential country, in a pestilential season, would have had it on board; and it would have as often been sent into circulation among the community. Such a circumstance, however, has never been known to happen. In 1823, there were 857 ships or vessels detained in quarantine in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from various parts of the world. Supposing a proportional number to have arrived from pestilential countries, since our first commercial intercourse with Turkey, they must in two centuries and a half have amounted to upwards of fifty thousand. But in the evidence adduced before the two Committees of the House of Commons, it is upon record, on the unanimous testimony of the witnesses, as well as by official returns, that in no one of these ships has any case of pestilential sickness been ever known to occur,—a fact from which it may be conclusively inferred not only that pestilential contagion has no existence, but that, if it did exist in the plague in the *Levant*, quarantine would still have no object in *England*. This double inference is inevitable.

In the interval between the publication of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons of 1824, on Quarantine, and the introduction of a bill into Parliament on that subject, in 1825, Dr. Maclean proceeded to Liverpool, with a view to explain to the merchants of that city connected with the *Levant* trade the real nature of the mischievous restrictions with which that commerce is so unnecessarily trammelled. In October 1824, he there delivered a lecture upon that subject, before a most respectable audience,

which the Liverpool Mediterranean Association requested his permission to publish, in a letter from their Secretary, of which the following is an extract :

‘ I am directed by the Committee to state, that they are fully sensible of the benefits that have accrued to commerce from your labours in investigating the evils of Quarantine Laws, and have great satisfaction in acknowledging the same. They have at the same time deputed me to convey their entire approbation of your Lecture on Quarantine Laws, recently given at the Lyceum, and respectfully to solicit your permission to the publication thereof by the Association.’

That similar favourable sentiments of Dr. Maclean’s labours were entertained by the commercial and shipping interests in general, is corroborated by the following extract from the Report of the Committee of Ship Owners presented to the General Annual Meeting, held at the City of London Tavern, 23d December 1824.

‘ The Committee cannot omit this opportunity of expressing, in concurrence with the sentiments of other public bodies and distinguished individuals, their high opinion of the important services which have been rendered to the community at large, and to the shipping interests in particular, by Dr. Charles Maclean, in his able writings, tending to establish that the Governments of Europe have acted in error in burthening shipping and commerce with restrictions from the fear of contagion. And the Committee hope that the ameliorations of the Quarantine System now about to take place may be succeeded by other measures of a similar nature, until the whole of these restrictions, which cannot be proved to be indispensable, shall have been abolished.’

In the *Examiner* of January the 9th, 1825, the lecture at Liverpool, which contains an analysis of the Report of the Committee of 1824, and of the evidence laid before them, is thus spoken of :

‘ Dr. Maclean, who has so much distinguished himself by perseverance, courage, and humanity, in his arduous inquiries on the subject of contagion ; who has exposed himself, in various climates, to all sorts of losses and perils, lately delivered a lecture at Liverpool on this most important topic, which is just now published. Some years ago we noticed the honourable labours of this gentleman ; and every thing that we have since heard, more and more satisfies us that he is right in his opinion, that the received doctrine respecting contagion is altogether erroneous, and that the entire system of Quarantine, with its enormous cost and highly injurious consequences to trade, ought to be wholly abolished. It is clear to us, that, if there were no crooked interests at work, this abolition would take place at once ; but when office and patronage are at stake, what signifies the general advantage ? A perusal of this single lecture would, we suspect, satisfy any intelligent man that our Quarantine Laws, at least, are at once both absurd and mischievous. Sooner or later, the whole system will fall before Dr. Maclean’s well-directed battery, and the public will then know to whom it is indebted for its better knowledge, as well as for its relief from a most pernicious burthen.’

## ON THE NOBILITY OF THE SKIN.

## CHAP. III.

*Observations upon those Countries and classes of Persons among whom the prejudice of the Nobility of the Skin is most rooted.*

THE contrivances by which Europeans have endeavoured to render Africans and their colour contemptible, have been attended with success in various classes of society among those nations who possess colonies and slaves. But the prejudice has most tenacity wherever there are negro-traders and planters, and at those courts where certain individuals, some holding colonial property, others interested in the traffic of human beings, share between them the blood-stained profits of the slave trade.

In general, white women, abjuring the natural softness of their sex, have shown themselves more cruel than men towards the negro race \*, especially towards negresses and women of colour, when the beauty or graces, natural or acquired, of the latter, have caused them to be considered as rivals capable of provoking conjugal infidelity.

The aversion felt by Creole women, in this case, rests upon two motives : the one, being vanity, is blameable ; the other arises necessarily from the respect due to morals. The flexibility of the female character does not exclude the most rigid inflexibility whenever the interests of self-love are concerned. A Creole lady has lately been found in the highest state of irritation, from having seen a white servant behind a carriage belonging to a black and a person of mixed blood.

The prejudice concerning the nobility of colour never existed among nations who possessed no colonies ; and among those with colonial possessions, it has sometimes given way to the influence of milder manners. Amo, a negro, took his doctor's degree at the university of Wittemberg, and afterwards presided where white students supported their theses. Hannibal, in Russia, rose to be lieutenant-general, and directed the service of engineers ; Angelo-Solineau, generally esteemed at the court of Vienna, obtained in marriage a noble lady of Christiani ; John Latinus was professor at Grenada ; and, even in France, the celebrated Saint-George, who excelled in every elegant accomplishment, was received and admired in what was perhaps unjustly termed good company.

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\* See ' Notes on the West-Indies,' by Pinkard. In 8vo, London, 1816, p. 343 and 348.



Although the states of Spain and Portugal contained an enormous number of slaves, their treatment was not, in general, very severe; a spirit of religion bestowed on them the benefits of leisure and instruction. These two powers, in their foreign possessions, had negroes and persons of mixed-blood, who were lawyers, physicians, military men, and priests. Two natives of Congo have even been elevated by the Portuguese to the episcopacy, to which they proved an honour by their good conduct.\*

In Europe, the employments and habits of women tend to bring the females of a family into contact with each other more frequently than men, between whom there is the same difference of rank. But this remark is not applicable to the conduct of Creole ladies in the colonies. Nothing can be more ridiculous than the extreme pains which they take, especially at Louisiana, to avoid all connexion with persons of their own sex who are in any degree, however distant or collateral, affected with the taint of an African genealogy.

At Cuba, when a white lady goes to church, a slave carries before her a carpet, and sometimes a little chair; but a black or half-cast woman, however rich, must never dare aspire to such a prerogative. A recent traveller makes mention of a quadroon lady who vainly solicited to be authorised to marry a white man.†

The prejudice of colour exists in a supreme degree in the English, French, and Dutch colonies, and, above all, in the United States. An anecdote is related concerning Washington upon this subject, which tarnishes a little the glory of that great man. He had a great many slaves; an English author, Edward Rushton, addressed to him, in 1797, an excellent memoir, in the epistolary form, upon the contradiction which his conduct displayed when opposed to the republican principles which he had so well asserted. Washington, by way of reply, sent him back his letter enclosed in a sheet of blank paper.‡

The peremptory arguments of Edward Rushton were applied to the republic of the United States, whose citizens are, in his eyes, highly reprehensible. 'You justify' said he 'your own revolution, upon the plea of the rights of liberty; but when your slaves require to share in the blessings of freedom, why do not you allow them those rights of which you are so tenacious for yourselves?'

The message addressed on the 5th of December 1825, by President Quincy Adams to Congress, is a document rich in principles, observations, and facts, upon which the mind and the heart may

\* See *Noticias do Portugal*, etc. par Faria. In-fol. Lisboa, 1740, p. 222.

† See *l'Île de Cuba et le Havane*, par M. Masse. In 8vo, Paris, 1825, p. 171 and the following, et p. 263.

‡ See *Poems and other writings by the late Edward Rushton*, etc. London. 1824, p. 23 of the life of the author, and p. 169 and the following of the work.

rest with interest. It is there proved that the government steadily pursues the execution of the law against the slave trade; but, at the same time, we must regret to observe, that it does not contain any measure, adopted or proposed, to hasten the final abolition of slavery in the Southern States of the republic. It will, I am aware, be answered, that, according to the federal compact, the article of slavery is left among those of separate legislature, peculiar to each state of which the Union is composed; but might not some indication of the real interest of the planter, as well as those of humanity, have given additional value and importance to the message of the President?

DEPENDENCE OF SHERIFFS ON THE PLEASURE OF THE  
GOVERNMENT AT BOMBAY.

THE avowed objects of the legislature in establishing British Courts of Justice at the three Presidencies in India, was to prevent acts of oppression being committed by the Government of India towards British subjects living within the limits over which the jurisdiction of such Courts extended. As the duties of such Courts would, therefore, frequently bring them into conflict with despotically inclined governors and their minions, it seems to be of the highest importance to have all its officers independent of such governors both in their appointments and emoluments. At Calcutta, the practice, in conformity to the charter which established that Court,\* is for the Judges to nominate three persons as fit to serve in the office of sheriff; and within three days after this nomination the Government selects one of the three, who becomes thereby appointed, and serves his term of one year; when the same form of nomination by the Court and selection by the Government is again repeated. This, one would think, is a concession large enough to answer every purpose of keeping politically obnoxious individuals out of office. But at Madras and Bombay the matter is different; for although the statutes which empower the Crown to erect Supreme Courts at the two latter Presidencies † state, that they shall consist of the same number of Judges, and be invested with the *same powers* as the Supreme Court of Calcutta; yet, in the particular clauses of the respective charters of these Courts relative to the appointment of sheriffs, the power of so doing is vested in the local Government of each Presidency alone;—an inconsistency in statute-making far from uncommon, but not on that account the less absurd, the for-

\* See Sect. IX. of the Charter for erecting the Supreme Court at Calcutta.

† See, for that of Madras—the Acts 89 & 40 of Geo. III. c. 79. s. 2: and for that of Bombay, the Act 4 of Geo. IV. c. 71.

mer part of the act securing the *same* powers to the Judges of each of the Presidencies, and the latter part of the same act declaring these powers to be *different*.

The evil of this is, that at Madras and Bombay, the Sheriff is entirely the creature of the Government, although he is the only executive officer of a Court erected for the avowed purpose of checking, by law, the inevitable tendency of all Governments, and especially delegated and distant ones, towards tyranny and oppression. The Sheriff has not only to execute all writs and process, but to carry into effect commitments for contempt of court, and to preserve the peace and order of its proceedings. Now, as these have been, at Bombay especially, often interrupted by persons under the immediate protection of the Government itself; nay, as even its very members have been detected in acts of scarcely-concealed hostility to that Court,—how could a Sheriff, appointed entirely at its pleasure, be expected to do his duty, unless he could perform that which is declared to be impossible; namely, to serve two masters? for in this case, he must inevitably cleave to the one and leave the other. And it is not difficult to predict to which he would most firmly attach himself, where nothing but empty handed Justice is on the one side, and the loaves and fishes of the golden-gifted Mammon on the other. One fact is, however, worth many arguments; and to show the sort of persons that are appointed under such a system, we may mention the name of a Mr. Grey, the son of a bailiff of Lord Keith's, who had the appointment of Sheriff, and enjoyed all its emoluments for the full period of his *service*; if that could so be called, when he never attended *once*, in Court, during all the time he held the office! Another proof of the impropriety of the Sheriff's being appointed by the Government, may be found in the fact, that one of the public Secretaries at Bombay, has been recently known to write official letters, by order of Government, to its own creature the Sheriff, demanding exemption for certain civil servants named by him, from serving on the grand jury! It would be but one step more, to take the Supreme Court into their own hands *entirely*, and administer justice according to their own discretion.

But if these things are wrong, (and who will venture to deny it?) how much more monstrous is the power which the Legislature of this country has blindly given, and still ignorantly continues to the Governments of India, to seize, imprison, and transport, without any form of trial, or means of protection, any British-born individual they may choose to dislike, without even assigning a reason for their conduct, without his committing any legal offence, and even while he is before the Supreme Court of Justice as a principal or witness, in defiance of all the Judges on the Bench, and in spite of every effort that may be made to save him from impending ruin? Let the King's Judges

in India think of *this* insult to their power and independence, which is one of ten times the magnitude of that which empowers the Indian Government to appoint a Sheriff for a year: and *this* is an insult permanently offered them by the Legislature of Great Britain, who erect Supreme Courts of Justice in India, and send out to them the elect of the land as Judges, armed with all the learning and legal power necessary to protect the King's distant subjects from occasional oppression, but yet deem these Judges, with all their talents, so incompetent to protect the state, that it gives to the Governor of every Presidency in India the absolute and irresponsible power of dragging any British-born individual from out of the protection even of those very Judges and their Courts, and without any form of trial, of inflicting utter ruin on any individual who dares to say a word or breathe a wish which in the slightest degree ruffles the serenity of their tempers, or against whom, whether reasonably or otherwise, they entertain the slightest degree of dislike or displeasure! This is, indeed, an enormity against which every honest man, whatever his rank or station, should lift up his voice, and never cease complaining, till so insulting and degrading a law be blotted out from the statute-book for ever!

LETTER III. FROM THE 'CAPE COLONIST' TO EARL  
BATHURST.

My Lord,

*Cape of Good Hope, Nov. 30, 1826.*

In my last letter,\* I had the honour to lay before your Lordship a brief exposé of the system of jobbing, that had been pursued by Lord Charles Somerset, for the purpose of getting his son, Captain Henry Somerset, advanced to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Cape regiment, and the command of the frontier. I must now beg leave to call your Lordship's attention to the acts of depredation committed by the Colonial Government upon the Caffre nation. Whilst the 'Cape Gazette' has been constantly holding forth, in a high strain of Christian philanthropy, upon the pacific intentions of Government towards the native tribes, our troops have been robbing the Caffers of their cattle, and shooting their women and children by 'mistake.' I cannot give your Lordship a more convincing proof of the *willfulness* of these 'mistakes,' than the subjoined copy of a memorial made to Lord Charles Somerset, and his reply to the same:

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\* Vide Oriental Herald, vol. xii. p. 276. The date of the preceding letters to Earl Bathurst has been, by an error of the press, rendered 1825 instead of 1826.—EDITOR.

*Port Elizabeth, September 6th, 1824.*

'To his Excellency, the Right Honourable Lord C. H. Somerset, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c., the Memorial of Johanna Gardner (born Oosthuyzen) humbly sheweth,

'That on the 12th of April 1819, a span of oxen were commanded from her, and sent with a waggon of Anthony Michael Muller to attend the commander. That the said oxen were absent for ten months, whereby Memorialist was deprived from earning a subsistence, her waggon and oxen being her only dependence for a livelihood, she having been abandoned by her husband.' That Memorialist only received six of her oxen back, and has in vain applied for remuneration; though other persons who were commanded under similar circumstances received payment. Memorialist has the honour (sub. No. 1.) to enclose a copy of certificate received from the Commandant, S. S. Muller, to that effect, and (sub. No. 2.) copy of certificate from A. M. Muller, (the owner of the waggon,) stating the loss of the four oxen, the bad state of the other six, and the time they were employed. Memorialist begs leave most humbly to submit to your Excellency, that the usual rate of payment for oxen is five rix dollars per diem; and that hers were absent from the 12th of April 1819, to the 14th of Feb. 1820.

'Memorialist begs also most humbly to represent to your Excellency, that, on the 17th of April 1820, a waggon and oxen was commanded from her, for the purpose of transporting settlers to Uitenhage, as per copy of certificate No. 3, for which service, Memorialist has also been unable to obtain remuneration.

'Memorialist, therefore, most humbly begs that your Excellency will be graciously pleased to take her case into consideration, and direct such remuneration to be made to her as your Excellency may deem meet, and Memorialist, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.'

*Colonial Office, November 5th, 1824.*

'Reply to the Memorial of Mrs. J. Gardner, claiming remuneration for the use of her oxen, which were employed on the commando in the year 1819, and of the waggon and oxen stated to have been furnished by her, for the conveyance of settlers from Port Elizabeth to Uitenhage in 1820.

'The Memorialist's claim to remuneration for the cattle she has lost in the public service, will be made known to the civil and military authorities of the Albany district, in order that she may share in any future distribution of cattle captured from the Caffers; but his Excellency, the Governor, cannot admit the Memorialist's claim to pecuniary compensation for the waggon hire alluded to, it not appearing, upon inquiry, that she has established any right thereto.

'By his Excellency's command.

(Signed)

P. G. BRINK.'

Now, my Lord, here is a woman who claims pecuniary remuneration for oxen which were overworked in the Caffer war of 1819; they were not stolen. In the latter end of the same year, 1819, peace was made between the Colony and the Caffer nation. An immense quantity of cattle (not less than 50,000 head!) had been taken from the latter, under the pretence of remunerating the

Colonists who had been robbed. The Caffers had also ceded, to satisfy the demands of the Colonial Government, a large portion of territory for a 'neutral ground;' and, of course, we could have no further claims upon them for any expense the Colony had been at in prosecuting the war. Every thing that his Excellency had demanded was submissively complied with. Our subsequent attacks were always said to have been made for the purpose of recovering cattle that had been stolen since the peace; but if such had really been the case, of course the Colonists who had lost the cattle were the only persons entitled to them when retaken. This reply to Mrs. Gardner, however, at once clears up the whole mysterious system which the Colonists could not account for. 'The first time that we *steal* cattle from the Caffers in 1824, you shall be remunerated for the loss you sustained by your oxen dying through *fatigue* in the public service, in the year 1819!'

Is it possible, my Lord, that under such treatment the Caffers will remain passive? Will they not retaliate and continue to rob the Colonists, in return for the depredations committed on them by the Colonial Government? For what has this system been kept up, but to give Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset an opportunity of figuring in the Cape Gazette as the conqueror of an immense army of naked savages, who may, at all times, be put to flight by a hundred men with fire-arms?

I ask, my Lord, is it not a foul disgrace to England, that such a system should have so long prevailed? And will it not be an indelible stigma on your Lordship's administration, if those who organized and maintained it by fallacious representations to the Home Government be not called strictly to account? I have the honour to be, &c.,

A CAPE COLONIST.

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#### AFFAIRS OF MESSRS. WILLIAM PALMER AND CO. OF HYDERABAD.

(From the Bengal Chronicle of October 6, 1826.)

WE have inserted, in another page, a report of the proceedings at a special general meeting of the creditors, and representatives of the creditors, of the late firm of Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad. We make no apology for the insertion of this document, for though the mere details concern private individuals alone, the case of Messrs. Palmer and Co. is one which should come home to the business and bosoms of all British subjects in India. and of every one indeed who values the immutable principles of justice, and can sympathize in the distress and ruin occasioned by their arbitrary violation. Our readers are of course aware, that the ruin brought upon this house was justified by a misinterpretation of an act of

**Parliament.** The debtors of the firm were exempted from the payment of their just demands, because they were charged an interest of more than 12 *per cent.*, the law which limits interest here to that rate, being interpreted to apply to independent states, in so far as transactions of British subjects residing in the same were concerned. We have no intention of going into the merits of the Hyderabad question and the transactions of Messrs. Palmer and Co. with the Nizam. We shall not attempt to trace the steps by which their ruin was accomplished, the wide-spread distress it has occasioned, nor the causes and motives to which it was attributed; we shall confine ourselves to this one point, that that interpretation of law by which their principal claims were invalidated, has been solemnly decided by the twelve Judges to have been erroneous, and as a consequence, that the transactions of Palmer and Co. were as legal, as in our judgment, and we speak from the impression produced by the perusal of voluminous documents, they were just and honourable, and advantageous to the interests of the Hyderabad state. After the promulgation of this decision of the twelve Judges, it was of course anticipated that Messrs. Palmer and Co., and their numerous constituents, would have been fully indemnified for the losses they had sustained by a misapprehension of the law; and that the interference of Government would have been employed to procure the liquidation of those demands, the payment of which had been prevented by similar interference on grounds no longer tenable. This just expectation however is, we find by the document to which we have been alluding, not realized. The instructions sent out by the Honourable Court are said to be quite ineffectual to enable the trustees to obtain redress, and those hopes which the decision of the twelve Judges had given rise to, in the bosoms of many sufferers by the ruin of the house, are again blighted by this unlooked-for denial of justice. We would fain hope that there has been some misapprehension in the case—that the Directors have considered that the mere unofficial promulgation of the decision of the twelve Judges would be sufficient to induce the debtors of the house to come forward and liquidate their just debts; and yet such a misconception would seem to argue but a slight acquaintance with the peculiar circumstances of the parties, and no very profound knowledge of human nature. The voice of the Resident prohibited the payment of the debts due to the Firm, pronouncing them illegal: the same authority must recal this measure, declare it to have been founded in misapprehension of the law; and aid in the recovery of these demands, the discharge of which it before prevented.

It is possible, however, that the local Government may venture to supply the deficiency in the Court's instructions, and authorise the present Resident to exercise that interference, without which the case of Messrs. Palmer and Co. is perfectly hopeless. Such

an act will redound to their eternal honour. We had been informed some time ago, that the instructions sent out were such as would enable Messrs. Palmer and Co. to recover every claim against, at least their principal debtor, the Nizam ; and that, in fact, they would recover or be indemnified for their losses: the information, however, must have been entirely erroneous.

We regret that it is not in our power to place before the reader the documents and correspondence referred to in the report, more especially the communication of Sir Charles Metcalfe, in which he accuses the trustees of having submitted themselves to the tuition of their co-trustee, Mr. William Palmer, and the reply of the trustees to this charge. We see, however, that the accusation is distinctly denied, and from its very nature it would seem next to certain that it must have rested on very vague and unsatisfactory bases. To those who have read the correspondence of Sir Charles Metcalfe, however, as published in the Hyderabad Papers, this will not be at all surprising, for they will find the greater part of the charges against this devoted house of Palmer and Co. is made up of innuendoes, insinuations, and inferences of very equivocal connection with the premises from which they are drawn.

We have already disclaimed all intention of tracing the steps by which Sir Charles Metcalfe accomplished the ruin of the Hyderabad Firm, but there is one feature of the case, unconnected with the measure which the decision of the twelve Judges has shown to be illegal, so utterly repugnant to all justice, so totally indefensible on any principle of reason or precedent, that we cannot forbear calling public attention to it at this juncture, merely reminding them, that the act is that of the Resident, and not of the Hon. Company or the Government ; we allude to the striking out of the account, the pensions actually paid to the Palmers, and debiting the Firm with the amount ; now, whether these pensions were deserved or undeserved, that they were actually the voluntary gift of the Nizam, for what he considered services rendered the state, is undeniable, and that the payment of them was sanctioned by his minister, is on record. On what principle, then, of reason or justice, could they be set off against the claims of the Firm? Had these pensions been obtained by any undue or sinister interest which might have induced the Resident to insist on their being refunded, the parties alone who received them were individually responsible, and not the assets of the Firm, by subtracting them from which, a positive injury was inflicted on its innocent creditors! The whole case of the Hyderabad House is one, however, on which we dare not trust ourselves to dwell. We never knew, and probably never shall know, any of the parties, and therefore neither interests nor prejudices are in any way connected with the indignation it has excited in our minds. If redress, redress the most ample, be not awarded to the injured individuals concerned, we have no



hesitation in saying, that the denial of it will be a stain on the Company's administration of this country, which will endure for all time.

*At a Special General Meeting of the Creditors and Representatives of Creditors of the late Firm of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., held at their Office in Hyderabad, on Monday the 21st August 1826, pursuant to Public Notice.*

Present: Trustees, Captain Powell, and W. Palmer, Esq.

CREDITORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF CREDITORS.

Lieutenant C. Arrow for himself, and representative for Mrs. Arrow and Sahib Begum.

Captain Powell for himself, and representative for Lieutenant G. Sandys. A. Shedden, Esq. Major Lynch, and E. and B. Drum.

H. Dighton, Esq., representative for Pontine. 20th regt. Madras Native Infantry. Lieutenant-Colonel Midford. Major W. Baker. Captain T. Sotheby. Serjeant McGuine. Major Rundall. Lieutenant J. Fair. Messrs. Mercer and Co. Messrs. Shotton, Malcolm, and Co. Constituents of Messrs. Shotton, Malcolm, and Co. Constituents of Messrs. Forbes and Co. Constituents of Messrs. Cruttenden and Co. Constituents of Messrs. Colvin and Co.

LIEUTENANT C. ARROW IN THE CHAIR.

Captain Powell and Mr. Wray gave over charge of the affairs under trust to the only remaining trustee, Mr. W. Palmer, till others can be elected at a Special General Meeting to be held at the Trust Office at Hyderabad on Friday the 13th October next—on which day a dividend of 2 per cent. will be probably declared. The following statement of the accounts since the last meeting, were submitted by the Trustees for the information of the creditors.

*Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements since 5th September 1825 to 17th August 1826.*

Balance in hand per Cash Book 8th September 1825.....	21,769	13	0		
Cash realized since .....	2,35,211	0	$\frac{1}{4}$	2,59,981	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
<hr/>					
DISBURSEMENTS.					
Paid Dividends of 8 & 4 per Cent. ....	1,69,992	14	$\frac{1}{2}$		
— Mr. Hastings Palmer.....	620	0	0		
— Office Establishments, including					
Postages, &c.....	12,120	12	$\frac{3}{4}$		
— Sir W. Rumbold's Draft.....	40,100	0	0		
— Mr. Salder for Sundries Sold. ....	705	13	$\frac{1}{4}$	2,20,539	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
<hr/>					
Cash in hand, Hyderabad Rupees....				30,444	13 $\frac{3}{4}$
Available at Calcutta. ....	24,038	0	0		
Do. Madras. ....	25,637	0	0		
Do. Hyderabad .....	35,000	0	0	84,675	0 0
<hr/>					
DEDUCT				1,15,110	13 $\frac{3}{4}$
Unpaid Dividends of 8 per Cent. on Hyderabad Rupees.....	161,165	12,893	0 0		
Do. 4 per Cent. on. ....	767,907	30,715	0 0	43,608	0 0
<hr/>					
Available, Hyderabad Rupees....				71,511	13 $\frac{3}{4}$
Due on Sales .....				30,000	0 0
<hr/>					
				101,511	13 $\frac{3}{4}$

I. The Trustees announce with regret that since the last meeting the sums realized have been comparatively trifling. They are unable to procure payments from their debtors in the city, for independently of other obstacles, the promulgation made at Hyderabad by the Resident, that the contracts of the late House were void on the ground of the presumed illegality of the interest charged by it, is not yet rescinded, nor have they any hope of a change till a counter promulgation of the opinion of the twelve Judges, with a declaration, that under these circumstances their contracts are valid, and in justice ought to be paid, shall be made; the correctness of an announcement from any other quarter, would not be relied on by the Natives, and would be useless. The opinion of the twelve Judges would be ineffectually opposed to the declarations made by the Resident, whether upon his own authority, or that of his Government. It is therefore obvious that the same authority which precluded the payments could alone influence the debtors to discharge their debts.

II. The letter of the Trustees to Mr. Martin requesting to know whether it was in his power to assist them in the recovery of their debts from the recent change in the legal opinion regarding the rates of interest as affecting the transaction of the late House and his reply. Which states that until furnished with specific instructions, he does not consider himself authorised to afford us any assistance, and that a copy of our letter shall be transmitted for the consideration of the right honourable the Governor-General in Council, shall be read to you.

III. A letter from several of the creditors in England will be read to you, respecting the payment of three thousand pounds to Sir W. Rumbold, to cover the expenses incurred by him in promoting the objects connected with the affairs under trust, and for which sum a draft passed by Sir W. Rumbold, has been already honoured; under the peculiar circumstances of the case, we deemed it expedient to answer the draft, and we trust the creditors will approve of our having done so.

IV. A reply to our petition adverted to in the fifth paragraph of the Report of our last Meeting has been received. We proceed to read it to you, in compliance with the desire of the Supreme Government.

V. With reference to the Minutes of Government just read, we have merely to say, that we deprecate the idea of entering into discussions with the Supreme Government, both from deference towards it, and because we feel it would be injudicious. We however owe it to ourselves to say, that we do not admit the correctness of the allegations made of our conduct, nor do we concur generally in the opinions quoted from Sir Charles Metcalfe, nor in the insinuations made by him, either of that part of the conduct of W. Palmer and Co., which has come under our observation, or of their condition prior to the bankruptcy of their Firm.

VI. To remove, however, the impression that might arise to our disadvantage from the assertion made by Sir Charles Metcalfe to his Government, that we had acted under the tuition of Mr. W. Palmer, we think it necessary in our own vindication to state to you, that we have never concurred in the opinion of any one, without giving it our full and impartial consideration; and we can only say, that Sir Charles Metcalfe, in having made the assertion, has acted upon vague and incorrect information.

The foregoing Report was drawn up for submission to the creditors at the last general meeting, proposed for the 8th May last, which was unavoidably adjourned from official duties having prevented the attendance of the trustees, and several of the creditors residing at Hyderabad. Since then the Resident has sent to us the instructions, which have been received from the Court of Directors, regarding the affairs under trust. These will be read to you. We regret to say that they are ineffectual to obtain us redress, and are very different from the expectations which we had formed. We had hoped that the unanimous decision of the twelve Judges would have been considered by the Honourable Court of Directors as establishing the justice of the claims of the late House, and entitling us to receive some support of the Supreme Government in the recovery of those particular debts, the payment of which had been distinctly prevented by the language, adopted apparently for that express purpose, with which the promulgation of an erroneous comprehension of the law made at Hyderabad, had been accompanied.

(Signed)

CHARLES ARROW, Chairman.

N. B. Mr. Dighton takes this opportunity to acquaint the constituents of the late Firm of William Palmer and Co., whom he has represented, that having retired from agency business, he has made over the charge of the affairs of such constituents to Mr. William Palmer, to whom Mr. Dighton requests all future references may be made.

#### IMPROVEMENT OF THE BOMBAY MARINE.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

East Indies, Sept. 30, 1826.

Your excellent publication for June last has been received in India, and it was with real pleasure I therein observed that the Chairman of the Court of Directors, at a meeting of Proprietors at their East India House, in Leadenhall-street, on the 5th of May 1826, had announced his desire and intention to improve, by every means in his power, that good old corps, the Bombay Marine. Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., Mr. Hume, Dr. Gilchrist, Mr. Weeding, and General Thornton, appear at the same period to have expressed their opinions regarding that service in terms most pleasing and satisfactory; all of which has, I believe, greatly tended to raise the drooping spirits of a body of officers, that only a few months previous had the mortification to see in the public newspapers a paragraph purporting that the Court of Directors had resolved to abolish the service, and thereby ruin their prospects for ever.

The letter addressed to you by 'An Observer' at Bath, detailing various grievances existing in the Bombay Marine, appears to be well-timed, and, I doubt not, will meet with due attention from that enlightened and well-disposed Chairman, Sir G. A. Robinson, Bart.

Other grievances of supercession might have been mentioned in regard to the higher stations in that service, of which your Correspondent at Bath does not appear to have been aware; such as a commander of an Indiaman (trading ship) being appointed a few years ago to the situation of Marine Storekeeper at Bombay, to the prejudice of a senior Captain in the Marine, and the same person being subsequently appointed by the Court of Directors to the post of Superintendent, thereby superseding all the officers composing the Marine Board at that Presidency of upwards of forty years' servitude, and under whom he had officiated as Marine Storekeeper for several years.

Another commander of an Indiaman has been sent out by the same authority to be Marine Storekeeper; who, I understand, has recently taken charge of that office from a senior Captain in the Marine, with similar expectations of commanding all. These are grievances, of no small import to a body of men that deserve from their employers favour and protection; and I sincerely hope to see them speedily removed by the honourable and excellent Chairman, who now presides over the Court of Directors for the affairs of India.

To give respect and efficiency to that worthy corps, the officers in it should rise by seniority to the higher stations; or, if they are to have a Commander-in-Chief appointed in Europe, let him be an officer of high rank from the Royal Navy, and obtain for its officers King's commissions and martial law in the same manner as is granted to the Company's army.

The establishment of ships should be increased to three frigates of 24 guns and upwards each; eight ships of 18 guns upon one deck, and measuring 420 tons; eight brigs mounting each 10 guns on one deck, and measuring 225 tons; eight gun-vessels measuring from 100 to 180 tons each, of easy draught of water, for navigating rivers by steam or otherwise.

Four of the 18 gun-ships have recently been built at Bombay, and are reckoned superior to those of the same class in the Royal Navy.

The establishment and pay to officers and men should be as follows:

	Rupees.
Three Commodores, each per month.....	2500
Twelve Post Captains, ditto.....	1000
Twelve Commanders, ditto.....	900
Eight First Lieutenants, when in command, each.....	400
Twenty-four First Lieutenants of vessels, each.....	180
Forty-eight Second ditto.....	150
Sixty Midshipmen.....	50
Two thousand British seamen, including petty officers.	

Able seamen at 2½ rupees per month; ordinary seamen at 18 rupees per month; with a proportionate rate to petty and warrant officers.

The Commodores should be the senior officers in the service, and rank agreeably to the dates of commission.

The senior Captain in the service should bear the designation of Captain of the Port at Bombay, upon a salary, including Marine pay, of 2000 rupees per month.

Two First Lieutenants should be assistants to the Captain of the Port, upon a salary each of 800 rupees per month, including their Marine pay; and they should perform all the duties now done by the Master Attendant and his assistants, and those situations abolished.

A Captain of the Marine should be Marine Storekeeper, upon a salary of 1500 rupees per month, including his Marine pay.

There should be an assistant Marine Storekeeper (not a Marine officer) at 500 rupees per month, and an European Clerk at 300 rupees per month, in addition to a small Native establishment.

A Captain of the Marine should be the resident Agent for Transports and Boatmaster at Bombay as at present, and his salary fixed at 1200 rupees per month, including Marine pay. He should have an European assistant (not a Marine officer) on a salary of 300 rupees per month.

The situation of Captain of Mazagon Dock-yard should be abolished, and those duties be confided to the Captain of the Port and his assistants.

The Marine Board should be composed of three permanent members,---namely, the senior Commodore, and two Post Captains next below the Captain of the Port. This board should be empowered to transact, direct, and control all affairs of whatever description relative to the Marine, under the orders of Government.

The Marine Board should have a Captain for their Secretary, upon a salary of 1200 rupees per month, including his Marine pay, and there should be an assistant Secretary and Examiner (not a Marine officer) at 400 rupees per month.

The salary to the President and members of the Marine Board should be: for the President per month, 3500 rupees, including Marine pay; each member per month, 1600 rupees.

All commutation money to Commanders, for treasure freight and provision accounts, should be abolished, and freight money allowed to be charged by the respective Commanders, agreeably to the rules of the Royal Navy, and all manner of fees now received by Marine officers should be abolished.

The relieving pensions to the officers should be,---

To each Commodore, after forty years' servitude, per annum.....	£800
To a Post Captain, after thirty-four years' servitude.....	500
To a Commander, after twenty-eight years' servitude.....	300
To a First Lieutenant, after twenty-two years' servitude.....	180

Three years' absence to Europe should be reckoned as part of the above servitude.

With alterations and improvements like these, the Bombay Marine will be efficient and respectable; and I sincerely hope this letter may arrive and appear in your valuable book, in time to attract the attention of the Honourable the Court of Directors. Believe me to remain, Sir, your most obliged, and obedient Servant,

A NAVAL OFFICER.

	Rupees.
P. S.—The Superintendent of the Bombay Marine, I believe, at present receives, per annum.....	42,000
The commutation money paid to commanders for provision account.....	16,000
The commutation money paid to commanders for private treasure freight.....	12,000
Extra allowance to the Senior Officer in the Persian Gulph.....	6,000
Saving by abolition of situation of Captain of Mazagon Dock-yard.....	13,000
Total,	89,000

Which will go far towards defraying the additional pay proposed in this letter.

#### ORIGIN OF NOBILITY—KNOX'S SPIRIT OF DESPOTISM.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

April 2, 1827.

The term used in the common law of France, '*vivre noblement*,' as quoted, (p. 31,) does not, I apprehend, mean 'to live in idleness,' in the common acceptation of the expression. It is well explained by Sir Thomas Smith, in 1565, in his '*Commonwealth of England*,' (B. i. ch. xx.) '*Of Gentlemen*,' which commences with the following description: '*Gentlemen bee those whom their blood and race doth make noble and knowne, Εὐγενεῖς in Greeke, the Latines call them all nobiles, as the French nobles. Euyenia, or nobilitas in Latine is defined, honour or title givers, for that the ancestors have beene notable in riches or vertues, or, (in fewer words,) old riches or prowess remaining in one stocke. Which if the successors do keepe and follow, they be verē nobiles, and Εὐγενεῖς: if they doe not, yet the fame and wealth of their ancestors serve to cover them so long as it can, as a thing once gilted though it be copper within, till the gilt be worn away.*'—*Commonwealth*, (1633,) p. 54.

The author proceeds to show how 'this matter made a great strife among the Romans, when those which were *novi homines*, were more allowed for their vertues, new and newly shewne, than the old smell of ancient race, newly defaced by the evil life of their

nephews and discendants could make the other to be.' Among the *novi homines*, he ranks 'the *Cicerones*, *Catones*, and *Marii*,' who 'had much ado with those ancients.' Hence he reverts to his own country, remarking that 'gentlemen bee made good cheaper in England.' The process he thus describes, not without a shrewd and pleasant introduction of his reader, behind the scenes at the Herald's Office.

'Whosoever studieth the lawes of the realme, who studieth in the Universities, who professeth liberrall sciences; and to be short, who can live idly, and without manuell labour, and will bear the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman, hee shall bee called Master, and shall be taken for a gentleman. And, if need be, a king of Heralds shall also give him for money, arms newly made and invented, the title whereof shall pretend to have been found by the said Herald, in perusing and viewing of old registers, where his ancestors, in times past, had been recorded to beare the same.'

Thus this accomplished scholar and statesman, at once Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, and Greek professor at Cambridge, would devote the hours of those 'who can live idly,' to pursuits by which they may largely benefit the world. I doubt, however, whether history or experience will confirm the learned author's deduction of nobility from eminent virtues, whatever may be said of riches. The following less gratifying opinion by Dr. Knox, in his 'Spirit of Despotism,' (Sect. xxv.) is, probably, more correct.

'Most of the titles of nobility, and other civil distinctions, were taken from war. The inventors of arts, the improvers of life, those who have mitigated evil and augmented the good allotted to men in this world, were not thought worthy of any titular distinctions. The reason is indeed sufficiently obvious. Titles were originally bestowed by despotic kings, who required and rewarded no other merit, but that which supported them by violence in their arbitrary rule. In some countries they are now given, for the same reasons, to those who effect the same purposes, not by war only, but by corruption.'

Dr. Knox, whom I find it not very easy to quit, proceeds to censure those who 'depreciate all dignity which is derived from God, and virtue only, unindebted to patents royal.' Then contrasting 'an aristocracy founded on caprice or accident, without any regard to superior abilities and virtues,' with 'the aristocracy established by God and Nature,' he happily adds, 'this is gold; the king's head stamped upon it may make it a guinea. The other is only copper; and though the same impression may be made upon it at the mint, it is still intrinsically worth no more than a half-penny.'

I know not whether these passages I have quoted were among those which deterred Dr. Knox's bookseller, in 1795, during Mr. Pitt's 'reign of terror,' from publishing the 'The Spirit of

Despotism.' There were then printed 1000 copies, one of which probably the only one remaining, is now before me. The author would not submit to any qualifying alterations, but destroyed the whole impression, except three or four copies. One of these he presented to the brother of the late Lord Ellenborough, Mr. Law, then emigrating to the United States, from dissatisfaction with that administration of the British Government, to which his law-learned brother unreservedly devoted his talents, and from which, in due time, steadily pursuing the *iter ad honores*, he had his reward. Mr. Law, soon after his arrival in America, reprinted there 'The Spirit of Despotism,' as peculiarly acceptable to the citizens of a free republic, the only republic in ancient or modern history, which (bating the foul blot of negro-slavery) could then be justly regarded as worthy of the name.

In 1821, one of these copies fell into the hands of Mr. Hone, who, with his usual prompt attention to the advancement of liberal principles, immediately circulated 'The Spirit of Despotism,' in a cheap pamphlet, which, on decease of the learned author, he republished, no longer under an obligation to conceal his name. The family of Dr. Knox have since reprinted 'The Spirit of Despotism' in their collection of his works.

You may depend on the authenticity of this detail, and will, probably, deem it worthy of preservation.

N. L. T.

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ELEMENTARY ORIENTAL TUITION.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

No. 11, Clarges Street, 4th March, 1827.

So much has recently been observed on the great use of elementary Oriental tuition in this country, rather than in British India, that I flatter myself you will have the goodness to spare a corner in your popular Journal for the insertion of the annexed Letter, just received, from that quarter, as I think it alone will go far to settle the matter, by confirming the testimony of a whole cloud of witnesses, which were produced, lately at the India-House debates, on the subject in question.

The writer's signature, for obvious reasons, has been detached from his welcome epistle; but as it still retains every other proof of a genuine production, let me beseech you, as a friend to truth and fair play, during this discussion, to insert it and these few lines at your earliest convenience, and oblige, Sir, your very obedient servant,

JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST.



MY DEAR SIR,

Meerut, August 11th, 1826.

I promised, when in England, to write you an account of what proficiency I had made after my departure; this, I fear, I have delayed too long. I often think now, had I not attended your lectures in England, how miserable I must have felt not to have been able to make any one understand me. On my landing at Calcutta, I did not understand the Natives near so well as I expected: this, I am now convinced, was owing to their bad pronunciation and grammar; besides, they appeared to gabble so fast, that I could scarcely ever follow them. I confess that all this disheartened me a good deal; but I am now so well accustomed to their tone and pronunciation, that it is very seldom that I feel in the least at a loss, either to understand or make myself understood. At Meerut, where I am stationed, I find that they both speak and pronounce infinitely better than they do down the country. I am sure, my dear Sir, it will give you much pleasure to hear, that the interpreters are at length to be examined: those of this division are to repair immediately to Meerut, to be examined by the committee, which is just formed. I only hope the examination will be a strict one; if so, I doubt not but a great many will lose their appointments. After this, of course, they will have to undergo the examination at Calcutta. I hope there will be an examination of cadets before they leave England, which you so much wish.—Hoping that every happiness may attend you, I remain, my dear Sir, your ever obliged and humble servant,

## THE RING.\*

THE streamlet ripples through the mead, beneath the maple tree;  
There came a maid that stream to draw—a lovely maid was she;  
From the white walls of old Belgrade that maid came smilingly.  
Young Mirko saw, and offer'd her a golden fruit, and said:  
'O take this apple, damsel fair! and be mine own sweet maid!'  
She took the apple—flung it back—and said, in angry tone,  
'Neither thine apple, Sir! nor thee—presumptuous boy, be gone!'

The streamlet ripples through the mead, beneath the maple tree;  
There came a maid that stream to draw—a lovely maid was she;  
From the white walls of old Belgrade that maid came smilingly.  
Young Mirko saw, and proffer'd her a golden brooch, and said:  
'O take this brooch, thou damsel fair! and be mine own sweet maid!'  
She took the brooch, and flung it back, and said, in peevish tone,  
'I'll neither have thee nor thy brooch—presumptuous boy, be gone!'

The streamlet ripples through the mead, beneath the maple tree;  
There came a maid that stream to draw—the loveliest maid was she;  
From the white walls of old Belgrade that maid came smilingly.  
Young Mirko saw, and proffer'd her a golden ring, and said:  
'O take this ring, my damsel fair! and be mine own sweet maid!'  
She took the ring—she slipp'd it on—and said, in sprightliest tone,  
'I'll have thee and thy golden ring, and be thy faithful one.'

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\* From 'Servian Popular Poetry,'—by John Bowring—p. 145.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE CONNECTED WITH  
THE EASTERN WORLD.

BENGAL.

THE latest date to which intelligence has been received from Bengal is the 26th of December, by the Swedish ship *Calcutta*, which touched at one of the out-ports on her way up Channel. A few mercantile letters were landed from her, but no papers, as far as we have been able to ascertain, so that the general series of public intelligence is yet confined to the end of November. On the arrival of the *Calcutta*, a rumour was spread that hostilities had been renewed between the English and the Burmese; but this has been so often repeated, that it would now be scarcely credited even if true; though the frequent revival of the rumour upon every new occasion that presents itself, is at least a proof of the general expectation of such an event. In the present instance, the mistake is thought to have arisen from confounding such a renewal of hostilities with the breaking out of a rebellion in China, which appears to have set that vast country in general commotion, of which we shall speak more particularly under its proper head.

The letters by the *Calcutta* state that the Governor-General was still in progress on his tour through the Western Provinces of Hindoostan; that he had an interview with the King of Oude at Cawnpore, on which occasion presents were given and received, and that he was to enter Lucknow, the capital of Oude, under the usual honours. It was still thought by many that Lord Amherst, instead of retracing his steps to Calcutta, would proceed through the Jeypoor states to Bombay, and there embark for England. His Lordship's own health is represented to have suffered from the climate, and his mind to have been harassed by the view taken of his policy, in quarters from which he expected unqualified approbation; while the loss of two of the members of his own family by death, his son, Captain Jeffrey Amherst, and his physician, Dr. Clarke Abel, with the frequent illness of Lady Amherst and her daughter, must strengthen his desire to leave a country where neither fame nor happiness seems to have waited on his footsteps. We hear from all quarters, however, that almost all the evil that has resulted from his measures is to be attributed to his Council rather than himself; and that having lived long enough among them to perceive how much he was the instrument of their cunning designs, he had assumed a greater independence than at first, and had he his career to go over again, with his present experience, would act a very different part to that which he has taken, more in ignorance than from evil intention.

Letters from Calcutta, to the end of October, mention that the remaining six extra regiments \* had not yet been confirmed. In the mean time, two new regiments, under the Court's orders, had been raised at Bombay ; although at Bombay and Madras, in proportion to extent of territories, and duties to be performed by the Native infantry, they had three sepoy for every two on the Bengal establishment, where they are harassed out of their lives, and the corps are frittered away in small detachments, so that there are never sufficient men at the head-quarters of corps to carry on the exercise and discipline of the troops with due regularity. The officers too, European and Native, are kept in a sad state of suspense as to their promotion and future prospects, while they see themselves daily still further superseded by their brother officers of the other establishments. The following is an extract from one of those letters, which will speak for itself :

' The Arracan expedition, and all its horrors, are now fairly over. No troops, except one regiment of Native infantry (the 68th), are now on that coast. The 2d European Regiment was nearly annihilated. On its arrival here, about a dozen men were able to march into garrison. The general hospital being filled with their sick, a house in Chowringhee was rented for their accommodation—that in which the officers were. The latter, sick as they were, had to turn out and seek accommodation, as formerly, in all the vile lanes and pestiferous gullies of Calcutta. The establishment of a wholesome residence for sick officers no longer exists. It was indeed too *humane* a thing to be long sanctioned by this economical Government, or rather by the evil spirit, whose influence there continues as strong as ever. Those who cannot live without their balls, routs, and masquerades, must, to keep up the expenses of these, remain in office ; and to remain in office, they must go on saving and to save for their honourable masters, whose desire of retrenchment seems insatiable. The civil and clerical services continue sacred from violation ; but the military and medical are squeezed, from time to time, by their generous guardians. How long will this spirit last ? The more we petition and memorialize, the more hardships are heaped upon us. In consequence of this deafness to grievances, I should be much disposed to apprehend, from the spirit which seems to pervade the ill-used branches of the service, that the " Voice from India " will ere long assume a higher tone.'

Certain it is, that a growing spirit of despondency and dissatisfaction is generally prevalent, and how can it be otherwise, under the sickening state of ' hope deferred ' in which the army is kept as to its promotion, which is the life of a soldier, and the system of continual retrenchment and threatened reduction of allowances, particularly on the arrival of a new Governor, so that an officer never knows what he has to trust to. Unhappily, too, there seems but little prospect of change.

The intelligence from Rangoon is very varied in its character, and irregular in its dates : but, on the whole, there seems no proba-

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\* The other six had been disbanded some months before, though the exigencies of the service rather required an augmentation of twenty regiments.

bility of a renewal of hostilities in that quarter, at least for some time to come. The following is an extract of a letter, dated from that place at the beginning of August last :

' Many of the inhabitants of Rangoon, hearing of the exactions and tyranny of the Burmese at Ava, and other places, especially directed against those who have assisted us during the war, thought it a good opportunity of removing under the protection of our Collector, which protection had previously been promised them ; but in consequence of the Burmese threatening to oppose force to force, and resist the inhabitants quitting the town, he was induced to withdraw his protection ; their detention, however, has given rise to representations and threats by the Commissioners here to the Burmese ministers, but they have not yet given orders for their liberation. We still retain possession of Rangoon and Martaban for a few months longer, partly, I hear, in consequence of a considerable deficiency in the last payment, which ought to have completed the fifty lacs ; General Campbell and Mr. Crawford are here as Commissioners ; the latter gentleman, I understand, proceeds to Ava in a few days, on board of the small steam vessel which has so often excited the fears and apprehensions of the Burmese ; I hear he takes many valuable presents, by way of soothing his Golden Majesty after so many reverses of fortune. I believe the general opinion here is, that it would have been a prudent measure to have taken their capital, as many of their chiefs even now assert that we were unable to proceed farther, and that we *might* have found our equal before the walls of Ava. Our new possession at the mouth of the Martaban River, named Amherst Town, will soon be in a flourishing state, as encouragement is held out to those wishing to proceed there ; but the Burmese chiefs are equally strict in endeavouring to prevent any thing of the kind taking place, which they assert is contrary to the treaty ; however, several thousands have already given in their names as ready to proceed to our new settlement, which they will shortly do. Rangoon at present is the most miserable looking place you can imagine,—the houses in a wretched condition, inhabitants in doubt whether to go, or trust themselves to their former despotic rulers, and, lastly, a scarcity of grain, which it is to be feared will, before long, amount to a famine.'

The latest news from Rangoon extended to the end of October, at which time, it was said, Sir Archibald Campbell had issued orders for the final settlement of all the army accounts, and the troops were preparing to evacuate the country. The following is from the Calcutta Government Gazette of October 19 :

' The intelligence from Rangoon, adverted to in our last, was derived from a hasty inspection of the documents with which we were favoured, but we have since been put in possession of more particular details, the tenor of which we are happy to find, is entirely in unison with that of the advices to which we then referred.

' Mr. Crawford left Rangoon on the 1st, in the *Diana* steam boat, escorted by a small party of Europeans and of Native Sipahs, and several gun-boats. He reached Henzada on the 8th, where he visited the Woonghee Maong Kuang, the intended governor of Rangoon and viceroy of Pegu, being invested with authority over the whole tract from Pagahm to the sea, who has been waiting at Henzada to take charge of his Government on its evacuation by the British. The Woonghee returned the visit on the following day, coming in a war boat, attended by fifteen others, and a number of small boats conveying a retinue of four or five hundred persons : he was received on board the *Diana* with military honours, and remained on board two hours. He is described as a man of mild and conciliatory manners, and bears a high public character. He is said to have evinced some anxiety to dissuade the *Envoy* from proceeding to Ava, upon the grounds of his being possessed of powers

to discuss any questions that might arise, and a reference to the Court being therefore unnecessary. On finding, however, that a strict adherence to the terms of the treaty was insisted on, he withdrew his opposition, and cheerfully nominated the persons who were to accompany the mission. The steam vessel got under weigh on the tenth, and the party expected to reach Prome in four days, and Ava in twenty. The following extracts from a letter from a friend, will give some further idea of their proceedings :

' *Henzada, 9th Sept.*—We left Rangoon on the 1st, late in the afternoon, and arrived here yesterday : rather slow progress you will think, but the *Diana* is heavily tasked, having not only her own freightage, which is not inconsiderable, but a heavy passage-boat in tow, with part of the European escort, baggage and stores ; she has, it is true, a crew of forty rowers, but they are of very little use against the current—our progress, nevertheless, is better than it seems, as we have not been in motion above five days out of the eight, having stopped at Donabaw and other places, to collect fuel for the engine. The *Diana* is now about to cast off her heavy incumbrance, a smaller baggage boat having been procured here. We are now, I believe, half way to Prome, and expect to arrive there in four days, and to reach Ava in twenty more : we are all in high health and spirits, in great good humour with each other and ourselves, and delighted with our chief, whose only anxiety seems to be to make us all happy and comfortable. Nothing can be more different from Bengal, than the appearance of the country thus far. Not in natural features, for it enjoys the advantages of climate and soil, perhaps even in a higher degree, but the misery and poverty of the people, the oppression under which they are bowed down, and the total neglect of cultivation, are beyond description. The powers of nature must be called into beneficial exercise by the industry of man, and the population of this country is equally unable and disinclined to avail itself of the natural advantages, amidst which it is so scantily distributed. We saw nothing like a town after we left Rangoon, till we arrived here. A few straggling villages alone occurred, half under water, without a single decent habitation : we saw very few inhabitants, and scarcely any horned cattle. Henzada extends about two miles along the right bank of the Irrawadi, close to the water edge, and is half under water when the river overflows. It consists of two or three irregular lines of detached and miserable-looking hovels, perched upon wooden posts, as usual in this country. The only habitation that merits even the name of bungalow, is a hut in the centre of the village, the palace of Woonghee, the viceroy of Pegu, and one of the pillars of the state. The gentleman now here, is waiting to take charge of Rangoon, when our troops leave. We had several interviews with this august personage : he was very desirous to persuade the Envoy, that it was quite unnecessary for him to travel so far as to Ava, but there was no getting over the stipulation in the treaty, and when the Woonghee found this was the case, which did not seem greatly to astonish him, he set at work to forward our departure with great good will. I cannot imagine the cause of the reluctance they show to our proceeding to the golden feet. Perhaps, they may think the presence of an Envoy under circumstances so different from that of any former deputation, will express too publicly the humiliation they have undergone. If such a feeling subsist, it will, no doubt, be soon dissipated by the judicious and friendly conduct of the Resident.

' The Woonghee is a middle aged man, of courteous manners and prepossessing appearance. He sent a war-boat to convey the Envoy on shore, and when he returned the visit, he came escorted by a great number of paddling boats, as well as war-boats, decorated with golden chattahs, and white flags, but not otherwise ornamented, except that occasionally the helm is gilt. The war-boats and canoes are elegantly formed, and the simultaneous style in which they are rowed, oars, paddles, bodies, arms, heads, all moving with one motion, has a very curious and characteristic effect. The scene round the *Diana* is the most lively that can be imagined, as the most free intercourse is kept up with the shore. The Woonghee expressed himself much pleased by

the appearance of the Europeans, who are all picked men, some of them six feet three.

\* At Donabew, we visited the defences thrown up by the Bundoola, and the spot where he fell was pointed out to us.

\* Dr. Wallich, you will be pleased to learn, has been botanizing with his usual zeal and activity: he has collected a number of new and curious plants, particularly an aquatic plant of the family of the nymphaea of the most singular structure, and which he regards as one of the most interesting he has ever met with. I suppose we shall have some notice of his discoveries in a *Flora Burmanensis*.

\* The gun-boats that accompanied us hither, return to Rangoon, which gives me an opportunity of dispatching this letter.

It appears, from all authorities, that the Burmese have made good no more than two out of the four instalments of twenty-five lacs of rupees each, which they stipulated to pay to the East India Company, as the price of getting rid of the invading troops from their territory. Few persons indeed expected that they would ever have paid as much; but more than this we believe no one anticipates; so that the character of the war is now confirmed as having involved a profligate waste of life and treasure, without any advantages worth these united sacrifices, as it is admitted by all unprejudiced persons that the acquired territories will cost more to occupy and defend than they are worth. The following is from the 'Calcutta John Bull,' of September 11; and though anterior in date to the preceding extract, is not on that account the less interesting:

\* A Treaty of Commerce and Friendship had been concluded on the 15th, and ratified with due solemnity at midnight 17th May—at the City of Bangkok, in the Siamese dominions, between H. M. the King of Siam, and the Hon. East India Company on behalf of the British nation, by the Right Hon. the Governor-General of British India.

\* Patience was nearly exhausted, when, after numerous evasions and a desire on the part of the second King to break off the Treaty altogether, it was accomplished. This power possesses, in a very strong degree, the assuming and arrogant tone of their neighbours the Burmahs; in all probability the success which at length has attended Captain Burney's unceasing though almost hopeless endeavours, may be attributed to recent intelligence, which convinced the Siamese Government, that the British had triumphed, and reduced the Burmahs to the necessity of buying a Peace. Notwithstanding this conviction, the second King, as he is called, has, according to the accounts which have reached us, a great wish to try his hand with the English, for whom he entertains the most perfect contempt, and if he can recover his ascendancy in the political circle of that Court, will, it is apprehended, strive to undo the present Treaty.

\* The Siamese are much afraid, as our newly acquired territories are close upon the famous Silver Mines, we shall take the liberty of encroaching nearer to them,—against which two very strong Articles of the Treaty apply—and they are establishing a double line of Chokies to prevent any infraction on our part.

\* The following are understood to be the principal articles of the Treaty, and one of them has, it is said, been so far fulfilled, that unhappy sufferers amounting to nearly 900 had been liberated, 400 of whom had reached Tavoy—the remainder were to follow as fast as boats could be procured. Humanity will rejoice at this circumstance, even though no other point has been gained.

'The British Government engage to keep within the limits of the conquered and ceded provinces bordering on the dominions of the King of Siam, and *not to make any encroachment whatever.*

'That an intercourse, governed by cordiality, by the *utmost candour*, and the *strictest friendship*, be from henceforward established between the two powers.

'That neither of the high contracting Powers shall at any time fit out armaments, without affording to the other the most *explicit* and *satisfactory* information as to the object in view.

'That every British born subject carrying with him a certificate as such, and being licensed to trade as merchants or mariners, shall have leave to transact his own business without a licensed agent, or broker, to control transactions.

'That all such persons who desire it shall have passports to trade and travel throughout the Siamese dominions, except in the district of the newly discovered Silver Mines at Menamnoi.

'But that no Native of the Burmah or Pegue country, although subjects of England, shall *under penalty of death* put their foot on the Siamese Territories, nor shall any descendant of these people or of any other Asiatic connection, on any pretext or under any colour of protection—*be suffered to land* in the dominions of the King of Siam.

'That any English subject offending against the State, shall be made amenable to the Siamese laws, with the knowledge and consent of the British Mission—but offenders shall in no instance be dealt with in a manner inconsistent with the *practice of humanity* and the principles of British justice.

'The King of Siam reserves the exercise of a hospitable reception to all or any fugitive subject from the English dominions who may seek protection, nor shall they be delivered up, though claimed, upon any account.

'The English Governments are at liberty to receive fugitives from the Siamese dominions, and to afford equal protection.

'The effects and estates of British subjects domiciled within the dominions of the King of Siam, shall be at the disposal of the lawful heirs, or their agent.

'It is forbidden, *under the penalty of death*, to introduce opium into the Siamese dominions.

'The King of Siam engages to deliver up all Native Burmahs and Peguers and all Christian captives now in his dominions and treated as slaves—who desire to leave his dominions.

'The subjects of both countries shall be duly informed, and comport themselves accordingly. The King of Quetta, now a prisoner with the Siamese, shall be released under the guarantee of the British Government, that he shall never undertake hostilities against the Siamese.

We may remark on this, that the Siamese are quite justified in their apprehensions of English encroachment; although, if they place reliance on the promise of a treaty, as a sufficient security against such encroachment, they will no doubt be deceived. The promise not to encroach, is just worth as much as the vows of friendship, candour, &c., which are mere words of course in treaties generally, and are never regarded when there is any temptation to break them. The Company too will as surely introduce their opium into Siam, as they have done and still continue to do into China, where it is a violation of the law of the empire, and known by the Company to be such. The monopoly in the culture of this

article in India is one of the greatest sources of revenue and patronage belonging to the local Government; and every extension of the markets in its consumption is regarded by that Government as a gain,—to effect which they care not what laws of other states are broken, though they are so loud in their outcries against those who make the slightest infringement on their own.

The discussions respecting the use of steam vessels between England and India, still continue to be indulged in the papers of the latter country. They are recommended by many writers to be tried for the Red Sea; but we have never yet seen a satisfactory answer to the objections stated to this navigation, in an article on this subject, published in the first number of the '*Oriental Herald*'; and yet, until these objections are overcome, we do not see how steam navigation through the Red Sea can ever become safe or practicable. In their anxiety for the employment of this powerful agent, two of the Bengal Editors recommend that gun-boats, navigated by steam, should be sent up the Indus to survey that stream from its outlet to its source, a project for which it has been suggested, it might be first necessary to ask permission of the rulers who hold dominion on its banks; but this does not appear to have been thought of by the proposers of the undertaking.

The *Emulous* steam vessel had reached Calcutta, from England, in September. She is described as being a very long, flush-built vessel, low in the water, and of smaller tonnage than the *Enterprise*, having three light and graceful masts, with a fore and aft sail on each. It was believed that she would be used for the Red Sea trip: but we think it more than probable that she would follow the fate of the *Enterprise*, and be employed either for river navigation, or short voyages from port to port, on the Indian coast.

A long, and in some respects, an interesting discussion had taken place in the Bengal papers, on the subject of *La Perouse* and his ill-fated expedition. A Capt. Dillon, commanding a trading ship between Calcutta and South America, had called at one of the islands in the Pacific, little visited, and become acquainted with information which led to the belief that the ships commanded by *La Perouse* were wrecked on a neighbouring island, which he was not enabled to visit himself. The inferences, from his information, were considered, however, so forcible, that in consequence of his communications, the French Governor-General, the Viscount Des Bassins de Richemont, residing at Pondicherry, had ordered a vessel to be immediately fitted out to go to the island in question. Mr. Bellanger, the King's naturalist at Pondicherry, was to embark in this vessel, which, after her voyage of research, was to return to the island of Bourbon, where it was thought she might be expected about the month of June 1827. The discussions on which this measure is founded have been given at length, in seve-



ral of the London papers, which renders it the less necessary to repeat them here; our object being in general to devote our pages to matters which do not obtain the desired publicity through other channels.

#### MADRAS.

Our intelligence from Madras is scarcely more copious than usual. The public Journals of that Presidency contain much more local intelligence from Calcutta and Bombay, than from the stations in their immediate vicinity; and as to public matters transpiring at Madras itself, if exception be made of the accounts of dinners, balls, and other entertainments, to which there is no want of due attention, one may gather as much of the history of Japan, as of Southern India, from the Journals of this silent City of the Coast. The tranquillity of a censorship must be agreeable, indeed, seeing that it is so rarely broken, by any thing that can disturb the slumbers of those in authority, for whose peace it is such an effectual guarantee.

Under these circumstances, and until some spirited individuals shall set an example of greater activity and freedom in their communications with Europe, we must be content to gather the brief notices that are available from scattered sources, as to what transpires under the Presidency of Madras. A short monthly register of occurrences here, has come into our possession; and although it extends far back to a period rather beyond that within which a news-letter would be comprized, yet, as coming from such a quarter, from whence little else but what we have mentioned can be obtained, and extending from March to September in the past year, it is worth transcribing; we, therefore, give it in its original form:

**MARCH.**—The beginning of this month brought us our new commander-in-chief, who arrived on the 2d in the ship *Fairlie* with his family and staff. Sir John Doveton had been in command of the army since the departure of Lieutenant-General Ramsey; he now resigned it to Sir George Walker, who, on assuming it, issued a General Order highly complimentary to the Madras army, alluding to the many glorious achievements it had attained since he formerly served with it; "and expressing his hope that his comrades in arms will continue to advance in the proud career to honourable distinction under his command."

"In consequence of the indisposition of our worthy Governor's infant son, Lady Munro was induced, by the advice of the medical attendants, to return to England for the benefit of the child's health. The knowledge of her ladyship's intention caused a general regret among all classes here, and a few days previous to her departure a meeting of the principal Gentlemen of the Settlement was held; the Chief Justice, Sir Ralph Palmer, presiding. At this meeting it was agreed that a deputation should wait upon her ladyship, for the purpose of expressing the universal regret felt by all here, on account of her intended departure, and to request her ladyship to name a day for an entertainment which the society of Madras were anxious to give her previous to her departure; but her ladyship declined, in a very delicate and handsome manner, the honour intended her. At this meeting it was also proposed by a gallant officer, and agreed to by all, "that her ladyship be intreated to gratify the society of which she has been the kind Patroness, by sitting for her

portrait in full length to the first artist in England, the same to be placed in the public assembly room of Madras." Her ladyship sailed on the 17th, in the private ship *Wellington*, with a few other passengers from this place, for England.

'The Lord Bishop of Calcutta arrived here at the end of last month; and, during his stay was indefatigable in the performance of the functions of his calling; visiting churches, chapels, schools, and every other public institution; his kind, conciliatory and endearing manners rendered him beloved by all; to the congregations of Native Christians his attention was great, his behaviour such as inspired them with confidence, and won their love and esteem; his behaviour to all was most brotherly and affectionate. The Lord Bishop was not well pleased with the state of the flock in this part of his diocese; but frail shepherds are apt to have faulty sheep. It is thought here, that the head of the church of this Presidency will soon retire to Europe, and that the Rev. Mr. Robinson, his Lordship's Chaplain, will be Archdeacon of Madras. The present Archdeacon is disposing of his property, and it is said, meditates a professional tour, of which, of course, the Government will defray all the expenses. It is further said, that the Lord Bishop remarked with great displeasure, that although two Chaplains belonged to each church here, there was only Divine Service once on a Sunday. Before he left this, he caused the performance of Evening Service to be commenced in the evenings of Sundays, and it took place for the first time in St. Mary's Church, on the 13th of March, and was most numerously attended.

'Accounts reached Madras this month of the death of Colonel Blacker, Surveyor-General of India, an officer of the army of great merit, whose loss is much deplored.

'The 24th, 31st, and 35th regiments of Native Infantry arrived at the Presidency to embark for Rangoon during this month. The mortality among the troops continues great, and I see it stated in the '*Madras Courier*' that his Majesty's 89th regiment, which has had 1170 men in its ranks since sailing on the expedition, can only now muster 1 Major, 2 Captains, 3 Subalterns, an Adjutant, Assistant Surgeon, and 80 men. Every account represents the exertions of our troops as great and meritorious; victory and conquest follow as the natural consequences; but, after all, there are persons here who think that the whole kingdom of Ava would not compensate for the blood that has been shed and the money that has been expended. Be that as it may, many have made princely fortunes by this war, especially those employed in the commissariat department, some of whom have cleared, in two years, three or four lacs of rupees, by purchasing and providing stores, grain, provisions, and clothes for the army in Ava.

'**APRIL.**—The news of the termination of the war in Ava was received here during this month, and satisfied those who cried out so loudly against it, but the terms of the peace are judged by many to be less advantageous than they ought to have been. All seem to think that when the British army was so very near the capital, a visit to it by the whole force would have been attended with the best consequences. The Hon. Company have acquired (what was little wanted) a vast addition of territory, the value of which is yet to be proved; but there are persons here bold enough to say that the countries now ceded are the least valuable of his golden-footed Majesty's possessions, and remarkable for nothing but their unhealthiness.

'On the morning of the 5th of this month, I perceived the flag of the *Fort* hoisted half mast high, indicating the death of some exalted personage; minute guns were also firing from the battery on the same occasion. I soon learnt that the worthy Bishop of Calcutta was no more; he died very suddenly at Trichinopoly on the 3d; a more sincere and general lamentation I never witnessed, and I remember the death of many conspicuous characters among us, but he whom we now mourned was beyond all praise; and that he who so recently addressed the word of God to so many here, and whose life promised to be one of such extensive usefulness to his fellow-creatures, should be so

suddenly snatched from us, was an occurrence that seemed to strike even the most thoughtless; a universal gloom pervaded all ranks; and after the first burst of grief and regret was over, all seemed eager to show their high esteem for the deceased by some mark of public respect. A notice appeared in the papers calling a meeting of the inhabitants at Government-house. At this meeting the Governor presided, and stated that the object of it was "for the purpose of taking into consideration the fittest mode of testifying their veneration for the character of the late Bishop Heber, and their grief at the sudden termination of his valuable life." A subscription was entered into for erecting a monument to his memory, and all contributed to it with alacrity, both Europeans and Natives; it already amounts to about 30,000 rupees, an enormous sum for a monument, which can add nothing to the character of the dead, however much it may flatter the vanity of the living. Our neighbours in Bombay have shown much good sense by devoting the funds subscribed to perpetuate the memory of the late prelate, to a nobler end than erecting a monument, by that of endowing a certain number of scholarships in the Bishop's College at Calcutta, thus benefiting future generations and promoting an object in which the deceased took much interest.

'The Grand Jury, at the Criminal Sessions held this month, having finished the business brought before them, delivered a presentment to the Court, which, after adverting to several local topics, stated that the expense of law proceedings had arisen to such a pitch as loudly to call for the interference of the Court in putting a stop to the gross impositions practised within its own immediate reach. This seemed to stir up the wrath of the minions of the Court, who dread any public notice being taken of their shameful manner of fleecing those who employ them; the Editor of the "Madras Courier," himself a limb of the law, in a philippic in one of his numbers, endeavoured to contradict the statement of the Jury; but it only tended to convince the public of its truth. A friend of mine, who has suffered greatly from the lawyers of this place, is drawing up a detail of the principal arts practised by them since 1815, and promises to give it me for publication, in order to show to every one what is carrying on among them here. Its publication will certainly benefit many, and make others blush. In the meantime, I cannot help mentioning that so rapacious have the attorneys become that they have of late got into the practice of suing individuals in the Supreme Court for the recovery of very trifling sums of money, much under the amount that can be decided by the Petty Court established expressly for the recovery of small debts; thus exacting costs to the amount of from 250 to 300 rupees, on cases which could have been settled in the Petty Court for 20 or 25 rupees at the most.

'MAY.—Many of the troops from Ava returned to Madras during this month. The emaciated and worn-out bodies of both Europeans and Natives plainly evinced the hard nature of the service in which they had been engaged; his Majesty's 89th regiment in particular was sadly reduced.

'JUNE and JULY.—Nothing very particular of a local nature occurred during these months. Our worthy Governor set out on the 21st of July on a tour into the interior: he was accompanied by several Civil and Military Officers. Before they had got 50 miles from the Presidency in the Chingleput district, a most audacious robbery was committed on a party of the Governor's followers. A number of Coolies employed carrying the baggage were attacked by a regular band of robbers, and completely plundered by them of a great part of the Governor's wearing apparel, and many other valuable things belonging to his private Secretary. Robberies of this nature have of late been very frequent between Madras and the bottom of the pass towards Mysore. Near Wallajabad, Lieutenant Lewis, of the 46th Native Infantry, going to Bangalore, was robbed of his property; and gentlemen travelling in palankeens have repeatedly been attacked on that road.

'We had, during these two months, many more arrivals from Ava, bringing back troops; the corps destined to remain are said to be his Majesty's 46th regiment, the 1st, 32d, and 36th Madras Native Infantry, and one company of

**Artillery.** The Commissariat branch of the service has been further thought one of the best here for making rapid fortunes : but the Engineer department is also an excellent one ; there are always some new jobs going on in it, repairing, altering, or erecting buildings of some description or other ; however, there has been lately less employment in it than usual, as our worthy Governor encourages no useless expenditure of public money, and the Engineer officers were rather at a stand, until it was discovered by timely ingenuity that the substantial and beautiful roads constructed four or five years ago by Colonel de Haviland, and which had never required any repairing since, were of such a nature as to be wearing out the shoes of the horses, and the rims or irons of the carriage wheels, particularly the roads of some of the principal drives, where the fashionables of Madras take their evening airings ; so in order to remedy this public evil, and to lessen the wearing out of horses' shoes and carriage wheels, the engineers are now hard at work, ripping up these offensive roads, and overlaying them with a coat of fine soft mud, which in wet weather will be impassable, and in the next dry windy season, will be flying in clouds all over the plain ; an advantage to those needing employment, for then of course the engineers will again be in requisition.

**AUGUST.**—We have had many arrivals from Europe during this month, and I hear everywhere that a larger and more beautiful assortment of fair damsels never was landed at Madras in any former year. There has also been a large importation of recruits, officers for the army, and writers for the Civil Service, as well as two barristers, and four attorneys for the Supreme Court.

During this month his Majesty's royals and his Majesty's 41st regiment of foot, both recently returned from Rangoon, marched from the presidency, the former for Bangalore, and the latter for Bellary ; his Majesty's 80th regiment remains in Fort St. George, and it is said his Majesty's 30th regiment will shortly arrive here, preparatory to its return to Europe.

Intelligence has been received during this month of the death of another distinguished and brave officer of the coast army, Colonel Pepper.

An unusual fall of rain has taken place here during this month, equal indeed to what is generally expected in the monsoon months ; this has tended to keep the air cool, and the season throughout has been very healthy ; the reverse has been the case at many stations under the other presidencies, where that sad scourge, the cholera morbus, has carried off many.

The proceedings of a public meeting at Hyderabad, relative to the affairs of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. of that city, we have given in a separate article, extracted from the '*Bengal Chronicle*' of October 6 ; but the following extract of a private letter from that city, coming under the head of general intelligence, we introduce here :

Such is the inattention of the Nizam's Government to the safety of its subjects, that (what may appear to you incredible) the communication between this, the metropolis of the Nizam's dominions, and Masulipatam, a considerable town on the sea-coast, with which Hyderabad chiefly trades, is rendered extremely unsafe, and, consequently, considerably impeded by royal tigers. Travellers and villagers have been carried off by them, during the last month, nearly to the average of a man a day. At present the Natives will rarely venture but in large parties, and even still, many are carried off. The number of European officers travelling this road is very insignificant ; yet, within nine months, four followers of officers, as under particularized, have been sprung upon and devoured on the high road : the Lascar of Lieutenant Kirby, 4th Native Infantry, a grasscutter of Lieutenant Rowlandson, 46th Native Infantry, from immediately behind his horse ; a palanquin boy of Mr. Assistant Surgeon Smith ; and a discharged sepoy of the 19th Native Infantry, close by the palanquin of Lieutenant Lord of the Nizam's service. The case of this

last man was somewhat peculiar; he had remained at a village on the skirts of the jungle for several days awaiting an escort, and, during the whole time, could talk of nothing but the certainty that his destiny was to perish by a tiger. Upon Lieutenant Lord's passing the village with a considerable number of attendants, he joined them, and kept close to Mr. Lord's palanquin. Entering into conversation with that gentleman, he told him that he was certain his fate was to die in that jungle, and so tediously harped upon the matter during several miles, that at last Mr. Lord told him to hold his tongue, and shut the palanquin doors. Scarcely had he done so, before a tiger sprung upon one of his cowerly coolies, but, luckily for the man striking the box which he was carrying, merely sprawled him harmless, and the tiger then turning sharply, walked off with the fatalist, who was only heard to utter one piercing cry.

\* An instance of gallantry by a Naik and two sepoy in the Belarrum Brigade, deserves to be recorded. Upon one of the sepoys being sprung upon, the Naik and remaining sepoy pursued, fired upon, and wounded the animal, though the sepoy had been carried a considerable way into the jungle. The ball which wounded the tiger and caused it to quit the sepoy, afterwards lodged in the latter's arm. Though much lacerated and bruised by the thorns, underwood and stones, over which he had been dragged, and severely wounded in the neck, where the tiger always seizes, the sepoy ultimately recovered, and is now in the performance of his duty.

\* If a reward sufficiently large was offered to Shikarries for the destruction of tigers, and the payment of this reward was really secured to the parties earning it, doubtless these ferocious brutes would be extirpated, at least, on all the public ways. Under any but the worst of governments, such a well frequented road would be cleared, enlarged, and generally improved.\*

India must be opened to the colonization of Europeans, however, before the improvement of its roads, or any other improvement of a permanent nature, is likely to take place. Governors, who inhabit a country but for a season, and when their fortunes are made, retire to the mother country to give place to other fortune-makers who come after them, are not likely to care much about the state of roads, bridges, canals, or other internal improvements: more especially under a system which, instead of encouraging internal commerce, out of which improved roads would speedily arise, forbids any European trader from going ten miles beyond the capital, to buy or sell, and seizes him for transportation, if found guilty of the sin of commercial dealings with the Natives!

Let us hope, however, that a better era is approaching, and that under an improved system of Government for India, both the territories possessed by the Company, and those bordering on them, will be greatly benefited by the change.

#### BOMBAY.

We have Papers from this Presidency, from the beginning of September to the end of November inclusive; and private letters to the middle of December. The latter are in general much more copious in their communication of news than the former, and are, we believe, generally more worthy of confidence. To speak candidly, nothing can be conceived more unattractive and insipid to a reader in England than the confused mass of heterogeneous materials presented to the eye in the sheets and supplements of an Indian

Newspaper, where three-fourths of the contents consist of extracts from English Papers, which on their return here are at least twelve months old, and have been superseded by a thousand more recent events and changes, amid which the former have been entirely forgotten. Add to this, the trifling and ill-written controversies on local matters which fill up the remainder of its space: and the reader will cease to wonder why so little of its interminable folios is found worthy of being transplanted into any English Journal. These observations apply, in some degree, to all the Indian Papers that reach us, but in an especial manner to those of Madras and Bombay, which must be wholly attributable not to a deficiency of talent but to the apathy and indifference of the community, or, in other words, to the low state of public feeling, the great index by which the press is every where guided; for there is surely more talent in either of those settlements than could be expected at the Cape or in New South Wales, and yet, because of a high public spirit existing among the society of the two last named Colonies, and the greater attachment to freedom by which they are characterized, the Public Journals of each are superior, in the importance of the subjects discussed, and the manner of treating them, to any that ever reach us from any part of India, but more especially from the Presidencies named.

We proceed, however, to glean from both sources, letters and papers, the little information which each affords. And first, that we may not be supposed to misrepresent, when we characterize the communications of correspondents to the Indian Papers as trifling and ill-written, we give the following short specimen, from the Bombay Courier of Sept. 14, 1827. To be sure, it is from the pen of the renowned Captain Seely, whose reputation is as great here as elsewhere; and it appears in the Gazette of the Bombay Government, the paper of which Mr. Warden, the member of Council, is principal proprietor. But, whether the Editor who inserts it, acts under the directions of masters or not, it is clear, from his continuance in office, that he must be honoured with the approbation of those he serves; and what manner of men these are, proprietors, editor, and correspondent, may be judged from the following letter, which we give verbatim, from the Paper named:

‘ A PUZZLER.

‘ To the Editor of the Bombay Courier.

“ It is my pleasure,  
I buy my words by weight, not by measure,  
Short and quick, like a donkey’s gallop.”

‘ MR. EDITOR,

‘ Brevity is the word, and conciseness the order of the day; so here goes, without any beating about the bush or circumlocution whatever. Are your readers aware that the word **THAT** may occur five times in regular succession without the intervention of another word or letter, and still be good

English? By the way, I cannot resist speaking a word to S. of last *Courier*. However benevolent his intentions are, (and this no one can deny,) his letter on the Fund is a series of assumptives in which he completely bags the question. He must not imagine, that, because I object to the principles of the Fund, I have less respect for, and confidence in the Directors, or less attachment to the widows and their children. In esteem for the former, and I may say love for the latter, I will not abate S. a jot. It is the system, and not the managers or claimants, that my strictures have been directed against. While the embargo lasts, and the interdict is in force, I am briefly and shortly, your's obediently,

‘Y.’

‘Cāl-āb, September 8th, 1820.’

This, though a brief, is nevertheless a *fair* specimen of the kind of writing which is most frequently found in the paper from which it is quoted; and four or five columns are often filled in the same *Journal*, with matter not a whit superior, from the same sagacious brain. Certainly, the most insignificant provincial paper in England, Ireland, or Scotland, would consider itself degraded by the worthless effusions which meet a ready reception in this index of public taste and public feeling at Bombay. There *was* a period, when this same paper, the ‘*Bombay Courier*,’ was, beyond all question, the best-written and most deservedly popular journal published to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. It was then, however, edited by Mr. Erskine, and contributed to by Sir James Mackintosh, Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Elphinstone, all persons as superior in talent to Mr. Warden, Captain Seely, and the present Editor, whoever he may be, as one set of men could well be above another of the same race and nation. The public feeling of society must then also have been of a higher and better kind; for, without a degradation in this respect, such miserable productions as the existing ones could never meet sufficient support to pay their expenses. The ‘*Courier*,’ it is true, cannot need this, while it has a Member of Council and other public functionaries for its proprietors: as they contrive, by their advertising-patronage, and liberal charges, to make the Government Treasury pay handsomely for what, under any other circumstances, would have to be defrayed by others.

The wars which are continually occurring between the Arabs and Persians, who inhabit the two opposite sides of the Persian Gulph, are but little known beyond the precincts of their own waters; there is, however, an incident in the following paragraph from the ‘*Bombay Courier*,’ connected with one of these contests, that is worth transcribing:

‘We believe that the war between the Imaum of Muscat and the Sheik of Bushire was first announced by our contemporary of the ‘*Gazette*.’ His Highness of Muscat may be said to have brought the dispute to a termination by a most skilful and decisive measure. The Sheik had gone to Mecca on a pilgrimage, and the Imaum, having watched his return, has made him prisoner, and has transferred him to one of his ships of war, which, by the last accounts, was off Kishm. From all we have heard, the quarrel was not

political, but a business of gallantry, in which a Persian princess was concerned, and as such we trust that the Imaum will treat his prisoner with that courtesy which is the grace of *knighthood* and all honourable men. In fact, from the Imaum's high character for justice and liberality, which is widely known and expressed on the western shores of India, we are assured that he will take no undue advantage of the present unfortunate situation of his adversary.'

The coast about Bombay, from Goa to Guzerat, has been always remarkable for the prevalence of piracies, which the Bombay Marine has never yet been strong enough entirely to put down. The following is a late instance related in the 'Bombay Gazette':

'We understand that just before the commencement of the rains, two or three acts of piracy were committed in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Cutch by a party of twenty or thirty men under Jussou Laruk, who had come down from Scinde and seized a boat somewhere near Tooneak, a place in the Gulf.

'It appears that the pirates took advantage of the Government armed boat having been despatched to another quarter from the cruising ground, and in the first instance seized four trading boats, but being laden with grain, they obtained little booty. After this they proceeded to the opposite side of the Gulf, where they abandoned their own vessel, which was taken to Maudavie and claimed by the owners.

'Another act of a more serious nature than the above was committed about the same time, by six men supposed to belong to Bombay, where it is said the principal of the gang purchased a boat, and proceeding with the rest to sea, fell in with a battellah, bound to Surat, off Serrapoor, where they plundered her of every thing portable, and took the goods to a place near Maudavie: in conveying which to some place in the interior, one of the men was seized, whose deposition being taken, may perhaps lead to a discovery of the rest of the gang. The principal escaped, but as there is reason to suppose the crew of the plundered boat were made away with, it is to be hoped this fellow, with his accomplices, may be secured and meet the punishment they deserve.

'In addition to the above, it is reported that a boat having on board a considerable sum in dollars was plundered off Nowanuggur, and the property taken across the Runn by the robbers, as they were traced for a considerable distance along its southern edge; and where the bodies of two unfortunate travellers were found murdered, supposed to have been done by these miscreants, in order to prevent information being given.

'Effectual means, we understand, have been taken by Government to prevent the commission of the like acts, and to give security to vessels trading in the Gulf of Cutch and its vicinity.'

A letter from Bombay states that Sir Charles Metcalfe was at Jeypoor, engaged in some negotiations respecting the young Rajah of that state, who, being in his minority, was of course unable to take care of his own interests without the ever-ready guardianship of the British authorities, who are never backward with their advice or assistance on such occasions, having of course an eye to their own interests at the same time.

Some alarm was felt at Bombay respecting the hostilities between Russia and Persia; the intelligent portion of the community there, well knowing what would be the probable issue of a junction between the forces of Nicholas and those of Scindah, who,



as far as we hear, has no great reason to be satisfied with the treatment or views of his powerful neighbours, and who, it is thought by some, may possibly be induced to have representations made by an ambassador of his own, in a quarter where his complaints, if well grounded, would meet a more gracious reception and more prompt redress than from any Governor to whom his vakeel should present himself at an Indian durbār.

#### EASTERN SEAS.

The intelligence from this quarter is more than usually warlike. The Chinese empire is threatened with a general insurrection: the Javanese territories are likely to revert to their original possessors by the expulsion of the Dutch; and the general state of affairs in the extreme East, seems to portend many and important changes there.

In China, there exists an extensive confederacy, called the Brotherhood, allied by a species of free masonry to each other, and spreading, it would seem, over all the Eastern Archipelago, as well as through China Proper. These are all represented to be disaffected towards the Government, and to be in many places in open rebellion. In Formosa, all the inhabitants have been in this state for some time past. In the north-western provinces, the rebels have been able to surround the local government and its troops, and to cut off all communication with the capital; while, among the Mohammedan tribes in Western Asia, the standard of rebellion against the Chinese throne is fairly unfurled. To suppress all these dangerous ebullitions, the Emperor was exerting all his energies, raising money in every quarter, and by every device. From the Hong merchants and government officers at Canton, a large sum had been already raised, by way of contribution or subscription, and at the court of Peking, new peerages or mandarinships were created, and put up to sale at enormous prices. The *buttons* (for *this* is the emblem of honour in China, instead of ribbons, stars, and garters, which take the lead with us,) were not, however, as saleable as could be desired, so that other steps would probably be resorted to for the purpose of raising the ways and means.

From Java, the accounts still continue to be unfavourable. The following is an extract from the Penang Gazette, which has been repeated in the other Indian Papers:

‘The state of belligerent affairs in Java appears to be daily becoming more unfavourable to the efforts of the Dutch to restore order in the interior. The losses they had sustained, and their critical position, were known in Holland in the month of November, but still no supplies of troops had arrived at Batavia from thence. The number of effective Europeans was less than 500, and they were reduced to the necessity of maintaining the forts at Sooloo and Djocjo-Carta. Seventy officers, besides many men, are said to have perished within the last month or two, from fatigue and exposure in the field.’

'In the meanwhile, the Natives, with all their well-known resolution and courage, have uncontrolled possession of the country, and are represented to have profited so much by the experience they have dearly purchased in this long-continued struggle, as to have become more skilful and far better soldiers than they used to be. The Natives have fortified several strong positions, and are supposed to be gradually improving their advantages. The Dutch, in gallantly storming one of these posts, lost three officers killed and seven wounded, and had about ten men killed and forty wounded; the loss of the Natives was about 600, a result very disproportionate to the relative position and circumstances of the two belligerents. In this affair, an aide-camp of the Governor-General received a musket ball through his neck, another through the thigh; the Natives fighting desperately at the point of the bayonet. It is stated as the opinion of the commander of the forces in the field, General Van Geon, a very distinguished officer, that a supply of 10,000 men must be sent out as speedily as practicable, or it is feared that the provinces in the interior must be wholly abandoned.

'The trade and revenues are represented to be greatly diminished, and heavy complaints continue to be poured forth against the new financial system, by which the public creditor is compelled to receive a dividend of two-thirds of his dues by the depreciation of the currency from 30 stivers to 20 per guilder.'

The Singapore Papers that have reached us, extend to the end of November. In the paper of the 9th of that month, is a very instructive document on the American trade with China, for the season just passed, by which it appears that the total amount of the several heads of trade from Canton were as follows:

	Spanish Dollars.
Imports into Canton from America.....	7,776,301
Exports from Canton to the United States .....	7,630,938
Exports from Do. by American ships to ports in Europe....	684,856
Exports from Do. by Do. to South America and the Pacific	416,768

On a comparison of this statement with that of the preceding year, it appears that the trade between Canton and the United States of North America, continued nearly the same: while that between Canton and South America, carried on in American vessels, and including Manilla and the Sandwich Islands, had increased by 416,768 dollars, or nearly to double its amount in the preceding year. 'This,' says the editor of the *Singapore Chronicle*, 'is a very important circumstance as it regards the commercial resources of these states; for we know (he continues) that shipments to at least an equal amount have been made in the course of the season for the same destination under *other flags*!'

Here is a lesson of reproach to the English Government! All the world may trade freely with China *except* the English; and who are the authors of this absurd and unjust prohibition? No others than the English themselves! Could it be deemed possible that a Legislature should be so blind to the interests of its own subjects, as to let the subjects of all *other* nations profit by an intercourse with such a country as China, and yet make a law shutting out its own subjects (excepting only a few individuals composing a joint-stock monopoly, called the East India Company) from

participating in this otherwise universal trade? And yet all this happens under a ministry especially claiming the praise of the nation for its liberality and encouragement of free trade in every quarter. How long will the merchants and manufacturers of England remain blind to the evils which the continued existence of this monopoly occasions! How long will they delay demanding of the Legislature either to purchase off its remaining lease, or its immediate abolition, as a nuisance and obstruction to the great highway of commerce, which ought to have been removed years ago, and against which the voice of every distressed manufacturer in the kingdom ought to be raised, until its demolition is effectually secured.

A late communication from Batavia, published in the 'Singapore Chronicle,' says, that although the reinforcements of troops from the out-stations and from Europe had increased the European force of the Dutch much beyond what it had ever been, yet they were unable to make a successful stand against the Javenese, who now came into close combat with them, and fought them hand to hand. The insurgents cut up the roads, burn the bridges, and destroy all communication between the Dutch posts. The civilians, harassed out by military duties, afford ample employment for the medical men, while commerce of every kind is at a stand, and Batavia, once the Queen of the East, appears like a city afflicted with the plague.

From the difficulty of raising money to carry on their operations, the Batavian Government had been obliged to retrench in every department of expenditure: some offices were abolished; others incorporated, two or three in one; the pay of all officers reduced; and the allowances of the clergy considerably diminished. The Dutch Company (a new monopoly established by the Netherlands Government) have the entire monopoly of the opium farms of Java and Madura (which have not, as usual, been exposed to sale) at a lower rate than had been ever offered for them by others. It is the prevailing opinion in Java, that they will also get a monopoly of the tin, spices, copper, and every other article worth trading in. Under such a system, it is concluded that while the Company's profits by these monopolies may *appear* large, they will be more than counterbalanced by the cumbrous machinery with which all joint-stock companies are sure to be managed, and that both it and the Government will ultimately sink under the weight of their own burthens.

In the Singapore Paper of Nov. 23, the Editor has republished a large portion of an article given in the February Number of the 'Oriental Herald' on Mr. Crawford's Mission to Siam and Cochin China; and he joins us in deprecating the insolent and malicious article in the 'Quarterly Review' on the same subject.

The general trade of Singapore was increasing,---ships arriving

at it from all quarters. Large quantities of tin had lately been imported into it from the ports of the Peninsula to the north of Malacca. The mines in that district had lately been worked with much spirit, and nearly all the produce of them was brought to Singapore. Vessels from the coast of Coromandel, navigated by native Indians, had also begun to venture across the Indian Ocean towards the straits of Malacca, bringing cargoes of betel-nut and piece goods. Many persons came from India also as settlers, colonization being freely permitted at Singapore, and the population consequently rapidly increasing. Sugar and rice were bringing by junks from Siam in rather increased quantities; but the usual supply of stick lac had entirely failed, no more being produced in Siam than was sufficient for the consumption of the country, and the price accordingly becoming exceedingly high.

#### NEW GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

The recent '*strike*' (as it has been appropriately called) of the Tory faction in the Ministry has occasioned all previously intended appointments of a less important nature to be suspended, if not entirely lost sight of, until the officers necessary to the completion of the new administration shall be filled. Of this, however, we may be assured, that whoever may be joined to Mr. Canning, the policy of the Government will assume a more liberal character, and liberal men will, therefore, meet with more countenance under its sway. It is thought by those who profess to be well acquainted with all the bearings of influence and patronage in the higher circles, that the Duke of Buckingham's interests will be much strengthened by the change; and there are others who go so far as to think that Lord William Bentinck may even become a candidate for the Governor-Generalship with some hope of success. Sir Henry Wellesley is still spoken of by another party as most likely to unite the suffrages of all the influential parties; but no new names have been mentioned in addition to the three specified, as far as we are aware. Lord Melville would now, perhaps, be glad of a renewal of the offer said to have been made to him before he quitted the Admiralty; but, after what has recently transpired, it is not likely to be repeated.

#### NEW EAST INDIA DIRECTORS.

The usual '*semblance*' of an election (for it is nothing more) took place at the East India House on the 11th of April last, when the following gentlemen changed places, relieving each other, according to the accommodating system of re-electing the House List, for the short period of a year, when the *Outs* become *Ins* again: thus—

<i>Outs.</i>	<i>Ins.</i>
Sir G. A. Robinson, Bart.	Campbell Marjoribanks, Esq. 564
Richard Chichey Plowden, Esq.	George Smith, Esq. .... 551
William Stanley Clarke, Esq.	Sweny Toone, Esq. .... 559
John Thornhill, Esq.	John Masterman, Esq. .... 554
George Raikes, Esq.	Charles Elton Prescott, Esq. 552
Henry Alexander, Esq.	William Astell, Esq. .... 551

We have placed the *Ins* in the order of their votes, the number placed opposite each being that by which they were elected; and this scale marks the relative popularity of the several candidates among that portion of the Proprietary body who came to the ballot. Supposing Mr. Marjoribanks, therefore, to have had no pen drawn through his name by the voters, or, in the technical phraseology of the electors, not to have been 'scratched' by any one, it would follow, that out of the whole number only three persons had objected to Mr. Smith, five to Mr. Toone, ten to Mr. Masterman, twelve to Mr. Prescott, and thirteen to Mr. Astell,—a number quite insignificant, compared with the approvers, and therefore proving, beyond question, that 551 out of 564 approve the principle of re-electing the House-List *entire*, and that the remaining thirteen object only to some *one* individual out of the six, from whom, probably, he had not received so courteous a bow or smile as he expected on some occasion of their meeting. When the result of this election of the House List shows, that even the least popular of that List can obtain 551 votes, while Dr. Gilchrist, who opposed this re-election on principle alone—inviting all who thought the House List system a bad one, to assist him in its reform—could only obtain thirty-seven votes in his favour; what further proof can be required of the utter indifference of the Proprietors generally to any propositions for amending the existing mode of conducting their affairs? If they will not interest themselves when it is proposed to restore to them a privilege which they have suffered by mere supineness to be taken out of their hands, on what other occasion can they be expected to rouse themselves from their apathy and inaction? We feel persuaded that there is only *one* method of insuring their attention even to the interests of their own concerns, (as Proprietors of India Stock at least,) and this is to make them feel, in the fluctuations of their dividends, the good and ill effects of a wise or foolish administration of their affairs. A fall of five or six per cent. in their dividends would make them anxious to discover the cause of the decline, and to apply the remedy. But while, as is now the case, their pecuniary gains are exactly the same, whether their affairs are well or ill conducted, they cannot be expected to take any trouble to effect improvements from which they will derive no benefit. They are not of that class of mankind who make gratuitous efforts for the improvement, moral or political, of their species; and as they have nothing to

gain by reforming a bad system, they choose the more easy method of remaining neuter, or giving it their tacit support.

We should add, that Sir G. A. Robinson and the Hon. Hugh Lindsay received the unanimous thanks of the Court for their conduct during the past year, as Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors during that period; and that the Hon. Hugh Lindsay and J. Pattison Esq., are the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman for the present year, a change which is thought to give the Court increased popularity, from the personal influence of two of its most generally popular members.

#### NEW BISHOPS FOR INDIA.

No definitive steps appear to have been yet taken respecting the proposed appointment of three new Bishops for India; the recent changes in the Ministry, and the consequent transfers of patronage having, no doubt, had its share in retarding this as well as still weightier matters. The Bishop of Calcutta, however, is said to be fixed on, and the favoured individual named is the Rev. John James, Rector of Futton, in Bedfordshire.

#### NEW CANDIDATES FOR THE DIRECTION.

It is not an easy task to enumerate accurately from memory all the individuals who have announced themselves as candidates for the East India Direction, and who now, as it is called, 'occupy the ground.' The following, however, we believe to be among the principal:

Colonel Sir William Young, of the Military Service of Bombay.  
 Mr. Charles Buller, of the Civil Service, Bengal.  
 Mr. Henry Shank, of the Civil Service, Bombay.  
 Mr. W. H. Trant, of the Civil Service, Bengal.  
 Colonel Lushington, of the Military Service, Madras.  
 Mr. Keith Douglas, a merchant in London.  
 Mr. Charles Mackinnon, Medical Service, late a merchant in China.  
 Mr. William Henry Hobhouse, late a merchant in Bengal.  
 Mr. Henry Gahagan, late a Member of the Legal Profession, Madras.  
 Mr. John Pascal Larkins, of the Civil Service, Bengal.  
 Mr. Robert Cutlar Fergusson, late Advocate-General in Bengal.  
 Dr. John Borthwick Gilchrist, Oriental Professor, London.  
 Captain William Gowan, of the Military Service, in Bengal.  
 Mr. John Forbes, Member of Parliament, London.

There are, probably, others whom we do not immediately remember, though we have made no intentional omission. The list, however, is already sufficiently long, to show that there is a sufficient supply of candidates to fill every vacancy that is likely to happen between this and the termination of the Honourable Company's Charter. Of the respective pretensions, or real qualifications of the several parties named, it would be not merely premature, but useless, to say much. Each of them has already addressed the Proprietors publicly, stating the grounds of his claim to their

attention, and pledging himself to the observance of certain principles and duties in the event of success. This last is of the highest importance ; but, unfortunately, as long as the system of keeping the Directors virtually in office for life, by the continued re-election of the House List, is persevered in, there is no security beyond the honour of the parties for the fulfilment of the pledges made, for we have seen no instance yet of any man being removed from the Direction by those who placed him there, in consequence of either incapacity or inattention ; and, surely, the whole body cannot be so superior to the rest of mankind as not to be occasionally visited by a member subject to one or both of these common failings. There has been one late accession to the Direction, at least, in which we hope the preservation of principles professed while a candidate will last for some time uncontaminated ; and we also believe, that among the most recent announcements of claims and pretensions on the part of candidates, there will be found as much of this sterling principle, and probable retention of it, through a long course of years, as in the instance we have already mentioned. May the number of such candidates and such Directors gradually increase, as in the mere natural course of events, some of the veteran supporters of ' things as they were,' must, ere long, give place to younger, and we hope we may say, without offence, to more efficient, and, therefore, better men !

#### SYSTEM OF REPORTING DEBATES.

A correspondent has inquired of us, how it happened that in the report of the debate in the House of Commons on the Barrackpore massacre, there were such extraordinary coincidences and discrepancies in the two versions of the same debate reported in the ' Oriental Herald' and the ' Asiatic Journal.' In the latter, he says, the speech of Sir Charles Forbes is dispatched in half a dozen lines, while in all the newspapers it occupied nearly ten times the space, and is consequently very fully given in the ' Herald ;' while the speech of Col. Lushington, which does not appear in any one of the newspapers at all, (the few words which fell from him being attributed in all the daily papers to Mr. Money,) is given at great length, and word for word the same in both the ' Asiatic Journal' and the ' Oriental Herald.' He notices other defects in the report given in the former publication, in the omission of the most important part of Col. Davis's retort on Mr. Hart Davies's imputations on Mr. Hume, as well as of Mr. Hume's general reply ; and he expresses his surprise that a publication, lending itself to such marked partiality as this, should have obtained the commendation of the Honourable Leicester Stanhope, in his late letter addressed to the Editor of that work, as being remarkably accurate and impartial in its reports.

On all this, we have but few remarks to make. The first is,

that as Sir Charles Forbes's speech was reported at some length in all the daily papers, its curtailment to half a dozen lines in the 'Asiatic Journal,' while others were given without any retrenchment whatever, must have been an intentional suppression of the matter which that speech contained; and when it is considered that this matter consisted chiefly of an enumeration of instances in which both his Majesty's and the Company's troops had mutinied in different parts of India, partly for the purpose of proving how general and how frequent such disaffection was, but still more for the purpose of showing that the mutinies had all been quelled and order restored, without massacre or any other acts of severity, which were therefore wholly unnecessary, even supposing the mutiny at Barrackpore to have been wholly without just ground or cause,—the suppression of such facts and arguments in a publication systematically devoted to the support of the Company and its measures, can bear but one interpretation: and *this* all redecting people will inevitably give it. The minor omissions of certain parts of Col. Davis's and Mr. Hume's replies may be probably owing to the same partial view of the question in debate; and as neither of the speeches thus omitted or curtailed were either of great length or irrelevant to the subject, the ordinary excuse for reduction or condensation does not offer; besides which, when the curtailment is all applied to matter of the same description, namely, that which sets the Company's Government in an *unfavourable* light, there can be no mistake as to the rule observed in making the retrenchment.

Respecting the remarkable coincidence of Col. Lushington's speech being word for word the same in the 'Oriental Herald' and the 'Asiatic Journal,' while not a line of it appeared under that name in any of the daily papers, the inference will naturally be, that without a miracle these reports could not have come from two separate pens; but, we can perceive no valid objection against any member of any public assembly, who has not had the good fortune to be heard by the reporters who attend, placing on paper his own recollections of what fell from him, for the public eye, especially when, as we believe to be the case in the present instance, the report is substantially confined to what was really uttered. Such a practice, so far from being reprehensible, is highly to be commended. It is the only effectual security against either unavoidable inaccuracy or wilful misrepresentation. And we beg to say, that we shall on all occasions be very happy to be so secured against imperfections in reports which are otherwise unavoidable.

By the way, we may take this opportunity to remark, that in the report of Sir Charles Forbes's speech, there were several inaccuracies, and one very material error, which originated in the reporter's



mistaking Bhurtpore for Muttra,\* the mutineers at which last place (instead of the first) were sent down to Calcutta and embarked for England, though otherwise represented in the report. In the speech of Col. Stanhope, at the India House, on the Press in India, the portion commented on by us in a note† is also said to have been inaccurately reported. To those who are in the habit of hearing public speeches generally, and reading them in the best reports afterwards, these errors will not excite wonder. In no cases, perhaps, except those of examinations on evidence, where sufficient time elapses between the question and answer for the short-hand writer to take down the exact words, are reports of public proceedings ever exactly *verbatim*, though, where great pains are taken, and the advantage of proximity to the speaker admits of hearing every word, considerable accuracy is no doubt attainable.\* The errors or even omissions of a report are, however, quite excusable, when compared with the partial and wilful suppression, in a second-hand publication, of certain parts of a report which had been printed before at greater length in others, from which it is professedly copied, but in which copying, all the parts making for the India Company and its government are retained at full, and those making against it are curtailed in the proportion of two or three lines only for a page. This is what has been done by the 'Asiatic Journal' in the report of the debate in Parliament on the Barrackpore mutiny, and in the speech of Sir Charles Forbes in particular. The 'accuracy and impartiality' of its reports are not therefore as worthy of commendation, as Col. Stanhope no doubt honestly believed them to be when he attributed to them these qualities.

For ourselves, we conceive it would be a great improvement in reporting, if, instead of the verbatim speeches which are often given, a general review of the arguments used on each side of every debated question were substituted, so that the reader might have all the pith and essence of the matter, divested of its redundancy of words, placed briefly before him—as a judge sums up the evidence of a case, or as an historian condenses the arguments of a controversy on any great disputed point. The speakers themselves would not probably like this levelling system, in which a well condensed and closely logical speech of fifteen minutes should be made to exhibit more valuable facts and sound arguments, than a rambling incoherent speech of as many hours, when stripped of all that was foreign to the question in debate. All parties except the speakers would, however, be better pleased, and more instructed if this process of extracting the wheat from the chaff were performed by some competent hand before it was presented to their

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\* See p. 190 of the 'Oriental Herald,' vol. xii.

† See p. 165 of the 'Oriental Herald,' vol. xii.

own inspection. What is wanted for such a task is, great clearness of perception to distinguish the useful from the worthless, great integrity of purpose to prevent misrepresentation, and great patience and industry to undergo the labour. But, if Judges, who have heard all the facts and arguments of a case, can safely be intrusted with this summing up, after the debateable process is over, and pronouncing judgment on the whole, we think public writers might be equally invested with the same powers. In point of fact, this is what they constantly do with respect to books, in all the *Critical Reviews* of the kingdom; and as speeches, like books, contain only the testimony and opinions of individuals on the several subjects on which they are written or delivered, so they might advantageously be submitted to the same process: with greater reason indeed than books, for these are mostly the fruit of long reflection and deliberate revisal from the author's pen; whereas speeches are generally the spontaneous effusions of the moment, and therefore likely, especially from unpractised orators, to contain much which they themselves, on a deliberate review, would consider crude, undigested, and superfluous.

We shall probably follow up this conclusion, by an attempt to introduce this mode of giving the *substance* of reports, in our own pages at least; and have no doubt, but that *all* our readers, (save and except the speakers themselves,) or, at a rude estimate, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand, will approve the change.

#### NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Of some of the new Works that have been sent to us during the past month, we have given extended notices in the preceding pages of the present Number. Of such as we have been unable to include in reviews of the present month, we must content ourselves with a shorter notice here, reserving to ourselves the hope of entering more at large into their merits on some future occasion.

1. *BIBLIOTHECA SUSSEXIANA*.—This is a descriptive catalogue, accompanied by historical and biographical notes, of the manuscript and printed books contained in the library of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, in Kensington Palace. It has been compiled, or rather composed and written, (for it bears on its face the marks of great research, originality, and critical talent,) by Mr. T. J. Pettigrew, the librarian of the Royal Duke, and member of at least half the learned and philosophical societies of Europe. The portion published extends to two superb imperial octavo volumes, of about three hundred pages each; but even these include only the manuscripts and theological works. A very spirited and faithful likeness of the Duke of Sussex, engraved by Skelton, from a portrait by Lonsdale, is prefixed to the first volume, which also contains several extremely curious and interesting engravings

of illuminated titles and heads of chapters to Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, Latin, and Armenian manuscripts. In the preface, it is stated that the library, of which this work is only the first portion of a descriptive catalogue, contains upwards of fifty thousand volumes of manuscripts and printed books, twelve thousand of which are theological. By this latter term, however, it is not to be understood merely controversial divinity, but rather the originals of all the great sources of theological writing; in copies of almost all the early editions of the 'Scriptures' in every tongue, a department of literature in which it is thought the Duke's library is quite unrivalled in Europe or the world. Among the Oriental manuscripts, in addition to copies of the 'Koran,' (one of which came from the library of Tippoo Sultan, on the capture of Seringapatam,) are several in the Pali, Singhalese, and Burman languages, on which we hope to be favoured with materials for a short notice in a separate article in our next. The whole catalogue is, however, full of interest to the lover of ancient literature especially, and has been executed with a care and splendour at once honourable to its author, and worthy of the magnificent collection it is intended to describe.

2. **THE DRAUGHT OF IMMORTALITY AND OTHER POEMS.**—A volume under this title, from the pen of Henry Meredith Parker, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, is passing through the press at the moment of our writing this; and will appear, most probably, within a few days after the issue of our present Number. It will form a handsome octavo volume, beautifully printed, and dedicated to the author's esteemed friend, Holt Mackenzie, Esq., son of 'the Man of Feeling,' and one of the Secretaries of Government in Bengal. Many of the pieces in this collection have already appeared in the 'Calcutta Journal,' under the signature of 'Bernard Wycliffe,' and will be well remembered for their exquisite beauty by those who were resident in India at that stirring period. A great number of new pieces, most of them written amid the inspiring scenes of Europe, since the return of the author to his native land, are, however, added to those already better known: and the whole forms a combination of poetic vigour, grace, and beauty, not often found to characterize the productions of any one pen. We have availed ourselves of permission to adopt a few of the pieces in the present Number of our publication,\* to which we are sure they will be considered ornaments of a very high character; and we augur extensive and deserved popularity for the work, both in India and in England, the great and happy variety of its subjects rendering it equally acceptable to all the lovers of poetic excellence in either hemisphere.

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\* The first in order, entitled 'An Indian Day,' the acknowledgment of which was inadvertently omitted at the time of printing it, is one of them.

3. **MR. THOMSON'S WORK ON SOUTHERN AFRICA.**—This is a volume which deserves a more extended notice than we can venture to give of it in the present month. We shall do it only justice to reserve it for a more deliberate analysis, and comprehensive review. At the same time, we cannot even suffer this sheet to pass from our pen without drawing the attention of our Eastern readers, and especially those to whom the affairs of the Cape of Good Hope are interesting or important, to a volume in which, from the resources of the author, and the talent of the editor through whose hands it has passed preparatory to its issuing from the press, more recent and authentic information on that quarter of the globe may be expected, than has for some time been presented to the world.

4. **POPULAR SERVIAN POETRY.**—An attractive little volume, under this title, has recently appeared from the pen of Mr. Bowring, who, as a poetic translator, holds, deservedly, the highest rank, and appears without a rival or competitor. The French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Dutch, Slavonic, Polish, Russian, and Finnish languages seem equally familiar to him. He is not merely conversant with the principal authors in each, but critically acquainted with them all. His Russian and Batavian Anthology, his Spanish Romances, his Polish songs, have each been as greatly admired for the fidelity of their translation, as his English *Matins*, *Vespers*, and *Hymns*, for their pure devotional spirit, and characteristically chaste and simple beauty; and, we doubt not, the Finnish *Runes*, which are announced from the same pen, will continue to support the well-earned reputation of this almost universal translator of the ancient as well as contemporaneous poets of other tongues and other lands. The volume of '*Servian Popular Poetry*' has prefixed to it an introduction, in which the history of the Servians and their literature is briefly but interestingly sketched; and among the poems themselves, are to be found several of great originality, and many of the most affecting kind. The prevailing character is quite in unison with that of a people living in a state of great simplicity, yet on the borders of more civilized as well as more barbarous races; giving vent to the feelings of nature in strains of appropriate energy or tenderness, as the occasion inspires, yet strongly tinged with the superstitions amid which they have been bred. To some of the shorter pieces of the collection, we have given place among our poetic selections in the present Number, and shall revert to the same source, for others equally distinguished by the characteristics we have enumerated; not doubting but that the general reception of the work will be as gratifying to Mr. Bowring, as its perusal has been to ourselves.

5. **ADVENTURES OF NAUFRAGUS.**—This is a work over which, from the late period of the month at which it reached us, we have hardly been able to cast a hasty glance. It purports to be the adventures of an individual, who passed the greater portion of his life at sea,

and much of it in different parts of India. The narrative is stated to be founded on actual events, and to be interspersed with descriptions from personal observation of the several places visited in the course of the author's varied and eventful track. The design is unobjectionable; and if the execution be good, (of which we cannot yet speak,) the work will deserve, and in that case, no doubt, obtain a favourable judgment from those to whose criticism it is submitted; as there appears, from the contents and the disclaimer of the preface, nothing calculated to offend, either personally or politically, any individuals or classes in the state. The possession of even this negative merit is often sufficient to shield a book from censure, though it cannot save it from neglect: but in the present instance, we shall be glad to find that there is merit sufficient to secure the author and his labours, from either or both.

6. JOURNEY FROM INDIA TO ENGLAND.—A volume under this title, by Lieutenant Alexander, of the King's army, has been announced to appear within the month of April, and from the route described to have been taken by the officer named, is likely to possess great interest, especially at the present moment. We have not yet seen a copy of the work, however, though we shall embrace an early occasion of giving it our attention when it appears.

7. ANTIQUITIES OF DACCÀ.—Those who have seen the early Number of this exquisitely beautiful work, from the pencil of Sir Charles D'Oyly and the graver of Mr. Landseer, will be gratified to learn that another Number is in a forward state, and likely soon to appear. If there are any who are unacquainted with the character of this work, we beg to refer them to a notice of it in the '*Oriental Herald*,' at page 310 of vol. xi., in the Number for November last.

8. DELICIÆ SYLVARUM.—Those of our readers also, whose love of nature and art will have equally contributed to make them remember the beautiful '*Portraits of Forest Trees*,' by Mr. Strutt, in his '*Sylva Britannica*,' noticed in a former Number of our Publication,\* will be glad to learn that the same accomplished artist is preparing a series of grand and romantic forest views, under the title given above, to be comprized in twelve numbers, printed uniformly with the '*Sylva Britannica*,' and intended as a companion to that work. After what has been said of this last, it would be difficult to raise undue expectations; for, with such a subject, and from such a pencil, we may expect the most beautiful combinations of objects that nature can present, and the most perfect delineations of them that art can produce.

9. TRAVELS IN MESOPOTAMIA.—We close our notices of New Publications, by stating that the '*Travels in Mesopotamia*' have already passed into a second edition, the first having been entirely

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\* See '*Oriental Herald*,' vol. ix. p. 323.

sold off within a week after publication; and the second being already in great part engaged by orders received previous to its completion in the octavo form. These are pleasing and unequivocal proofs of general approbation;—and as Dr. Bryce still labours, by unremitted efforts in the ‘John Bull’ and ‘Quarterly Review’ of Calcutta, to prove to the people of India that the writings and character of Mr. Buckingham are utterly and equally worthless,\* while his calumniators, Bankes and Burckhardt, were both honourable men;—and as Captain Macnaghten very recently asserted, that ‘Mr. Buckingham had fallen so low in public estimation, and was such a perfect pest and nuisance to the press of England in particular, that no one in this country would think it worth his while to notice him *at all*;† it may be worth while to show what credit is due to the assertions of these *Indian* authorities, and how far the literary public, as well as the conductors of the periodical press in *England*, differ from them in their estimate of the writings and character of the object of their hatred and spleen, by introducing, from a few of the recent criticisms on this work, the observations of Editors personally unknown to its author, and in many cases, judging from their journals, entertaining opposite political views. As, for reasons stated at the time, no review of these *Travels* was given in the ‘Oriental Herald,’ when the first edition of the work appeared, it may be the more acceptable to the general reader to offer, in its place, a collection of the leading opinions passed by others, now that the work has reached a second edition.

(From the *Atlas*, February 25, 1827.)

Mr. Buckingham is one of our pleasantest writers of books of *Travels*, and his route has fortunately always lain through countries where he had only to open his eyes, and look upon interesting materials of description. As a traveller, he is active, persevering, industrious, and observant; as a writer, he is copious, easy, and occasionally striking and forcible; he possesses a natural vein of flowing and copious language, and in narrating or describing, performs his task with a fulness and a lively minuteness that leave nothing to be wished. Although the adventurous nature of his life has prevented him from becoming a learned, or generally a scientific man, he is neither destitute of information, nor ignorant of the sources whence it is to be sought, on any point which may require illustration. For travelling in Oriental countries, Mr. Buckingham appears well qualified, by the facility with which he assumes and supports the character of an Oriental, and by the nature of his constitution, which, apparently, has much power of enduring and long suffering in it. All the three books, for which we are indebted to this traveller, are valuable both for the solid matter of instruction they contain, and the amusement they afford. The present one, which contains part of his land journey to India, from Aleppo to Bagdad, is fully as agreeable a book as either of the other two, and perhaps as instructive. The manners of the East are such a curious combination of splendour and squalor—of pride and servility—of hospitality and robbery—of freedom and slavery—of wealth and poverty—that the painter who does not succeed in producing an effect with such broad lights

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\* See the ‘Oriental Herald,’ Vol. XIII. p. 118.

† See ‘Oriental Herald,’ Vol. XII. p. 83.

and shades, must be a sad bungler. No one can accuse Mr. Buckingham of not making the most of what he sees, in any sense.

Mesopotamia, the country which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, is the subject of this volume. A more interesting quarter is not to be pointed out. Its connexion with the sacred writings—its being the scene, in part, of one of the most striking and picturesque of classic stories, the Retreat of the Ten Thousand—its being the scene of the most romantic and important of the exploits of Alexander, as well as its wild and various modern history, all substantiate its claim to the attention of the traveller. It is to be regretted that Mr. Buckingham passed through as a wayfarer in a caravan, anxious only to get on as fast he could. Had his object been merely to visit and describe the country, he would have compiled as singularly curious an antiquarian work as in this kind exists. As it is, he did all that was possible for man to do in his circumstances; and since he has now produced a large and full quarto, it is, perhaps, well for our pockets that he did pass through the country as a hurried traveller. It is, perhaps, in some respects fortunate for those at home, and favourable to condensation, that the voyager in these countries, being frequently compelled to put his baggage into the smallest possible compass, and often to conceal all note-books and writing materials about his person, cannot indulge in very copious details.

In 1816, when Mr. Buckingham was desirous of passing from Syria to India, he found the passage across the Desert unusually dangerous, and, indeed, impassable to travellers, on account of the disturbed state of the Arabs at that period. A more unfrequented route was chosen by the caravan he joined, to the northward, which led through the interesting towns of Beer, Orfah, Mardin, and Mousul—all celebrated, either in ancient or modern times, for something remarkable, and lying in a route which contained many other places and objects of great curiosity.

If we were to follow the author in the journey which he has taken a large quarto to describe, our narrative would be a mere itinerary. We prefer to select some of the more striking descriptions of manners, or the account of an adventure or two, which may be illustrative of the character of the people.

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The anecdotes we have quoted have exhausted our space, long before we have exhausted the book—to which we must refer for an ample store of curious observation and description.

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It would be unjust to dismiss this work without expressing our admiration of the beauty of the wood-cuts. They form the most animated and striking pictures, and do infinite credit to the artist, Mr. W. H. Brooke. The book is likewise a specimen of beautiful typography.

(From the *Lady's Magazine* for March, 1827.)

Mr. Buckingham is well known as a bold adventurer and an ingenious writer, and his hostility to the ruling power in British India still farther contributed to render his name familiar to the public. We shall say no more on the subject of his contest with the Company, than that he defended himself with talent and spirit. He now appears before us as the narrator of the incidents of an extensive and remarkable journey; and, as his accounts are both amusing and credible, we are confident that our readers will be pleased with the information which we extract from his volume.

(From the *New Monthly Magazine*, for March, 1827.)

Mr. Buckingham's overland route to India (pursued, not like that of Captain Keppel's return from the same country, through Russia and Persia, but by way of the Mediterranean and of the Turkish provinces in Asia Minor,) has already furnished, to that active observer and investigator, the materials for two volumes which have been some time in the hands of the public.

namely, "*Travels in Palestine*," and "*Travels among the Arab Tribes*;" and the third work, just published, and now lying before us, conducts us from Aleppo to the banks of the Euphrates, and thence, from plain to plain, and from city to city, till the author enters Bagdad, and explores the ruins in the vicinity of Hilleh, which ruins are commonly, and apparently with the best reason, considered to be those of the ancient city of Babel or Babylon.

From Bagdad, too, Mr. Buckingham made an excursion to the supposed remains of Babel, or Babylon, in the neighbourhood of the modern town or city of Hilleh. To the general consideration of those remains, the readers of the "*New Monthly Magazine*" have been recently invited, in our review, already referred to, of the "*Personal Narrative*" of Captain Keppel; and we have now to add, that such as possess the inclination to inform themselves with more minuteness concerning the present appearance, and ancient and modern descriptions of the great city—"the praise of the whole earth,"—may consult with the highest advantage the volume of Mr. Buckingham. Mr. Buckingham was more elaborate than Captain Keppel, in his personal examination; and he has also laid the authors who precede him under more liberal contribution.

But the distinguishing result and pride of Mr. Buckingham's research appears to consist in his discovery of a remaining portion of the celebrated walls of the city. It is in this particular that Mr. Buckingham stands quite alone. Mr. Rich had not explored the mound which appears to have thus rewarded the perseverance and research of Mr. Buckingham; and Captain Keppel had distinctly renounced the claim to any good fortune of the kind:—"After stating," says the latter gentleman, "upon what grounds I rest my belief in the identity of these ruins, it is fair to add, that our party, in common with other travellers, have totally failed in discovering any traces of the city walls."—Mr. Buckingham's narrative of his "search after the walls of Babylon," and the very full, and to us very satisfactory, disquisition into which he enters, as to the evidence upon which he establishes his belief, that the mound called "*Al Ilheimar*" is a real reman of the city-wall, will be read, by every lover of classical antiquity, with singular eagerness; though the author, in using the phrase, "search after the walls," misrepresents his own transactions, and, by the same inadvertence, even invites suspicion as to the impartiality of his judgments. It is not true that Mr. Buckingham made his "more easterly excursion" in "search after the walls." He went, as he himself informs us, only to see the mound *Al Ilheimar*, "tempted by the sight of the high mounds in that direction, as well as by the report of there being one of particular interest there, called *Al Ilheimar*, and by the persuasion that vestiges of ruins must exist beyond the boundary-line, which we conceived to mark only the enclosure, of sixty stadia, that encompassed the castellated palace and its gardens." Thus Mr. Buckingham went to see the mound *Al Ilheimar*, and in "search after" other supposed "vestiges;" but (as far as appears) he had no preconceived theory of the "city-walls" to support; he did not go in "search after the walls;" but it was his careful and discriminating survey of the mound *Al Ilheimar*—his acute application of the minute description of the peculiar architecture of the city-walls, as found in Herodotus—and his intelligent observation of the distinguishing characteristics of the brickwork of *Al Ilheimar*, as compared with that of all the other ruins, which gave birth to his persuasion of his having unexpectedly discovered a portion of the city-wall; and which, at the same time, appears to bear so honourable a testimony to the minute accuracy of an ancient historian, whom modern ignorance has been very free to charge with credulity and error:—"Dr. Hine," says Mr. Buckingham, "the physician to the Residency at Bagdad, and Captain Lockett, of the Army, who first visited this ruin, were particularly struck with the singularity of this cement, and both of them, as I had already learned, from the former gentleman, thought it to have contained originally small pieces of straw; though this does not appear to have suggested to them an idea of its being the composition described by Herodotus, nor consequently of the ruin being a portion of the city-wall."



Mr. Rich knew Al Hhelmar only by report, and never suspected its relationship to the city-wall." From this very striking part of Mr. Buckingham's work, it is the limitation of our space alone which prevents us from making more than one extract.

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Specially attracted by those parts of Mr. Buckingham's book which tend to solve the mysteries of antique, and particularly of biblical lore, we have passed over, for the most part, that succession of paintings of scenery, incidents and manners, with which every chapter presents us; and even the accounts given by our author of Arbela, Ctesiphon, and Seleucia. The whole volume will gratify its readers; and the few and occasional examples of defective diction, and sometimes of style, which must be admitted to betray themselves, are but small and trivial detractors from the general merit.

In a short Appendix, Mr. Buckingham has given a condensed account of his proceedings at law, with Messrs. Bankes and Murray: and has also adverted to his disputes with the Indian Government. Upon all these points, the impression upon our mind is, that Mr. Buckingham has really received very ill treatment from the parties whom he impugns.

The volume is adorned with twenty-seven beautiful wood-engraved vignettes, illustrative of scenery, architecture, costume, and manners, from drawings by Mr. W. H. Brooke; and illustrated by a map of Mesopotamia, and copies of the views of the ruins of ancient Babylon, from the pencil of the late Mr. Rich, and originally accompanying that gentleman's Memoirs.

(From the *Globe* of March 15, 1827.)

A great part of the route which was pursued by the author of this work has not been described by any traveller since the days of Niebuhr; its publication is calculated to excite considerable attention. The manner in which Mr. Buckingham travelled—in the garb of an Arab, and his acquaintance with the Arabic language—enabled him to obtain a better view, both of the structure of society, and of the country, in a part of Asia so little visited, than would have been open to an European under any other circumstances.

The banks of the Tigris and Euphrates are, to those who amuse themselves by a comparison of the past with the present, the most interesting regions in the world. After having been apparently the cradles of civilization, after having possessed cities the vastness of which even the inhabitants of London and Paris can with difficulty bring themselves to believe, they are now, for the most part, the abode of wandering tribes of half savages; while traits of ancient manners, perpetuated in a country, which has been subject to such a change of condition and to the devastation of so many conquerors, excite as much wonder at what remains as at what has passed away.

The accounts of the cities which are so little known, and have been so rarely visited—Orfah, Diarbekr, and Mousul,—are extremely curious, especially of the first. That place, from its natural advantages, seems to rank with Damascus, as one of the most delightful cities of the earth.

The discovery of a portion of the walls of Babylon is one of Mr. Buckingham's most remarkable discoveries; and to this he was led by the description of their structure in Herodotus. The historical authorities, and the reasoning by which Mr. Buckingham satisfactorily establishes that the ruin in question, called by the inhabitants Al Hhelmar, is a part of the walls of the mighty city, are too long for us to extract, but are extremely interesting to the antiquarian.

We can do little more than call attention to the work, which will amply repay the labour of a careful perusal. It is one of the most valuable contributions that has been made, in modern times, to our knowledge of the ancient and modern state of Asia.

(From the *Literary Chronicle*, March 10 and 17, 1827.)

Of all recent travellers, Mr. Buckingham, perhaps, possesses the strongest claims on general attention. Independently of the extraneous circumstances which have created so lively an interest in his journeys and proceedings, he is one of those (a sadly-circumscribed number) who look with their own eyes

on the things which lie before them, and who are gifted with the ability to supply mankind with vivid, original, and correct descriptions. By no species of imposture is the world more easily and thoroughly gulled, than by your manufacturer of travels. In nine cases out of ten, those interesting and valuable accounts proceed from some brainless bear-leader or wealthy booby, whom accident or whim has transported into the regions of the wild and wonderful, and whose meagre and spiritless note-book is, on his return, handed to some regularly-apprenticed book-maker. Then the ingenious and industrious hireling proceeds to work; circulating libraries are ransacked for every volume that bears upon the *when* and *where*; the cleverest transpositions are instantaneously effected; old stories are clothed in garbs of the newest cut and most fashionable style; the book-maker is remunerated, the bibliopole contracted with, and, finally, the public are cheated and are satisfied. Between these tricksters and Mr. Buckingham there is nothing in common. The latter presents us only with what is palpably his own, acquired by his own exertions, and related in a style the most manly and perspicuous. We have already had the pleasure of laying before our readers an interesting extract from the present volume; and we now proceed with some further quotations, equally illustrative and important.

To these travels, Mr. Buckingham has appended 'a brief statement of the result of certain legal proceedings connected with the literary character of the author.' It is a masterly and dispassionate enumeration of acts of the most intolerable injustice that were ever committed; and we sincerely trust that its circulation, in conjunction with so valuable a testimonial of the talent and ability of Mr. Buckingham, as is afforded by these travels, will tend to ensure the only reparation which he can now expect—the sympathy and assistance of all honourable friends.

*(From the London Magazine for April, 1827.)*

This is a book exceedingly rich in almost every topic that can gratify public curiosity. There are personal adventures, description of singular manners and extraordinary countries, geographical information, industrious historical research, with full accounts of numerous places of the greatest classical and scriptural interest. We were much interested with the perusal of the former portions of Mr. Buckingham's voyage; this, however, decidedly surpasses its elder brethren, both in the variety of its contents, and the talent displayed in the narration. We think we cannot do better than by going regularly through it, and condensing into as small a space, as we can, not only a collection of the more striking passages, but a general enumeration of the objects, places, and scenes which the traveller encountered.

This is, in fact, the term of Mr. Buckingham's adventures, and here we shall take our leave of him. There are several subsequent chapters, describing the city of Bagdad, already tolerably well-known to us, but principally occupied with the search after, and dissertations on, the ruins of Babylon. This portion has rather an antiquarian and historical interest, than that of an ordinary book of travels. It is, however, elaborate and ingenious; and though we forbear either to make any extracts from or analysis of it, we recommend it, as well as the whole volume, to the perusal of the reader.

*(From the Monthly Magazine of April, 1827.)*

This new volume is decisive of Mr. Buckingham's qualifications. His pretensions must, in this case, be undivided. He was unaccompanied by any European, and therefore can have plundered no European fellow-traveller's collections; and of filching any Oriental's, he will not, we suppose, be suspected. Mr. Buckingham comes before the public now, not only unimpeached with respect to the present journey, but cleared of all former suspicions, by the open or implied confessions of his calumniators. He has successfully swept away all unworthy suspicions; and we venture to say, the volume before us—affording as it does ample proofs of industry and research, of observance abroad and diligence at home, of sound sense and cultivated intellect, with no ordinary powers of description—will, at the same time, be welcomed with all the confidence for which his expurgation has paved the way.

These are not regions that offer attractions to the tourist.—A man must have some strong compelling motive to urge him over arid plains and sun-burnt wastes—utterly destitute of shade, and often even of water; subject to exactions from every person in power, superior or subaltern, and to plunderings from the flying squadrons of lawless hordes—exposed, moreover, to insult, and mockery, and degradations from hard and bigoted religionists, impatient of the Christian creed, and intolerant of European customs. These are hazards which, of course, the *dilettante* traveller will not incur. The missionary, if he visits similar scenes, is intent upon other objects; and the man of business has no eyes for one half of the objects that we, who sit snugly at home, and content with reading about dangers, instead of encountering them, desire to know something about. We wish to be enabled to compare the state of things now with the state of things formerly, with the state we read they were in two or three thousand years ago—to correct or confirm our old conceptions—to estimate the value of the advance, or the causes of retrogression;—we wish to be furnished with facts, not merely relative to buildings and numbers, but to domestic habits and public institutions—to prevailing opinions and modes of thinking—to principles, prejudices—whatever will put us in possession of the actual condition of society. These are the things that present materials—the best materials—for comprehensive conceptions of human nature—that enlarge our views and extend our grasp—and ultimately bid us be content with our own lot, or teach us how to mend it.

In furtherance of these purposes, Mr. Buckingham has done every thing, that the circumstances of his journey, and his short intercourse of three months, would allow. He has the traveller's qualifications in abundant measure. He was no stranger in the East. He had, besides, collected and compared all authentic accounts of the countries he was going to visit; and was thus in possession of the useful, from the days and books of Xenophon, Diodorus, and Strabo—not neglecting the careful researches of D'Auvville, and Renmel, and Gibbon—nor the accounts of travellers, from the old Spanish Jew, who traversed the country in the twelfth century, down to Niebuhr, who visited some parts of it sixty or seventy years ago—the last of any eminence.

Among the more remarkable parts of the volume, are his descriptions of ancient cities, of what is believed to be Nineveh, Nisibis, Arbela, Ctesiphon, Seleucia, and Babylon; and of these, the most memorable are his researches relative to Babylon. Among the existing masses of masonry, one he conceives to be a relic of the celebrated wall, which had eluded the research of former travellers.

Through the whole volume, in short, the reader will find—in addition to the details of the journey—much to arrest his attention, and make him forget the bulk of the volume.

(From the *Monthly Review* for April, 1827.)

The name of Mesopotamia was chiefly applied, by the Greeks, to that tract of Asia which occupies what may be called the Delta, formed by the Euphrates and the Tigris. It is a country peculiarly interesting, as it contains the ruins of several cities mentioned in the sacred writings, and as some of its inhabitants still retain the manners and customs which prevailed there in the earliest ages of the world; thus affording an uninterrupted mass of evidence to attest the accuracy and authenticity of those inspired productions. It is a country, too, which our modern Asiatic travellers have unaccountably neglected, though most have, either on the one side or the other, traversed its outskirts. No doubt, the difficulties and dangers attendant on a journey through the most interesting parts of Mesopotamia, must have had their share in deterring our enterprising countrymen from undertaking this Herculean labour. The whole of its territory is overrun with armed and well-mounted tribes; who, under the pretext of levying imposts upon the caravans which pass through their different districts, plunder them in the most audacious manner, and apparently to such an extent, that the merchant who sets out with a considerable venture, finds himself nearly stripped of all his property before he arrives at his destination.

The real amount of the depredations committed by these roaming banditti,

is in itself sufficiently great : of course it is not a little exaggerated in the complaints of those who suffer ; and, in consequence, the whole country has obtained so infamous a name, that a stranger, who attempts to travel through it, must make up his mind to expose his life to more than the common perils of a desert.

We cannot, therefore, too highly applaud the spirit which induced Mr. Buckingham to undertake, and enabled him, under circumstances sometimes of the most adverse nature, to complete a journey through this dangerous, yet most inviting, district of Asia. If he has not given so perfect and so minute an account of its actual condition, at the time he visited it, as we might have wished to receive, yet he has gone farther towards the attainment of that object, than many travellers could have done in his situation. The present work is by far better written, in point of style, and in reference to those little picturesque details of manners and of scenery, than any of his former volumes. It abounds also with personal adventures, some of them highly romantic and amusing, which impart great variety and animation to his narrative.

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In taking our leave of Mr. Buckingham, we cannot but express our unfeigned admiration of the manly and truly British character which he has evinced, in resisting, and ultimately defeating, the rancorous and insolent opposition, so industriously carried on for several years against his literary exertions, by Mr. W. J. Bankes, and all that gentleman's numerous relatives and dependents. The history of letters in this country offers no example of a persecution, so unjust in its origin, so bitter in its progress, and so disgraceful in its termination, to all the parties who confederated to support it. We sincerely congratulate Mr. Buckingham on his victory, for its consequences extend beyond himself, inasmuch as it adds a signal proof to the many already on record, that mere family influence, however powerful, in the fashionable and political world, dwindles to the weakness of a baby, when it dares to contend with the common law of England.

(From the *Revue Encyclopédique* for March, 1827.)

Le monde littéraire et politique connaît M. Buckingham, cet éditeur courageux du "Journal de Calcutta," qui fut obligé de quitter l'Inde, pour avoir osé faire entendre une voix libre à une population composée d'oppressés et d'opprimés. Nos lecteurs, en particulier, ont été à même d'apprécier, dans un article de notre savant collaborateur M. Sismondi, le mérite de "l'Oriental Herald," recueil périodique, dans lequel M. Buckingham défend, avec une constance digne des plus grands éloges, les intérêts du peuple Indien dont il fait connaître l'histoire, les mœurs, et le caractère (voy. *Rev. Enc.* t. xxx, p. 344).

Il nous serait impossible de suivre ici l'auteur dans sa route d'Alep à Orpha, d'Orpha à Diarbeck, et de cette ville à Bagdad. Peut-être dans une analyse, où nous comprendrions aussi les deux précédens ouvrages ("Voyages en Palestine" et "parmi les Tribus Arabes") publiés par le même auteur, donnerons-nous quelques détails sur les contrées et les populations qu'il a décrites. Nous pouvons, en attendant, assurer que le "Voyage en Mésopotamie" est plus complet, plus rempli d'informations que tous ceux qui ont été précédemment publiés sur le même pays.

M. Buckingham ne s'est point contenté de tous voir par lui-même ; il a consulté les nombreux ouvrages écrits par les étrangers et les nationaux. Aidé de leurs lumières, rédigeant ses notes sur les lieux mêmes, et pour ainsi dire, en face des objets, il ne publie que des renseignemens dignes de confiance.

La carte de la Mésopotamie, jointe à l'ouvrage, permet de suivre l'auteur dans ses périlleuses excursions et de reconnaître les localités qu'il décrit : les vignettes, placées en tête de chacun des vingt-sept chapitres de son livre, représentent les principales villes ou les sites remarquables dont il nous entretient. Enfin, le style de M. Buckingham, quoiqu'il soit quelquefois un peu prolixe, est toujours intéressant, parceque son récit est semé d'anecdotes et d'observations qui viennent distraire le lecteur de la monotone des descriptions.

## EAST INDIA HOUSE.

*Wednesday, March 22, 1827.*

## DEBATE ON THE BURNING OF HINDOO WIDOWS.

**Mr. POYNDR** rose to bring forward the motion, of which he had given notice, relative to the burning of widows in India. From the very great length to which the hon. Proprietor's speech extended, it will be impossible to give more than a brief outline of it; indeed, from the great rapidity with which he read it, we should, even if we had the inclination, be unable to give a full report of it.

He hoped he should be acquitted of presumption in offering himself to the Court on a subject of such difficulty and delicacy as the present, when he assured them that it was not from any fault of his own that it had not fallen into much abler hands. He would much rather have acted in a very subordinate capacity on this occasion than he was compelled to do; but it had, however, so happened, that one valued friend of his who was much interested in this question, had been removed by death, and another had been employed on a distant service. From the Parliamentary papers, from 1815 to 1823, inclusive, it appeared, that during those nine years, no less than 5425 widows were sacrificed on the funeral piles of their husbands, in the presidency of Bengal; and, taking the number immolated at the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, the number would amount to nearly 8000; and the number of children, of various ages, who became orphans in consequence of this practice, in the Presidency of Bengal alone, was 5128, in nine years. Now, in discussing this subject, the first point he would attempt to prove was, that enough had not been done by the Government at home and abroad on this important question; and, secondly, that more might now be done, with perfect safety to the Government of India.

The hon. Gentleman then proceeded to read copies of extracts from the Parliamentary papers, in which the ceremonies attending Suttees were minutely described. These details, he knew, must greatly affect the minds of those who heard him; but as Mr. Fox had said, 'true humanity consists not in a squeamish ear—but in listening to the history of human suffering, and endeavouring to relieve it.' He then proceeded to state, that in 1805, when the members of the Council were Lord Wellesley, Lord Lake, Sir George Barlow, and Mr. Udney, a proclamation was published by the Government in Council, stating that it was the wish of Government to grant toleration to every extent to the religion of the Natives, provided it was not opposed to the laws of nature and morality; and the proclamation, alluding to the practice of Suttees, said, that it was deserving of inquiry, whether it might not be altogether abolished, and efforts to that end were recommended, provided the attempt were not found opposed by the strong religious feelings of the people. A reference was accordingly made to the Pundits, to ascertain whether the ceremony of suttee was enjoined by their religion. Their reply was, that the practice was not the result of any precept of their religion—that, in fact, it was not enjoined, but merely permitted by that religion. Here the matter rested till 1812, when all the members of Lord Wellesley's Government having been withdrawn, Lord Minto issued an order, allowing complete toleration, but omitting the salutary provision that it should not be contrary to the law of nature and to morality.

The learned Proprietor then proceeded to read the regulations under which licence for the burning of widows was to be granted, and also a variety of documents, to show that sufficient means were not adopted to inform the police of the intended Suttees time enough to prevent them, where the burning was against the consent of the female.

He next occupied the attention of the Court for a considerable length of time in reading a great number of extracts from the official reports

made to the Government of India, and also from private communications which he had received, detailing a long list of cases in which unfortunate females were forced on the burning pile, and thrown back upon it again and again, after their repeated attempts to get away, (though it was one of the regulations that no force should be used on those occasions, and such force, when ending in the death of the female, was declared punishable with great severity); but the extraordinary rapidity with which the learned Proprietor read those cases, rendered it not only impossible to follow him, but even to hear him distinctly.

The following instance, out of the multitude read, will however convey a correct idea of the general nature of these narratives :

A young widow, about fifteen years of age, was brought to the pile where the body of her deceased husband lay. At the instigation of her relations, many of whom attended, she ascended the pile; but when she felt the flame, she rushed from it, and implored them to spare her life. Her relations were deaf to her entreaties, and she was thrown back on the burning pile, and logs of wood were thrown upon her to keep her down. Again, however, she burst through the flames, and succeeded in throwing herself into a stream near the spot. Her uncle now approached her, and endeavoured to persuade her once more to ascend the burning pile; but this she refused, and besought him in the most piteous accents to allow her to escape, and that she would beg the rest of her life for her subsistence, and not be a burden to her friends. A cloth was now spread on the ground, and she was desired to place herself upon it, in order to her being conveyed home. At first she doubted the intentions of her friends; but her uncle, to induce her to come, swore by the Ganges that nothing should be done against her will, and that it was intended to take her back to her home. She placed herself on the cloth, but no sooner was she seated on it, than the cloth was suddenly wrapped up, and tied round her, and in that state she was once more cast on the blazing heap, which had now begun to burn furiously. Again, however, she attempted to escape, and was bursting from the burning mass when her uncle approached, struck her on the head with a sword, and put an end to her sufferings. Her body was then consumed. It was impossible, the learned Proprietor contended, to call this transaction any thing but a foul murder. Five of the parties concerned in it were tried and convicted, but not of the capital offence. One was sentenced to five years hard labour, another to three, and the rest to milder punishments.

The Court of Directors seemed to have remained entirely passive with respect to these abominable proceedings until June 1823, which was after the subject had occupied the attention of Parliament, when they wrote to the Indian Government a letter, in which they expressed their wish that every means should be adopted for discouraging the practice of Suttees which were not incompatible with the religious prejudices of the Natives. They further stated their opinion, that no precise regulation could be safely laid down upon the subject; but that the desired object would be best effected by leaving a discretionary power to the Indian authorities to act as the circumstances of each particular case might require.

Lord Amherst replied to this letter in another, dated the 3d of December 1824, in which he declared that the Indian Government concurred entirely in the view taken by the Court of Directors of the evil tendency of the suttees. That they were extremely desirous to see the practice abolished, but knowing that it had great influence over the minds of the Native population, they had been obliged to proceed with great caution, because they were convinced that it was the conviction the Natives entertained that their religious ceremonies would remain free from all interference, which more than any thing else reconciled them to the British dominion.

The hon. and learned Proprietor then read the opinions of various Indian Judges and persons in authority in India at different periods, in favour of abolishing the practice of widow burning in all the territories under the

Company's sway—an object which they thought might be effected easily and without any danger.

Mr. R. JACKSON at this period (five o'clock) proposed that the Court should adjourn, as it was impossible to finish the discussion on that day.

After a short conversation on this point, the Court was adjourned to this day week.

RESUMED DEBATE.—WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 1827.

The Court having met at the usual hour (12 o'clock),

Mr. POYNDEY continued the reading of his speech. He once more proceeded to describe, by reference to official documents, that from 1815 to 1823, a vast number of suttees, legal and illegal, had taken place; and that in the latter instances the punishments imposed were merely nominal,—a fine of a few rupees, or a few strokes on the shoulder with a cane. The same thing might be said of the securities required from those who were concerned in such proceedings, which were, in fact, of the most worthless description. To show that much more than had been effected might be done with safety, the hon. Proprietor adverted to the various instances in which the British Government had, in support of the law, and for the purpose of securing the revenue, adopted measures which were entirely opposed to the feelings of the Hindoos, without exciting any manifestation of discontent. Brahmins, who, by the rules of their religion, were exempted from every species of punishment, were, by the British law, just as liable to suffer death or imprisonment for crimes as any other class of the community. Yet this state of things had never produced any insurrection. Even when Nuncomar, many years ago, was executed for forgery, no commotion was excited amongst the Natives; and yet he was a Brahmin of high rank and powerful influence. If, then, the power of the British Government were able thus to set at naught, on points of great interest and importance, the prejudices of the Natives, why might they not exert it to put down this hateful practice—especially as, though it was permitted, it was not enjoined by the religious code of the Hindoos? Even the Romans, though heathens themselves, and in the invariable practice of tolerating all religions in the countries which they conquered, repressed the practice of sacrificing human beings, according to the precepts of the Druidical religion, which prevailed in Britain and Gaul. In this instance, the Romans acted upon the principle inculcated in a passage contained in the works of their great dramatist:—

*‘Homo sum : humani nihil à me alienum puto.’*

Surely it did not become the enlightened and Christian Government of Great Britain to be behind pagan Rome in the practice of humanity.

The learned Proprietor then proceeded to contend, that nothing short of a positive law could effectually put an end to the abominable practice of human sacrifice in India. Let not gentlemen suppose the evil would correct itself—let them not lay that ‘flattering unction to their souls.’ The wound was deep, and ought not to be trifled with. To neglect it,

——— ‘Will but skin and film the ulcerous place,  
While rank corruption, mining all within,  
Infects unseen.’

He then entered into a description of the sacrifices to Juggernaut, and complained that the Indian Government absolutely lent its sanction to this abomination, by deriving a revenue from a tax which was imposed upon the worshippers of the idol. He argued that the Court of Proprietors ought not to be deterred from disposing of the question which he had brought before them, because Parliament had not thought fit to come to any resolution on the subject. Indeed he thought that Parliament was not so competent to deal with

the question as that Court. It was impossible to defend the practice on the ground of policy, for it had been well said, that 'what was morally wrong could not be politically right;' and Mr. Burke had observed, that, 'what tended to separate God from man, had also an invariable tendency to separate man from man.' He could not anticipate any objection to his motion from the Court of Directors. If he did, he would conjure them, as a friend, if he might be allowed the term, for the sake of themselves—for the sake of their character, as humane men and Christians, not to oppose it. The learned Proprietor concluded amidst considerable applause, by submitting the following motion:

'That this Court, taking into consideration the continuance of human sacrifices in India, is of opinion that, in the case of all rites or ceremonies, involving the destruction of life, it is the duty of a paternal Government to interpose for their prevention; and therefore recommends to the Honourable Court of Directors to transmit such instructions to India as that Court may deem most expedient for accomplishing this object, consistent with all practicable attention to the feelings of the Natives.'

Sir C. FORBES, in seconding the motion, complimented the learned mover on the manner in which he had brought it forward, though he thought that on one or two occasions his zeal had carried him too far. The question, he conceived, was not one of religion or policy, but of humanity alone. (*Hear, hear.*) He thought that, as sovereigns of British India, the Company owed it to the Natives to abolish the horrible practice of human sacrifice. Whilst, however, he made this declaration, he wished it to be distinctly understood, that, in his opinion, we were bound to hold sacred all the religious rites and ceremonies of the Natives; but this practice could not be considered as one of them. It had been denied to be so by the Pundits. He thought it had been satisfactorily shown that the practice might be abolished with perfect safety. The testimony, for and against the propriety of its abolition, certainly preponderated greatly in favour of the former. The means by which this could be best effected, would be matter for future consideration, but it was desirable that the principle of abolition should be established. For those reasons he felt great pleasure in giving the motion all the support in his power.

Major CARNAC (the new Director) said, he had always considered it a material error in our system of Government in India, that with the most laudable intentions, we were too prone to innovation, misled by our habits of judging of the people of that country by the scale of high civilization to which we ourselves had advanced. Hence the erroneous belief that nothing was wanting but the exertion of authority and power to effect that degree of moral improvement, which, from the very essence of its nature, could only be the result of time, and the progressive operation of a discreet and beneficent government. We were too apt to overlook the state of comparative non-civilization to which this now enlightened nation was itself reduced during that period of its history, when bigotry, superstition, and prejudice, were its sad and sole characteristics, and to forget that our emancipation from these bonds of darkness was effected not by any sudden, or compulsive, or coercive reformation; but by the gradual hand of time, the unshackled reflections of reason, and the salutary diffusion of those great principles of truth which had at length placed us on the pinnacle of refinement as to moral feeling and intellectual superiority. Nothing that he had met with in the history of mankind would lead him to think that sudden and violent revolutions of opinion, tending to the eradication even of evils, could ever be productive of permanent benefit. Experience, on the contrary, would prove that compulsory interposition with national prejudices, however monstrous and absurd, had but too often led to an extension of the evil which it proposed to annihilate. In legislating for the East, we should bear in mind that the people, with whom we were anxious to share our own happy exemption from the trammels of ignorance and prejudice, had, for unrecorded ages, been the slaves of a custom



which it was now proposed to snap asunder at one blow—a custom which, however abhorrent to our feelings, however justly revolting to our religion, was, he feared, too deeply interwoven with theirs, to be rashly severed from the kindred branch with which it had been hitherto nurtured. The habits of nations; and those habits, too, the uninterrupted growth of centuries, and springing from sentiments which, however erroneous, could hardly be termed vicious, could not, and, he might say, ought not, to be violently eradicated. The feeling which prompted a human being to prefer death to infamy, which urged the European to sacrifice his life in preference to his honour, and bade the Hindoo widow throw herself on the burning pile of her dead husband, was one which, however deplorable in its effects, was still, from its origin, entitled to a certain respect; it was a feeling which must be combated by reason, not by penal prohibitions; and emanating, as it did, from a misdirected greatness of soul, it demanded, at least, this concession. With respect to ourselves, it was known how futile were all enactments against a practice which, barbarous as it was, was deemed necessary to the conviction of outraged honour. There was a feeling in the human breast paramount, in such cases, to any artificial restraints, and if, in indulging it, we even ventured to transgress the express commands of the Divine Author of our religion, how much less were we justified in our practice than those who might plead that their religion, if it did not enjoin, at least sanctioned, that which we complained of. With reference to a legislative interdiction of a custom which had prevailed for ages, it was his mature opinion that it would be calculated to increase the evil of self-innolation instead of correcting it. The prohibition itself would be an instrument in the hands of the Brahmin priests to excite the minds of those who might have a disposition to sacrifice, and we might be compelled to witness the committal of suicide in a variety of forms, in substitution for the sacrifice by Suttee. In a political point of view, it might be made the instrument of misrepresentation of our views, as to the religious propensities of the Natives, and might derange those great principles of improvement which were happily making such rapid advances by our cultivation of a closer intercourse with our Native fellow subjects, and by the means provided for the diffusion of education. Any person who could defend the practice of the Suttee on principle, was less than man, and could only be distinguished from the brute by the image which he bore to his Creator; but notwithstanding the abhorrence which must be felt for the practice, it was necessary to proceed cautiously, in endeavouring to effect its abolition. Enthusiasm should not be allowed to mislead the judgment, and the Court might be assured that time was necessary for the consummation of any considerable good. (*Hear, hear.*)

Colonel STANHOPE thought that credit was due to the learned Proprietor (Mr. Poynder), for the motives which had induced him to bring this question forward, though he could not consider it quite fair on his part to read fifty or sixty pages of Parliamentary papers, besides other documents of great length. The learned Gentleman had divided his argument into two branches—one went to prove the existence of the horrid practice of widow burning, and the other to point out the means of preventing it. The latter branch of the argument was the most important, and the real question which arose out of it was this, whether it was desirable to stop the practice by prohibitory measures, or, in other words, by force. The hon. and learned Proprietor had certainly painted the disgusting practice of Suttee in true and frightful colours; and he (Colonel Stanhope) believed with him, that very few of its victims approved of being burnt alive. Then, however, came the learned Gentleman's remedy, namely, prohibitory measures or force. In support of that proposition he had quoted many high authorities,—Sir William Jones, Lord Wellesley, and many eminent Civil Servants. But those who differed from the learned Proprietor had on their side an authority which outweighed all that had been adduced by him. (*Hear, hear.*) There was no maxim in politics better determined than this, that opinion could not be put down by force, and that it could be overcome only by the influence of

reason. (*Cheers.*) He therefore was of opinion, that the British Indian Government had acted most wisely in adopting the philosophical principle of permitting the most perfect and unlimited religious freedom. (*Hear.*) Experience had abundantly proved the wisdom and prudence of that course. If the Government were to resort to prohibitory measures, though they might not at first be attended with evil consequences, yet they would create such universal discontent in the minds of the Natives, that on the first pretext they would rise up against the British power.

How had the different great legislators and conquerors of India succeeded in their attempts of that nature? Mahmoud had tried force, and failed to put down this abominable practice. Aurungzebe tried it also; but, on his death-bed, acknowledged his error to his son. Tippoo had failed in like manner. The Portuguese, although they established an Inquisition at Goa almost for the purpose, had also tried the plan in vain.

The Missionaries had not been able to do any good in India, nor did he think they ever would. He did not mean to speak disrespectfully of those individuals; on the contrary, he thought the Missionaries were the most respectable men who went from this country. It was now about one hundred years ago since a Danish missionary, named Zindenberg, wrote from India in the following terms:—'Nothing can be effected here but by means of education and the press. Thank God for this hopeful benefaction.' Those were the very words of the Missionary. The hon. Mover had talked of the influence of reason on the minds of the Hindoo; but what possible influence could reason have upon them in their present unenlightened state? A remedy for the evil could be found only in education and a free press. The superstitions of different religions were not very unlike each other. When the Portuguese arrived at Calicut, they knelt down and worshipped the idols there, thinking they were the same as those they had left in their own country. Then as to monstrosities, he thought that the *auto da fe* of the Inquisition was worse than the Suttees of the Hindoos. (*Hear, hear.*) The hon. Director had truly said, that the practice originated in an exalted feeling of virtue in the minds of the women who sacrificed themselves. The vices of popery, the restoration of learning, and the establishment of a free press, had beat down the Christian superstitions in Europe, and he believed that the superstitions of the Hindoos would, when exposed to the influence of a free press, be succeeded by a purer system of faith. If, however, force should be resorted to for the purpose of abolishing Suttees, it would produce universal discontent in the minds of the Natives, who would, on the first occasion, rise up against us, and the result would be a renewal of those contentions which had already desolated the world. Under these circumstances he called on the hon. Mover, if he was under the influence of reason and not of passion, to withdraw his motion, and support the amendment which he would now propose. The gallant Proprietor then moved the following amendment:—

'That in the opinion of this Court, though little has been done to reform the Hindoo superstition, or to convert the Natives to Christianity, the Government of British India has at all times acted upon the philosophical principles of unlimited toleration, and has thereby secured the good will of its subjects;

'That the inhuman custom of burning Hindoo widows cannot be prevented by prohibitory edicts, *id est*, by force, without exciting the discontent of millions, and, soon or late, provoking religious wars, and ultimately increasing these frightful sacrifices; and,

'That the only safe means of promoting among the Hindoos the pure worship of God, and of preventing the burning of widows, the crushing of victims at Juggernaut, and the drowning of sick persons in the Ganges, &c. &c., is to be found in virtuous education and free discussion, as practised under the administration of the Marquis of Hastings.'

General THORNTON rose to second the amendment. He considered that a great part of the long speech made by the gentleman who brought the sub-

ject forward was quite unnecessary. The hon. Proprietor had occupied a very considerable portion of their time in endeavouring to convince them of the impropriety of Suttees. Could any Christian, could any person who was not a Hindoo, doubt it? (*Hear.*) The question was, whether more mischief would not result from attempting to check the practice by sudden and violent than by gradual and moderate measures? It was said, that the practice formed no part of the Hindoo religion, but was merely a superstition connected with it. Experience however had always proved, that it was more difficult to overcome prejudices which had ingrafted themselves upon religion, than even to subvert religion itself. (*Hear, hear.*) He was as desirous as any man to see Suttees abolished, but to resort to force was, he thought, the worst possible mode of effecting that object. He really could not see the necessity of the motion if no more were meant by it than met the eye, for the Court of Directors had already done every thing which it called upon them to do. (*Hear, hear.*) The motion certainly appeared to be very moderate; but the speech which introduced it was not so. (*Hear, hear.*) Did the hon. Proprietor suppose that all the great men who had governed in India had not felt as strongly as he did on the subject? He (General Thornton) was certainly disposed to give Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Hastings credit for possessing as much of the 'milk of human kindness' as the hon. Proprietor. (*Hear.*) Yet these distinguished men had not stopped the practice of Suttees, because they were afraid of the dreadful consequences which would result from such an attempt. (*Hear.*) No doubt Lord Amherst was influenced by the same motives. It was his opinion, that if we were to prohibit Suttees, the Native troops would be highly offended, because such a proceeding was at variance with the professions which are constantly made in India. On these grounds he felt it his duty to second the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN begged to be allowed to offer a few observations, which might perhaps have the effect of shortening the discussion. If he were to look only to the words of the motion, he should say that it proposed nothing which had not already been done by the Court of Directors; but when he contrasted with the motion the arguments with which the hon. and learned Proprietor had introduced it, he must say that light and darkness were not more different than were his proposition and the cause which he professed. (*Hear.*) If he were to understand any thing by the learned Proprietor's speech, he must consider it as an argument to prove the necessity of putting down the practice of widow burning by force. It was necessary, therefore, to set the speech in opposition to the motion, and to argue against the latter only through the former. The learned Proprietor had quoted the opinions of persons who are favourable to the adoption of prohibitory measures; but if he (the Chairman) were disposed to indulge himself, and to punish his hearers, he would find in the papers from which the learned Proprietor had read as many opinions the other way. (*Hear.*) The learned Gentleman had quoted only the opinions of those who coincided with his view of the question. Amongst the opinions on the other side were to be found those of the most eminent men who had been connected with India. All the Governors-General had been of opinion that any attempt to put down the practice by force would be inexpedient, and, to a certain degree, dangerous. (*Hear.*) If this were not the case, why did not the persons whose opinions the learned Gentleman had so often quoted, take some active measures to carry them into effect? The inference was evident—they knew it would be dangerous. The hon. Proprietor had referred to the opinions of Mr. Huddleston in favour of the adoption of prohibitory measures; but, although that individual was a member of Government for several years, he never attempted to act upon his opinion. He (the Chairman) must therefore withhold his belief, from the prudence of measures recommended by individuals who refused to take upon themselves the responsibility of enforcing them. The learned Proprietor had alluded to a difference of opinion in the Court of Directors on this subject. There had been only two Directors who at all approached the

view of the subject taken by the hon. Member, but those gentlemen were no longer members of the Court, and he was authorized to say that there was not now one person in the Direction who would recommend the adoption of the measures advocated in the speech of the learned Proprietor. (*Hear.*)

In anticipating the objections which would be made to his motion, the learned Proprietor had said he supposed he would be told that it was necessary to wait for the general introduction of Christianity into India. Anxious as he (the Chairman) was for the abolition of the practice of Suttees, he would be extremely sorry to postpone such a result till the period when Christianity should be generally introduced into India, which he considered far more distant than the learned Proprietor seemed disposed to believe. The general introduction of Christianity in India was, he thought, as hopeless a thing as possible. What then, he would be asked, was the remedy which he proposed for the evil? His answer was—the diffusion of knowledge and education. (*Hear, hear.*) To that object the Court of Directors and the local Gentlemen of India had constantly directed their attention. He held in his hand an account of a series of institutions which were established in different parts of India, all of which had for their object the improvement of the moral conduct of the Natives of India, and the diffusion of knowledge. They were not only numerous as to extent, but they showed an ardent desire in the Court of Directors and the Government abroad to promote those important objects; for the annual expense now incurred in their prosecution was four lacs of rupees. (*Hear.*) He trusted that the result would be the attainment, in due time, of the object which the learned Proprietor had in view, and for which he could not be more anxious than every member of the Court of Directors was. (*Hear, hear.*) He begged to state most explicitly that the Court of Directors, collectively and individually, were as anxious to see the practice of Suttees abolished as any set of men in this country could be. They differed only as to the mode of proceeding; and he would maintain that the prudent and cautious manner in which the Court of Directors had acted, as might be seen in the instructions sent out by them and read on a former day, were most likely to accomplish the desired object. He wished, therefore, that the Court would come to the determination of leaving the measures necessary towards effecting this object in the hands of the executive body, pledging his honour, that there was no party or individual in that Court, who felt the propriety, or was more anxious for the success, of those measures, which might ultimately put a stop to a practice so barbarous, and so disgraceful to any government, than he was. (*Hear.*) At the same time it should be recollected, that there was some difference between the acts of a government which encouraged, and those of one which only suffered an abuse. (*Hear.*) This could not be considered a question solely of humanity, as the hon. baronet (Sir Charles Forbes) had declared it to be. It was also a question of policy and safety. He did not think, if the practice were at once abolished, that it would produce an immediate and general insurrection. But they might take a very useful lesson from what had happened at Vellore. He was sure that the mutiny there had, in its origin, nothing to do with the dress of the Sepoys. But, when the descendants of Tippoo wished to raise an insurrection, the Mohammedans made use of the alteration in part of the Sepoy's dress as a reason for inciting them to revolt. And, in the same way, if this practice were immediately abolished, though no insurrection might break out at the time, yet at the very first moment when any cause of discontent occurred, all the Brahmins would advert to this circumstance, for the purpose of exciting rebellion. On these grounds, therefore, and because he suspected from the speech of the learned Proprietor, that his ultimate object was very different from that stated in his motion, he was decidedly opposed to the latter. The amendment which had been proposed stood in the way of one which he intended to have submitted to the Court. He thought that his amendment would have had the effect of convincing the Court that it was the anxious desire of the Court of Directors to accomplish the object which all seemed to have in view.

Mr. S. DIXON said, perhaps the gallant Colonel would withdraw his amendment, and afford the hon. Chairman an opportunity of proposing his.

Colonel L. STANHOPE said, that he must hear it read first.

The CHAIRMAN's amendment was then read as follows :—

‘ That whilst this Court deeply deplores the existence of Suttees, and other rites, involving the sacrifice of human life in India, it reposes the fullest confidence in the anxious disposition of the local Governments to give effect to the instructions of the Court of Directors, by adopting, from time to time, such measures as may be deemed necessary for effectually and safely accomplishing the abolition of those practices.

‘ That this Court firmly relies on the earnest solicitude of the Court of Directors to follow up so desirable an object, with a due regard to the feelings and prejudices of the Natives of India.’

Colonel STANHOPE then said, that he would withdraw his amendment. With the permission of the Court, the amendment was withdrawn, and

The CHAIRMAN proposed his.

Mr. WEDDING said he would not vote for the motion if it did not leave a discretionary power in the hands of the Court of Directors. But as that was the case, he did not see how it could be objected to. ‘ The custom which had been brought under the consideration of the Court was one more ‘ honoured in the breach than the observance.’ He thought that more vigorous measures than those hitherto adopted might be enforced for putting an end to the practice, without danger to the interests of the Company. We had, in several other instances, interfered with the religious prejudices of the Hindoos without producing any evil consequences.

Mr. R. JACKSON said, that the reception which the learned Proprietor's motion had experienced, proved how little weight any proposition, however useful, which came from the outside of the bar, carried with it. Although the legislature had invested the Court of Proprietors with deliberative functions, nothing ever originated there which was not met with the commonplace phrase of ‘ Leave it to the executive.’ (*Hear.*) The present subject had been left to the executive for thirty years, and they had done nothing with it. The course which he intended to take upon the present occasion, was bolder than that of mere expediency, namely, that, by the British law, the practice of suicide was prohibited in any place under the British dominion. This doctrine was laid down by Blackstone. He contended, therefore, that it was the duty of the Government of British India, either to give up its dominion there, or to attempt to put an end to the practice at all risks.

The learned Gentleman then proceeded to say, that he would be able to show that this practice could be put down without any territorial risk—without any injury in that quarter where he knew the Company was most sensitive,—he meant the amount of their revenue. But before he went to this he would contend that, should the abolition of the practice be attended with insurrection and rebellion, they were bound to run the risk : for no considerations of territorial dominion, or pecuniary advantage, could justify them in tolerating a practice so repugnant to the laws of nature. They were, he maintained, bound rather to abandon their dominion over that part of their Eastern possessions, where this barbarous practice existed, (and that, by the way, was no great extent of country,) than to continue to hold it on terms which would make them accessories to multiplied murders.

It was now more than forty years ago since the attention of the Court was first called to this practice by some of their servants in India, and it was but justice to those servants to say, that they appeared to view it with the horror it deserved. Since then no steps had been taken to put an end to it, except the regulations of Lord Wellesley, if the instructions sent out from the Court of Directors, a few years ago, could be so called. The learned Gentleman here read several extracts from the questions put to the Pundits, as to the circumstances under which it was not considered lawful for a woman to

burn herself on the death of her husband. These circumstances were declared to be non-age, pregnancy, and having infant children, for which a sufficient provision could be guaranteed in case of her death. Those Pundits also declared that the act of Suttee must be entirely voluntary; that the use of force was in every case strictly prohibited, and that a woman, even after she had touched the flames, might relinquish the intention of burning, and (after performing a certain penance) might be restored to her friends without disgrace. These were the doctrines of the Shaster, as expounded by the Pundits, and on these the regulations issued by Lord Wellesley in council (prohibiting Suttee, if contrary to the rules there laid down) were founded. Now, if the papers laid before the Court were true, and there was no reason to doubt them, it would appear that a vast proportion of the sacrifices of women, which had taken place of late years in Bengal, were in violation of the laws of the Shaster, and of the decrees of the Indian Government, founded on them.

If those sacrifices were consistent with the Hindoo laws, and with the laws of the Company, let them remain, but if they were decidedly opposed to both, what danger could they fear from putting them down? It was, he thought, not a little singular that during the forty years in which those sacrifices were known to the Company, they had not, on any occasion, thought proper to consult their own law officers, or the law officers of the Crown as to their legality—whether, consistently with the laws of the realm, they would be justified in tolerating them? He was willing to admit that it would be prudent to interfere with the religious prejudices of the Natives as little as possible, save by the diffusion of education and knowledge; but that principle of forbearance should not be maintained to extend to the toleration of murders. It was believed by the Hindoos that a woman who burnt herself with the body of her husband should dwell with him in heaven for three millions and a half of years, that was a year for each hair on his body, which were believed to amount to that number. This was the promise of the Shaster, but then it was stated by the great Menn, before whom the Shaster was as nothing—who was looked upon as the Moses of the Hindoos, and whose words were considered as the words of Heaven itself—that to secure eternal happiness a woman had only to live a pure and chaste life after her husband's death, and that when she died she would go immediately to Heaven, not merely for three millions and a half of years, as in the case of burning, but for ever. If this doctrine were carefully disseminated amongst the people, it would be thought to have the effect of very much diminishing the barbarous custom of Suttee. The learned Gentleman then went on to show that out of the 3617 Suttees which took place between the years 1815 and 1823, 2619 were in the vicinity of Calcutta: a circumstance which showed the great negligence of the police in that district. In this respect, he thought much remissness was shown by the local government, in allowing the native police to superintend those sacrifices. This police, than which a more corrupt body did not exist on earth, connived at the most flagrant violations of the law, and hence it was that so many Suttees were allowed in cases where they were directly forbidden by the Shaster.

It had been said, that most or all of those were voluntary; but what consent, he asked, could be given by infants of the tender ages of twelve, of eleven, of nine and eight years—for many of the unfortunate victims did not exceed those ages—what consent, he asked, could they give to the endurance of the dreadful torture of being burnt to death? The fact was, most of them were induced by the persuasions of interested friends (who first stupefied them with powerful drugs) to assent to the sacrifice; but when they saw and felt the flames they were not allowed to retract, but were sometimes dragged to the fire and cast in, and afterwards, when they endeavoured to escape, logs of wood were thrown upon them, and other violent means used to keep them in the burning pile until death put an end to their torture. Here the learned Gentleman read some cases from the papers before the Court, in which force had been used of the worst kind towards young creatures from whom a consent to perform Suttee had, in the first instance, been extorted. He particu-

larly dwelt on the case of a young woman of fourteen years old, who had been several times thrown into the flames by her uncle, and who, in her final attempt to escape, was knocked on the head by the sword of the attending officer. (This was one of the cases read by Mr. Poynder.) There were, he observed, several other cases not less atrocious, mentioned in the papers before the Court. Now, he thought that any man who believed these, was bound in his conscience, before God, to use every means in his power to put an end to a system of such barbarity. The learned Gentleman—after remarking on the fact that the interested views of relations who gained by the death of the unfortunate woman, and the avarice of the Brahmins, who on every occasion received a large fee, were the chief causes of most of those murderous practices—proceeded to contend that they could be abolished without risk of rebellion or insurrection of any kind. In support of his argument he quoted the opinion of Mr. Harrington and others. The practice, he added, was by no means general throughout India, for out of 250,000 who yearly became widows, in a population exceeding 60 millions, not above 600 performed Sutte. It was idle then to suppose that the superstition had, in this respect, got so great a hold of the minds of the Natives, as that an abolition of the custom would cause insurrection. After what had happened at Barrackpore it was pretty evident that there was no fear of an insurrection from the troops on the ground of this custom. Besides, a Sutte by the wife of a Sepoy was unknown. The Sepoys were devotedly attached to their wives and children, and could not be expected to be displeased at the adoption of a measure which had their protection and preservation for its object.

The learned Gentleman, after recapitulating his principal arguments, observed, that the motion only called on the Directors to hasten that which they themselves admitted to be necessary. It called on them to take such active measures for the abolition of the practice, consulting in every way they should do the religious feelings of the Natives. In conclusion, he implored them, as sovereigns of India, as men and as Christians, to lend their aid in putting an end to a custom, the continuance of which would reflect so much disgrace on their government and character. It was for their own interests to do so, for, if they did not take immediate steps, the matter could not be allowed to rest, but would be taken up in another place, where its discussion might militate against their interests in other respects. It then they had no other object in view than their own advantage as a Company, (but he hoped they would act in this case from purer motives,) they were bound to do every thing in their power for the abolition of this infamous and most abominable practice. (*Hear, hear.*)

Captain MAXFIELD said, that he would not trespass long on the attention of the Court. He begged, however, to say a few words in answer to the uncalled for attack made on such of the members as happened to differ in opinion from the learned Mover. Those who did not consent with him (the mover) in thinking that the practice of Sutte ought to be abolished by some means, forcible or otherwise, were, forsooth, to be declared guilty of murder. Now he thought the practice ought not to be interfered with, and he was not more a murderer than either of the learned Gentlemen who had addressed the Court. But what, he asked, was all this declamation about? If the thing were as practicable as they represented, why not show how it might be accomplished? They all knew that the practice existed, and therefore did not wish to perpetuate it; but the question was, how could it be effected? One remark of the learned Gentleman (Mr. R. Jackson) deserved notice. The learned Gentleman had said that the custom of Sutte was not general, and had not taken any great hold on the minds of the Natives. To this assertion (Captain Maxfield) must object. On a people so weak, so ignorant, as the Hindoos, the promise held out by the Shaster must have a powerful influence. The certainty of a wife enjoying the society of her husband in heaven for three millions and a half of years, if she burned herself with his body, was calculated to have a strong effect on persons so ardent and enthusiastic in their religious feelings as the Natives of India, and particularly the females. Three-

million and a half of years of happiness in heaven were insured to the Sutte, and neither the Shaster nor Menu pointed out any other means by which that might be obtained. He verily believed that if the same doctrine could be inculcated in England, and that it should obtain, there would be found very many of both sexes ready to make the sacrifice in order to insure the reward. (*Hear, hear.*) It was quite idle to say that it had not a strong hold upon the people's minds. It had, and like many other superstitions, the more absurd it was, the more firmly did the Natives adhere to it.

Allusion had been made to Colonel Walker's influence in putting a stop to infanticide in his district. What was said upon that subject was quite correct; but the conclusion drawn from it was erroneous. Colonel Walker could effect what not ten men in the Company's service could do. All who had been in Guzerat could tell how much and how deservedly he was beloved by the people there; but it was hopeless to think that the rest of our public servants in India could act as Colonel Walker had done. The Company must use the tools as they found them, though they might not be tempered alike. Under all the circumstances of the case, he would support the amendment; and he could not but express his regret that the feelings of the Court had been worked upon in the way they had on this occasion. It was too bad to hear hon. Proprietors accused of being murderers, and *participia criminis* in those horrid sacrifices which they had no means of preventing. He had before said that he concurred in the amendment. He would not sanction the use of force in the abolition of this practice; but he thought that much might be done by a more strict attention to the regulations already in force in India. Those regulations had been very much relaxed in consequence of being entrusted to persons whose connivance at their violation might be purchased by a few rupees. He himself had seen cases where a few rupees were sufficient to purchase the consent of a local Native officer to what he knew was a direct breach of the Company's regulations with respect to Sutties.

It might then be asked, were there no means by which a stop could be put to this practice? He thought there were; and that it might be gradually abolished without any violent interference with the religious prejudices of the people. He would suggest, that a woman applying to burn herself with the body of her husband, should be obliged to wait three months; and that in all cases the applications for such license should be made in person. This, he had no doubt, would, in a vast majority of cases, be an effectual preventive, as it would afford time for reflection. He would also have some means adopted for disseminating the doctrines of the Shaster, with respect to the use of force. By the Shaster, all force was strictly forbidden in the performance of Sutte. But from the motives of interested parties, this doctrine was not fully explained to the people. If it were sufficiently known, he was sure that women would never consent. For in almost every case of Sutte, they had seen that absolute force was required to keep the Sutte within the burning pile from the first moment the flames reached her body. Feeling convinced that all these means would be resorted to in the exercise of the discretion vested in the Court or Directors by the amendment, he would vote for and in preference to the original motion.

Mr. TRAVIS, after admitting the strongest wish that something might be adopted to abolish this custom, concurred on the whole with the view taken of the subject in the evidence of Mr. Harrington, who stated, though he felt anxious in common with many others to put an end to the practice, yet there were difficulties in the way which could not be immediately got over. The only means by which these difficulties could be effectually removed, would be a gradual improvement amongst the people, by the dissemination of moral instruction. On this subject, he was glad to find that much had lately been done. Forty schools he perceived, had been opened for the instruction of Hindoo youth; and one of those schools, for the instruction of females, was superintended by a Hindoo mistress. He thought the best way would be to leave it to the discretion of their executive; and considering what was now



going on in India, he would be ashamed if he withheld his confidence from them on this point.

In a recent number of the Quarterly Review, it was stated, on the authority of Colonel Phipps, that much of the cruelty practised in the worship of Juggernaut, had been recently abandoned. The abominable and disgusting sacrifices hitherto attending that worship, were to a great extent given up, and, in other respects, a gradual improvement was perceptible in the habits of the people, as connected with the severities of their worship. The Court would exercise its power to much better effect in giving encouragement to this gradual improvement; but as that was going on, it would be extremely dangerous to pursue any course which might come into violent collision with the religious prejudices of the Natives. (*Hear, hear.*)

General Sir JOHN DOYLE said, that after many lengthened addresses which they had heard on this question, he was sure the Court would listen to him with some pleasure, as all he had to state was, that he had intended to address them; but on consideration, he thought they had already heard quite enough, and he, therefore, would not add one word one way or the other. (*Hear, hear.*)

The CHAIRMAN observed, that nothing could have induced him to meet the original motion with an amendment, but the language used in support of the motion. That language led him to believe that something more was intended than the motion itself expressed. This he thought clear from the language of the hon. Mover himself, and also from the speech of the hon. Proprietor, (Mr. R. Jackson.)

Doctor GILCHRIST said, he was disposed to pursue a middle course in this affair. He would contend that, as an abstract proposition, no man could contend that suicide ought to be allowed. And he thought there was a way by which Suttee might be prevented, without risk or danger to the Company's interest. That plan he had pointed out to the then Governor-General forty years ago. His plan was, that any Hindoo in any way connected with Suttee, not merely as instrumental to the burning, but any relation or connexion of a woman who had burned herself, should be declared for ever incapable of holding any place of office, authority, or emolument in the Company's Service. The laws of humanity required that something should be done upon the subject, and the only question was, what that something should be. One reason why he would support the original motion was, that he saw all the Directors unanimous the other way. (*Hear, and laughter.*) He did not wish, by the original motion, to attempt to Christianize the people of India. That attempt would at present be hopeless. Religion and education would doubtless have a powerful effect in time; but meanwhile some such measure, as he had recommended, should be adopted. The measure would, however, be attended with some difficulty. Hon. Proprietors were not perhaps aware, that relationship with a Suttee gave a certain rank in India in the estimation of the Natives. The son of a woman who had performed Suttee, ranked as a knight. If he could boast that his sister also had burned herself, he would be considered as a baronet. If he had other relations who had also sacrificed themselves, he would rank as a baron, and so on up to the dignity of a king, according to the number of females in his family who had performed Suttee. This it was which gave the custom so fast a hold on the prejudices of the Natives. (*Crus of question.*) They might if they pleased cry question, but he would take care that the right of every Proprietor to address that Court should not be sacrificed in his person. He would not, however, trespass much longer on their patience.

While he was in India he had never gone to see a woman roasted, but he knew that many such sacrifices had been performed in the immediate vicinity of Calcutta; and several of these in violation of the orders of Government, and even of the rules of the Shaster. How could that happen unless the rich Hindoos had bribed the Native officers to connive at such proceedings, what reliance, he asked, could be placed in the Brahmins to put a stop to this?

They, who gloried in the number of their relations who had performed Suttee. The priests were the general authors of these wicked ceremonies; and, as they had an immediate interest in the practice, it was idle to hope for any abolition of it through them. An honourable Proprietor had talked of the danger to the Company's interests from the immediate abolition of the practice. He apprehended no such danger. There did not exist so strong a feeling among the Hindoos, on matters of religion, as was supposed, as would appear from an occurrence which had happened to himself. When travelling in India, on one occasion, the Moonshes, who attended him, were very much annoyed by a Brahmince bull. These bulls were allowed to have free scope, and their trespasses were without remedy, as the animals were accounted sacred. His Moonshes, however, caught one of these bulls, cut his throat, and afterwards ate him. He (Dr. Gilchrist) was afraid that his own throat, and those of his companions, would be cut in return; no such thing had, however, happened, and nothing more was uttered upon the occasion than an expression of regret at the bull's death. The apprehensions, therefore, of danger to the Company's interest, were groundless. It was idle to talk of danger from the Native troops, who were said to be adverse to the abolition of Suttee. These troops were chiefly Musulmans, who cared nothing about the practice.

A PROPRIETOR said that, as the Court of Directors were disposed to adopt all expedient measures for the abolition of the practice, he was willing to leave it altogether in their hands.

SIR JOHN DOYLE said that the Chairman agreed with the motion which had been made, and only differed with the speech by which it had been introduced. There was, therefore, not much which stood in the way of their being unanimous; and, he need hardly say, how important it was that the Court should appear united on the present occasion. The withdrawal of the amendment would reconcile all parties, and produce what was so desirable—an unanimous vote of the Court. (*Hear, hear.*)

MR. WIGRAM did not mean to impute improper motives to any hon. Proprietors; he must, however, express his regret that such a discussion had taken place, as it would rather tend to frustrate the object which all parties had in view. It was his conviction that, whatever might be the words of the motion, the object of the speech was the employment of force for the suppression of the practice of Suttee. But, as long as he had a seat within that bar, he would not consent to any measure which would risk the safety of the Company's power in India. An assent to any motion, however innocent, which had followed such a speech as that of the learned Mover, would be construed into an approval of the principles which that speech contained. With every respect for the Court of Proprietors, he thought it would be going from their province to dictate the peculiar measures which their executive ought to adopt on this occasion. The legislature had placed the executive power in the hands of the Board of Control and in the Directors. The Proprietors had the right to choose their own Directors, but a dictation of particular measures was out of their province. The original motion contained the word 'prevention,' and, on that ground, he would object to it; and, though he stood alone, would take the sense of the Court upon it.

MR. TWINING thought the discussion would produce a good effect. Many thanks were due to the learned Mover, who had given so much information on the subject. Much, however, as he (Mr. Twining) approved of the general principle of the original resolution, he should support the amendment, as the Directors were unanimous in their support of it, and as they possessed the means of attaining that which was the common object of all parties.

MR. J. MARTIN said, that before the question was brought forward in that Court, it had been the effect of active measures by various religious sects throughout the country. If the original motion were rejected, it would excite very general dissatisfaction out of that Court; and he could say, that if that Court did not take active measures for the suppression, the public would act for themselves, and take it up in another place, without consulting the objects

which the Company may have in view. He trusted that the insertion of the word 'prevention' in the original motion, would not induce the hon. Chairman to oppose a resolution in the principle of which he clearly concurred.

The CHAIRMAN said, that if the hon. Mover or Seconder of the original motion would declare that it was not their intention to instruct the Directors to apply to the Legislature, in any way sanctioning the use of force, he would withdraw the amendment.

Mr. POYNDER said, that his motion left it entirely to the Directors to use their own time and discretion. He thought it unexceptionable, and could not, therefore, retract any thing.

The CHAIRMAN said, that was not what he wanted, but that the gentlemen should expressly say, whether it was their wish that this practice should be put down by force. He must add, that were it not for the sting of the speeches delivered in support of the original motion, he would have felt it his duty to support it.

Mr. POYNDER said, if he alluded at all to the use of force, it was as to a remote remedy contingent upon the failure of all other means. He did not recommend force at present, but it was too much to ask him to pledge himself not to urge that point in future.

Mr. R. JACKSON said, that he had only wished that the practice might be abolished. He did not say that this might not be done by gentler means, but he wished at all events to see it done.

The CHAIRMAN said, that as the hon. Proprietor had declined making the admission which he requested, he felt it his duty to press the amendment.

The motion and amendment were then read, and the question put from the Chair; when

Sir CHARLES FORBES rose, and said, that he had waited to the last moment to see if any other person would accept the challenge thrown out by the hon. Director, and answer his remarks about the power of the Court of Proprietors. Now he (Sir C. Forbes) thought that the Court of Proprietors had a right to call the attention of the executive body (the Directors) to any particular measure they thought proper, and instruct them on the subject. If the Proprietors gave instructions on any particular measure, would the Directors dare to refuse them their attention? If they did, the Proprietors might visit any Director with a vote of censure, of which the immediate effect would be his removal from the Direction. Were the Proprietors to be the mere puppets of the Directors? He was as much disposed as any person to put proper confidence in the Directors; but he would not allow any one of them to put such a construction on the laws affecting the rights of the Proprietors as that which had been put on it by the hon. Director. (Mr. Wigram.)

Mr. PARTISON said, that the question had been taken up as if it had been a declaration of the Directors against the principle of the motion. It was no such thing. The proposition of the hon. Chairman was one of conciliation, and had been rendered necessary by principles laid down in the speech which were not found in the motion. The hon. Chairman had made a proposition which ought not to be rejected. All he had asked was, that the two Proprietors should state that they did not intend to recommend the use of force. If they did so intend, that was a strong reason why the Court should not agree to the motion; and if they did not intend it, they could have no objection to say so.

Mr. WIGRAM explained. The hon. Baronet (Sir C. Forbes) had misunderstood him, and fallen into an error himself in saying that the Court of Proprietors had a right to dictate to the Directors. Now he (Mr. Wigram) would state that the Legislature had placed the Government of India in the Directors and the Board of Control. The Court of Proprietors might make a recommendation to the Court of Directors, but the latter were not bound to adopt it.

The question was now about to be put; when Mr. POYNDER claimed his right of reply.

After some discussion, Mr. R. JACKSON read the motion; and said, that it did not in any way recommend the use of force.

The CHAIRMAN again called for the assurance that it was not intended to recommend the use of force.

Sir J. SEWELL said, that the Directors would be participators in the crime of murder, if they did not take the means of preventing it. They were the Governors of India, and he must say that they were a very bad specimen of governorship. They tried to throw the responsibility from themselves by saying, that these acts were the voluntary acts of the parties, and that they could not prevent them. It was in this way that Pilate wished to wash his hands from innocent blood, the shedding of which he had the power to prevent.

The CHAIRMAN here repeated his proposition. And after a few words from Mr. Poynder,

The CHAIRMAN said, that he would withdraw his amendment, in the understanding that there was to be no recommendation of force till the Court had time to send out instructions. (*Cheers.*) He must add, that if a Court of Proprietors unanimously recommended the use of force, he would rather resign his situation than comply; because such recommendation would be most injurious to the interests of the Company.

Mr. CAMPBELL (a Director) said, that he had been twenty years in India, and he was convinced that any attempt to put down Sait-e by force, would not only be abortive, but extremely dangerous.

The original motion was then put and carried by a large majority, the amendment having been withdrawn.

After some conversation between the Chairman and several members of the Court, it was agreed to adjourn to Friday the 30th instant.

*Friday, March 30, 1827.*

#### VOTE OF THANKS TO MR. MARJORIBANKS

The Minutes of the last Court having been read,

The CHAIRMAN informed the Court that it had met this day, by adjournment from last Wednesday. The first motion which stood on the list, was, 'That the thanks of this Court be given to the late Chairman, Mr. Marjoribanks, for the excellent and gracious manner in which he communicated information in answering questions put to him by the Proprietors of this Court, and for the satisfactory manner in which he conducted him self to the Court during the time he filled the Chair.'

General THORNTON wished, previous to coming upon the motion, to put two questions to the Chairman, as he should be guided in his arguments by the answers which might be given to them. The first question was, whether the Company was put to any expense when a ballot was demanded, and in the next place, whether any expense was incurred by the Proprietors calling a special meeting?

Mr. WEDDING objected to the question being put. It had been decided, that no questions should be asked previous to the discussion of the question before the Court.

The CHAIRMAN thought the questions were unconnected with the motion before the Court. He had not, however, any means of arriving at the information asked than any other Proprietor possessed, and he had not looked into the expenses attending either a ballot or a special court.

General THORNTON began by explaining the reason of the extraordinary delay which had taken place in bringing the present question before the Court. He knew he could have called a Court whenever he pleased, by getting nine gentlemen to sign a requisition, but he also knew the excuses which were made by gentlemen who did not wish to put their names to requisitions, for fear of encountering the frowns of the Directors. It was on that account he had not called a Special Court of Proprietors. But he had observed, that when two Proprietors had sent a letter to the Directors to have a general Court made special, the Directors had done so. He had, therefore, and his hon. Friend next him, (Captain Maxfield,) signed a similar requisition, at the same time inquiring whether it was sufficient. To which it was replied, that it was quite sufficient. He was greatly surprised afterwards to receive a letter from the Secretary of the Company, stating that the Directors did not think it was necessary to call a special meeting, as it was competent for him to bring forward the motion at a General Quarterly Court. With respect to the question before the Court, he must say that it was with great sorrow he had witnessed the disobedient manner of former Chairmen towards the Court. He understood, but he did not know how true it might be, that in consequence of the inconsiderate behaviour of one hon. Chairman, in refusing to answer a simple question, the Company had been put to the expense of £15,000. Mr. Marjoribanks had, on the other hand, always been very ready to give every information in his power to the Proprietors. He intended to show the present Chairman the great convenience which attended good and obedient conduct in the Chair. In the time of Mr. Marjoribanks, the Court went away quite satisfied with the Chair, which was not the case on former occasions. If Proprietors wished to put a question now to the Chair, they must wait till the conclusion of business, which might continue till seven o'clock. If they waited till that time, the Court was then in such a state of confusion, that it was by no means a proper time to put a question, or to receive information, which was intended for the benefit of all the Proprietors. He had once waited till the conclusion of business, and when he was about to put a question to the Court, he was informed that it had adjourned. He protested against such conduct as this. With respect to asking questions, the Court ought to be put on the same footing as the House of Commons, where questions might be put at any time, excepting when they broke into a debate. The reason he had put the two questions to the Chair, previous to this discussion, was, in order to know how to act with respect to signing requisitions, if any expense attended them, and he knew it was the intimation of an hon. Proprietor, if some satisfactory information should not take place, to bring forward a motion on the conduct of the Chairman in not giving information on matters of fact. He made the present motion from gratitude, due to the conduct of Mr. Marjoribanks, and from a wish to set him up as an example to other Chairmen. He remembered that his learned friend (Dr. Gilchrist) had once put a very extraordinary question to Mr. Marjoribanks respecting fire-arms. He confessed he was at first some very serious accident had occurred. The question was, whether fire-arms sent to India were first proved; to which the Chairman very graciously returned an answer. His learned Friend asked that question, not because he had any suspicion that the fire-arms were not proved, but to show, if so much pains were taken with the *instrumentum mutum*, how much more necessary it was to pay attention to the *instrumentum vocale*.

The hon. Proprietor then concluded by moving the vote of thanks to Mr. Marjoribanks.

Dr. Gilchrist rose with great pleasure to second the motion of his gallant friend. He remembered when he was an humble functionary of that Court, he had met with treatment from Mr. Marjoribanks which was certainly not proper; but time had made him not only forgive, but also forget it. Charity covered a multitude of sins, and Mr. Marjoribanks was the first man to take up the cause of a man who had been sent over to starve in this country, he meant Mr. Annot. There were two dark spots on the escutcheon of this

country. One had been obliterated, but the other, connected with Mr. Buckingham's case, still remained to be effaced. With respect to Mr. Marjoribanks he had every reason to be satisfied with the indulgent manner in which that gentleman answered every question that was put to him, even the one on the subject of the fire-arms. He should not soon forget his kind conduct in the Chair. He never refused to answer a question because it was informal. That was an innovation which had commenced with the present Chairman. He should now quote a passage from Shakspeare, as it had a reference to the matter before the Court, and would encourage men to stand up for their rights, and not to bow to the edicts of any person :

“ For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,  
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,  
The pangs of despis'd *worth*, the law's delay,  
The insolence of office, and the spurns  
That patient merit of the unworthy takes?”

He would bear it, because he despised it. With respect to himself as an individual, he stood up before the hon. Chairman, and would tell him that he had not been courteous to him or to the gentlemen on this side of the bar. He had called them a *set* of Requisitionists. He might as well have called them a *pack* or a *crew*. That was not civil language. (*Order!*) With respect to himself, he had even been stigmatized in one of the Resolutions of the hon. Chairman as a madman. He had been called an Eustasiast, which term, according to Dr. Johnson's interpretation, meant a madman. However, that was nothing new to him; he had been called a madman ever since he could remember. (*A laugh.*) He had also been stigmatized as a *jobber*. Now, if there was any man in this world less a jobber than himself, he would be glad to see that person. This libel upon him had been re-echoed in a letter from India, namely, that Mr. Hume was to make a job for him, and that he was so despicable as to accept it. It had arisen from a mistake of Mr. Hume and a misrepresentation of the Chairman.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN rose to order. The Court was not now discussing the merits of the present Chairman, and he begged the learned Proprietor to confine himself to the merits of the late Chairman.

Dr. GILCHRIST said that all merit was comparative.

The CHAIRMAN entreated the Court to indulge the learned Proprietor in discussing the demerits of the present Chairman on a motion relative to the merits of the late Chairman. It was impossible for that Proprietor to produce in his mind any feeling of resentment: he should treat his observations only with the pity and contempt which they deserved. (*Hear, hear.*)

Dr. GILCHRIST begged to return the compliment. (*Order.*) If the Chairman gave a Rowland he would give an Oliver. He thought that there was too much submission shown on this side of the bar. On one occasion the Proprietors had been called mere ciphers.

Mr. WIGRAM rose to order. He thought that it was not proper to make any allusion to a former occasion.

Mr. PATTISON thought that if the motion were suffered to pass, it would give a vote of censure to every other Chairman with the exception of Mr. Marjoribanks. The hon. Director was proceeding, when

Mr. WIGRAM called his hon. Friend to order, as he was discussing the merits of the motion.

Mr. PATTISON stated that he would go on with his point.

Colonel STANHOPE rose to order.

Mr. PATTISON would not stop, because he was speaking upon a general point. (*Loud cries of 'Chair.'*)

The CHAIRMAN thought the hon. Director out of order.

Dr. GILCHRIST would merely advert to one expression which had been

used, namely, that the present motion was a vote of censure to all other Chairmen. He could only say that possibly he might move a vote of censure, but if he did, he should move for it openly and without hesitation. In the case of Lord Amherst—

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN rose to order. The Court was not discussing the case of Lord Amherst.

Dr. GILCHRIST said he should support his gallant Friend in his motion, because Mr. Marjoribanks never put down a Proprietor when he asked a reasonable question.

Captain MAXWELL thought it right to state, that he did not take the expression '*Cypher*,' to which his learned Friend had alluded, in the same light as he did. With respect to Mr. Marjoribanks, he expressed great satisfaction at his conduct; but he was not disposed to enter into any unfavourable comparison.

Mr. WRENTON thought the present motion a most extraordinary one. He was not quite satisfied with the reasons given for the delay which had taken place in bringing the question before the Court. He objected to the invidious comparison which had been made between the present and the late Chairman; and he did not know of any superiority which that gentleman enjoyed over the other Chairmen of that Court, and he thought he would scorn to receive thanks at the expense of his colleague. He thought it was a frivolous proposition, and he should move the previous question, which was seconded.

Colonel SRYSGROVE stated, that the delay was not the fault of his hon. Friend, but of the persons in power not attending to his requisition. He certainly did not approve of any invidious remarks that had been made; though at the same time there had been a good deal of sparring going on for some time between the learned Proprietor and the hon. Chairman, and he thought he had acted towards that Proprietor with a great deal of shrewdness. With respect to Mr. Marjoribanks, he agreed in all the praise which had been passed on him. That gentleman had, however, on one occasion given him a very unbecoming answer to a question he had asked. He had received a letter signed by 24 Directors calling upon him to vote for particular persons mentioned in the letter. He wanted to know whether that letter had been sent round by authority, and Mr. Marjoribanks told him that if he did not like the letter, he might put it in the fire. He thought the present Chairman had too much sense to make such an answer.

Dr. GILCHRIST thought it was the present Chairman who had made that answer. (*No, no*, from the Chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN, as he had been accused of introducing new rules, wished to say a few words upon the subject. If when a question was put to him, and the subject was to drop upon his giving an answer to it, he should be most willing at all times to answer any question; but when he saw that a debate generally arose upon such answer, he thought he was only discharging his duty and supporting the dignity of the Court in putting an end to such a practice. With respect to the expense of holding a special Court, he believed it was one only of time, and not of money. With respect to the conduct of the Court in not giving notice of the gallant General's motion, the gallant Proprietor said, that if a notice had been given on the requisition of nine Proprietors, it would have been incumbent on the Court of Directors to have called a special Meeting, and he was treated with all respect in being reminded that any single Proprietor could, if he pleased, bring forward a motion at a General Quarterly Court. He was quite satisfied of being supported by the great body of Proprietors, and he was perfectly indifferent to the opinion of this or that Proprietor who chose to make an invidious comparison between his conduct and that of Mr. Marjoribanks.

Mr. GAYNOR thought that if a simple question were put and the matter were to drop there, no Director would have any objection to answer such question. With respect to the present motion, he thought it was as absurd

and ludicrous, as if a vote of thanks were to be moved, on the next balloting day, to the beadle, for having made better coffee or chocolate than usual.

Sir CHARLES FORBES thought the Court might follow the example of the House of Commons, where, if a desultory conversation arose, in consequence of a question having been put, the Speaker would stop it.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN said it was the custom in the House of Commons, for gentlemen, who wished to have an answer to an important question, to give previous notice of their intention of asking such question. He thought that if that practice were adopted in this Court, there would be no objection to answer any question which might be put by hon. Proprietors.

General THORNTON stated that he must press his motion. The only satisfactory thing he had heard, was what had just fallen from the Deputy Chairman; and when he wished to ask a question, he should take the liberty of acquainting the Chairman with it before hand. Such a practice would lead to more courtesy between the Directors and Proprietors; but then questions might occur which would not allow of that convenience being attended to.

The motion was then put, and carried in the negative by a large majority.

#### VOLE OF THANKS TO MR. BOSANQUET.

Mr. TWISING, previous to his entering upon the motion, wished all the correspondence which had passed between Mr. Bosanquet and the Court of Directors, respecting his retirement, might be read. The first letter read was from Mr. Bosanquet to the Court of Directors, announcing his retirement, after having held his situation in the Directorship for nearly half a century. The next letter was from the Chairman, expressing his regret at the determination of Mr. Bosanquet, and enclosing the unanimous resolution of the Court on the occasion of his resignation.

Mr. TWISING thought the best way of introducing the subject to the Court was by reading the correspondence which the Proprietors had just heard. He thought he was bound to state the grounds on which he brought forward the present motion. It originated in strong feelings of friendship towards Mr. Bosanquet, and on account of the friendship which subsisted between that gentleman and one whose memory he should always respect. He brought forward the motion with no invidious view or making comparisons; but from a desire to reward Mr. Bosanquet for the length of his services, which had extended to nearly half a century. The time during which Mr. Bosanquet was a Director, was one of great difficulty. He had, however, effectually withstood Fox's India Bill, and had received the thanks of this Court for protecting those rights, which were endangered by that bill. He had been elected no less than six times by his colleagues to fill the Chair in the Directorship, and had on three occasions witnessed the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company. He hoped to see that Charter extended to the Company a fourth time. He would not be able to make any active exertions on the subject, but as long as he lived he should always look with hope to that measure being granted. The hon. Proprietor concluded by moving:

‘That the thanks of this Court be presented to Jacob Bosanquet, Esq., for his upright and independent conduct during the period of his occupying a seat in the direction of their affairs, (a period extending nearly to half a century,) and for his uniform and zealous exertion at all times to uphold the rights and privileges, and promote the interests, of the East India Company.

‘And that he be requested to accept, from this Court, the assurance that he retires from his public duties accompanied by their highest sentiments of respect and esteem, and by the most earnest wishes for his health and happiness.’

Sir CHARLES FORBES rose with great pleasure to second the motion. There was no man, he was sure, who had witnessed the public conduct of Mr. Bosanquet, but would join cordially in supporting the motion. He thought the motion might have gone a little farther with respect to his disinterestedness



in the disposal of his patronage. In many instances that patronage had been bestowed on the fatherless and friendless, and on the sons of officers, who had no other claim to his notice but the merits of their fathers. This benevolence was not, however, confined exclusively to him. He thought that Directors, after having served the Company for a period of twenty or thirty years, should be allowed to retire upon a pension. They had at least as good a right to one as the President of the Board of Control.

Mr. BARBER stated, that the merits of a man were to be judged of, not by *quam diu sed quam bene gesserit*. With respect to Mr. Bosanquet's services, he would say *tam diu, tam bene*. As the subject of patronage had been mentioned to the Court, he would take the liberty of relating an anecdote upon that subject. A Director having heard of a clergyman who had a large family, sent him an offer of a cadetship for one of his sons. The offer was accepted, and the youth embarked; but, unfortunately, the ship was lost on her passage, and the young man was drowned. The Director, hearing of this circumstance, expressed his sorrow to the clergyman, that any incidental intercourse with him should cause so melancholy an event, at the same time stating, that if any of his sons were still desirous of trying his fortune in India, a writership was at his service. The name of the clergyman was the Rev. Mr. Lane, residing in Herefordshire, and that of the Director was Mr. Bosanquet. He believed that no patronage in the kingdom was more honourably disposed of than that belonging to the Directors. With respect to the motion before the Court, he threw out a suggestion that it might be engraved, instead of being written on a piece of paper.

Dr. GILCHRIST could not say one word against the motion. He had heard, but he would not speak to the fact, that Mr. Bosanquet had enjoyed a patronage amounting to a million of money. He did not grudge him enjoying the benefits which the present system conferred on him. No individual was to blame for taking as large a share of the spoil as he could. In this instance the patronage had been well bestowed, and to be able to assist the unfortunate was a fortune of itself; it was a species of anticipation of beatitude above, which he should be happy to enjoy.

The motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

#### PATRONAGE OF THE DIRECTORS.

Colonel STANHOPE rose to move for a 'return of all writerships, cadetships, surgeon's appointments, and nautical appointments, and all other patronage in the gift of the Court of Directors, during the years 1820 to 1826, both inclusive.' He could not anticipate any objection to the present motion. It was necessary to know the extent of the patronage of any society, and the Directors were bound in honour not to conceal the amount of patronage they possessed. At present it was quite uncertain what that amount was. It had been stated at a million by some, while others said that the Directors received only the paltry remuneration of 300*l.*, which was scarcely sufficient to pay for their wives' opera boxes. Mr. Dundas had stated that the patronage of the Court of Directors, if placed in the hands of his Majesty's Ministers, was sufficient to corrupt both Houses of Parliament. He thought this uncertainty was reason enough why the return should be made.

Captain MAXFIELD seconded the motion.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that a return of all the appointments included in the motion had been made up to the year 1823, and there would be no objection, on his part, to furnish a return for the succeeding year also. ●

Colonel STANHOPE asked, if various appointments, which he enumerated, were comprehended in the return.

The CHAIRMAN answered in the affirmative.

Mr. WEEDE submitted, that as, by Act of Parliament, the disposal of the patronage could not be altered, the object for producing these returns would only be to gratify the curiosity of an individual. He thought the Court of

Directors ought not to be troubled, if no better reason than that could be shown.

Colonel STANHOPE thought the hon. Proprietor's reasoning came a little too late, as the Chairman had consented to the production of the papers called for.

Mr. WEEDING submitted that the subject was one for the consideration of the Court of Proprietors.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that he did not oppose the production of the papers, but the question was in the hands of the Court.

Mr. GAHAGAN was willing to produce the papers, for then the Court would see what the gentlemen who called for them could do with them.

Sir C. FORBES had no objection to the papers being produced.

Captain MAXFIELD would state a reason for their production. It was said out of doors, that it was of no use to bring forward a motion in that Court, to which Directors were averse, because the weight of patronage would over-balance the votes. He did not believe that to be the case; but he knew no way of answering the assertion, but by the production of the papers. An hon. Proprietor said, that an Act of Parliament directed the disposal of the patronage; but could not that Act be altered? The gallant Proprietor was about to show the effect of Indian patronage, from the condition of countries, where a system of patronage existed, according to the Hyderabad papers, when

The CHAIRMAN called him to order, as the subject was unconnected with the question before the Court.

Mr. DIXON said, that some persons on his side of the bar appeared to him to think, that they could send out to India better qualified persons than the Directors could.

Captain MAXFIELD wished to know, whether the patronage connected with China voyages, was bestowed upon the ship or the captain.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that it was bestowed upon the captain and the ship he commands, and he could only enjoy the benefit of the patronage by commanding the particular ship; if he gave up the ship, then the voyage reverted to the Committee of Correspondence.

Colonel STANHOPE thought what Mr. Dundas had said respecting the patronage of the East India Company, namely, that it was sufficient to corrupt both Houses of Parliament, was a sufficient reason for the papers being produced. Could any man be so middle-headed as to say, that it was desirable that a government should dispose of its patronage, without the people knowing the extent of the patronage? If an Act of Parliament did describe the manner of the distribution of the patronage, could not a representation be made to the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control, to use their endeavours to get that Act altered? Had not the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Weeding) seen the Red-Book? He would there find that the whole of the patronage of the Government of this country was published, and the same was the case even in the most despotic countries. If these reasons did not satisfy the hon. Proprietor, then he must have some interest in withholding the papers.

Mr. WEEDING said, the gallant Proprietor had no right to impute personal motives.

Dr. GUMMIST said, the hon. Proprietor who had just sat down had imputed invidious motives to him.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN said, that in the House of Commons, when papers were called for, some reasons were given at the same time for so doing; and if as a reason for calling for these papers, it had been stated that the patronage had been bestowed on improper persons, he had no doubt that the Court would at once have granted the motion.

Dr. GILCHRIST had not said a word upon this motion: he had been rather orderly of late; but he was prepared to say, that the patronage of the Directors was bestowed upon improper persons. It was bestowed upon young men who went out to India as cadets, without knowing a word of the Native languages. He would rather that the patronage were sold, and the money divided among the Proprietors.

The motion was then put and negatived by a large majority.

#### ATTENDANCE OF THE DIRECTORS.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that the next motion upon the paper was that of a learned Doctor, for a return of the actual attendance of the Directors for the last year, in the Court of Directors, as well as of the attendance of all those gentlemen who are now on the list of candidates for re-election on the 15th of April, stating their respective ability, in regard to bodily health and mental energy, to discharge their duties with private credit and public advantage. (*Laughter.*)

Dr. GILCHRIST said, that he had requested that the last part of the motion might be omitted, and he could not tell the reason why his request had not been attended to. It had been made the subject of much praise that an hon. Director had continued in the direction for nearly fifty years; but the reason of his continuing so long in office was a species of self-election that existed in the Direction, namely, the recommendation of the Directors to the Proprietors to re-elect certain Directors who were upon the House list; and if he himself could once get into the Direction, he might continue there for a hundred years, if he lived so long. The salary of the Directors was of some importance, but compared with the patronage it was but a drop of water in the ocean. He thought the Proprietors had a right to know how the Directors attended to the discharge of their duties in consideration of the large remuneration they enjoy. In his circular to the Proprietors—for he intended to be a candidate for the Directorship—he should publish an account, if he could obtain it, of the ability of the six hon. Directors who stood for re-election, to attend to their duties with respect to bodily strength, youth, and intellect; and if there should appear to be a want of attendance on the part of any of those Directors, it became the duty of the Court of Proprietors to look out for some young and able man to supply his situation. A great deal had been said of the labour of the Directors, and the great expense of time, which they were obliged to undergo, for which they received nothing; he wished that time was always as well paid for. But he saw, by looking at the prospectuses of some joint-stock companies, one hon. Director carried the Globe upon his shoulders, another the Palladium, and another the Atlas. Now he thought since they had so many strings to their bow, they ought not to find fault with their time being a little unprofitably taken up in that Court, where the labour was comparatively nothing. The business, indeed, of the Company might be conducted by the clerks, who would only want a little supervision, and the concern would go on as well without the Directors. (*Cries of question.*) He was in possession of the Court, and he would show the Proprietors what power they possessed, and what abuses had taken place. This he should show to the Court, by reading an extract from Mr. Auber's book, and also from the Bye-laws.

! He found that in Chapter vii. it was laid down that nine Proprietors had the power to demand that a Court should be summoned for the discussion of any particular question. So that, according to this, nine Proprietors were more important than the Directors wished to imagine. The hon. Proprietor here read some extracts from the Charter and Bye-laws, in support of the authority of the Court of Proprietors in all matters touching the interests of the Company. The power of the Court of Proprietors was shown, beyond all dispute, by the following extract from the Bye-laws: 'A General Court may be summoned on the demand of nine Proprietors, and in default of the Directors summoning such Court, the said nine Proprietors may summon

it and displace any Director for mismanagement in his office. Thus much for their power—now let the Court hear what was said of the question of patronage. Here the hon. Proprietor read an extract from the Bye-laws which authorised the Court of Proprietors to assemble and fill up any occasional vacancies which might occur amongst the Directors. He had shown that no Bye-law could be altered without the authority of two General Courts of Proprietors, he would now point out the penalties which are attached to a breach of any Bye-law. The learned Proprietor then read another section, which stated that, 'any Director who should be guilty of a breach of any Bye-law to which a special penalty was not attached, should be liable to be removed from the Direction, and be for ever incapable of obtaining any office under the Company.' Now, one of the Bye-laws directed that the election of a Deputy Chairman should be made by the Directors by vote, but it had been rumoured that the present Deputy Chairman had been nominated by the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN said, that wherever the statement came from, it was not true.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN assured the Court that he had been elected by the Court of Directors in the usual way.

Dr. GILCHRIST continued to call the attention of the Court to the Bye-law, and particularly to that which spoke of obtaining votes for Directors by indirect means. In sect. 1., chap. vii., it was ordained, that 'any Member of the Company who should be adjudged guilty of having endeavoured to obtain by any species of corrupt influence any vote for the election of himself or any body else to the office of Director, such person should be, if a Director, removed from that office, and should be in any case declared incapable of any office, the qualification for which is subject to the regulation of the General Court.' He saw, in another part of their Bye-laws, that every Member who was a candidate for the office of Director, was obliged to give thirty days' notice. It was this he had in view on the last Court-day, when he asked, whether being a candidate, and having given the regular notice, he should have merely to walk over the course, in case any of the other candidates were taken to Abraham's bosom before the day of election. He had taken the chance of such a contingency when he gave in his name as a candidate. (*A laugh.*) But he thought he had another and a better chance of an opening, if the laws were administered fairly in that Court. After adverting to the mode in which the elections of candidates were conducted, the learned Gentleman proceeded to read extracts from an article in the '*Oriental Herald*,' headed 'Election of Candidates,'—(for which see our Number for April 1896.) The extracts referred to the manner in which candidates canvassed for support, and stated, amongst other matters, that though the good of the Company, and an attention to its interests, were the ostensible grounds on which candidates and electors stand, yet that their real motives were, a desire of the power of dispensing patronage on the one hand, and a wish to share in the good things dispensed, on the other.

In allusion to the 'pilgrimages' made, and the expense incurred in their canvass, by candidates, the learned Proprietor observed, that he would not spend a single shilling in his canvass, nor would he go round to solicit a single vote; but would leave the matter to be decided by the independent Proprietors as they thought proper. If he had patronage, he would be certain of the strongest support. Upon this subject of patronage, he could not but express a hope that the example set by the Right Hon. President of the Board of Control, in dispensing some of the Company's patronage as a prize for competition in one of our public schools, would be followed by the Court of Directors. The effect would be most important to the interests of the Company, as it would stimulate young cadets to qualify themselves in those acquirements necessary for employment in the Company's service abroad, in which, he regretted to say, so many of the young cadets sent out were deficient. The learned Gentleman here purposed to read some letters from Sir T. Moore on

the subject of the education of cadets, which, he observed, would be an answer to the opinion of the same high officer quoted by the Chairman in a former debate; but

A PROPRIETOR objected to such a course as irregular, and the Chairman so decided.

Dr. GILCHRIST said, he would give way, and not read the letters; but there was a letter of another kind which he would read, and which brought him to a point from which he had started some time before,—namely, that it was a breach of a Bye-law, and subjected the party to disqualification, for any Director to solicit by any means, directly or indirectly, a vote of a Proprietor in favour of a candidate. Now this had been done by the present Chairman (when in the Deputy-Chair.) Here he read a letter signed 'G. A. Robinson,' addressed to a Proprietor, and soliciting his vote in favour of Mr. Stuart. (This letter was published in the 'Oriental Herald' in April 1896.) Now, he maintained that such a letter was a direct violation of that Bye-law (chap. I. sec. 7.) to which he had alluded.

Major CARNAC here rose to order; and contended that it was irregular to make a speech in that Court the vehicle of a personal attack on any member. No member of that Court was entitled to more respect and confidence than their Chairman, and such an attack on him should not be permitted. The hon. Chairman was, he contended, perfectly justified in recommending his friend (and he had done so only on public grounds) to the support of the Proprietors. It was done every day by every Member of that Court.

Dr. GILCHRIST contended that he was right in calling the attention of the Court to what he considered a breach of a law by one of their executive, who was responsible to them. In this he meant no personal attack; he spoke merely on public grounds.

Mr. TRANT moved that the Court do adjourn.

Colonel STANHOPE trusted that such a motion would not be pressed, while a subject of such importance was before the Court.

After a few words from Mr. Trant, Mr. Twining, and Dr. Gilchrist.

Mr. PATTISON put it to the learned Proprietor, whether in common sense he could suppose the letter alluded to constituted a violation of the Bye-law. The letter contained no threat or promise of reward. There was nothing in it of undue influence. It was a plain solicitation of support on public grounds alone. The Bye-law in question was made only with a view of preventing corrupt influence.

Dr. GILCHRIST proposed to read an extract from the Bye-law in question, but at the suggestion of the Chairman, he read the whole as follows: 'It is ordained that if any member of this Company shall, by menaces and promises, collusive transfer, or transfers of stock, by any fee, present, reward, or remuneration, under the plea of defraying travelling expenses, or under any other plea or pretence whatsoever, directly or indirectly obtain, or endeavour to obtain, any vote for the election of himself, or any other to be a Director, and be declared guilty thereof, at a General Court to be called for that purpose, such person shall be incapable thereafter of holding any office, the qualification for which is subject to the regulation of the General Court, and, if he be a Director, he shall be further liable to be removed from his office.'

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN contended, that what had been done by the Chairman was that in which he was perfectly justified. In fact, it appeared the learned Proprietor wished to make room for himself as a candidate, for if his construction of the law were correct, all the twenty-four Directors must go out. They had all solicited votes in the same way, but he contended that they had a right so to do.

Dr. GILCHRIST contended, that he had put the proper construction on the law; and that the act of the Chairman, and of any man who made similar solicitations, was a violation of that law.

Mr. PATTISON contended, that it was absurd to suppose the law, taken as a whole, was ever intended to apply to such a case as the learned Proprietor had brought forward.

Mr. TWINKLE said that, as a Member of the Committee of Bye-laws, he entirely concurred in the opinion, that the letter of the Chairman was not against either the letter or spirit of the law in question.

Dr. GILCHRIST (after some few remarks) handed in his motion, but it appeared that instead of that of which he had given notice, the one he put in was a notice for another day. After correcting this error, the motion was put as follows:

‘That there be laid before this Court a return of the actual attendances of the several Directors to the duties of their station in the last year, with an account of their capabilities for discharging those duties, with respect to their bodily health and mental energies—also a similar return respecting the six gentlemen who were candidates for the Direction at the next general election, in the last year of their service, as Members of the Court of Directors.’

Col. STANHOPE seconded the motion.

Mr. WEDDING said it ought to be rejected as frivolous.

Sir C. FORBES thought the learned Proprietor altogether wrong in his application of the Bye-law. If he was correct in his construction of it, it should apply equally to Proprietors as well as Directors. He thought that one as well as the other were justified in soliciting votes for a particular candidate, provided no undue influence were used. At the same time, he could not approve of the practice of the Directors in recommending the six persons who were to come in. The Proprietors already knew their merits and would elect them if they were efficient; and if they were not, they should not be propped up by the support of the Court of Directors. The custom, he knew, was an old one, but it would be ‘much more honoured in the breach than the observance.’

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN said the Directors gave the recommendation, not as a Court of Directors, but as so many Proprietors, and they were entitled to recommend as much as any other Proprietors.

Sir C. FORBES did not dispute the right, but he thought it would be more prudent not to exercise it, particularly as it was generally viewed as exercising the influence rather of the Court of Directors as a body, than of so many Proprietors.

Captain MAXFIELD concurred in condemning the practice of recommending by the Court of Directors. He did not deny the right, but he denied the propriety of its exercise on such occasions.

The question was now put from the Chair, and the motion was lost by a large majority, two hands only being held up for it.

#### SALE OF WRITERSHIPS, CADETSHIPS, &c.—INDIAN DEBT.

Colonel STANHOPE gave notice that at the next Quarterly General Court, he would submit the following motion:

‘That the Proprietors of East India Stock, view with alarm the extent of their debt, and the increased and increasing patronage, which places more than half a million worth of annual appointments at the disposal of their Directors.’

‘That Mr. Dundas, a celebrated President of the Board of Control, declared that the patronage of British India was of itself sufficient, if transferred to the King’s Government, to corrupt both Houses of Parliament, and to render the power of an ambitious Minister superior to that of the Crown.’

‘That though the dread of this extensive system of corruption was sufficient to upset Mr. Fox’s India Bill and his administration, and to change perhaps, the course of events in Europe, still the Proprietors observe, that a vast proportion of this patronage is actually vested in the hands of their Directors.’

‘That this Court cannot expect to escape untainted from that influence which was considered by the King and Peers of England, as sufficient to destroy the Constitution. And that, with the view to avoid this evil, they propose,

‘That all writerships, cadetships, surgeons, and other appointments be openly sold to properly educated and qualified persons, and that the amount of such purchase money be applied to a sinking fund, for the purpose of gradually liquidating the existing India debt, which otherwise must be added to the debt of the nation.’—The Court then adjourned.

# CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES, IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- Archer, Capt., E. C., 41st Foot, Extra Aide-de-Camp, to be Aide-de-Camp on Personal Staff of Commander-in-Chief.—C. Aug. 2.
- Altchison, J., Lieut., 28th N. I., to be Capt. of a Company.—C. Sept. 1.
- Anderson, D. D., Capt., 29th N. I., to be Dep.-Ass.-Adj.-Gen.—C. Sept. 1, posted to Sirhind Division, Sept. 4.
- Andrews, W. E., Ens., 5th Extra N. I., to be Lieut.—C. Sept. 13.
- Armstrong, G. C., Lieut., 69th N. I., to be Interp. and Quarter-Master.—C. Sept. 18.
- Anderson, Mr. J., admitted Cadet, and promoted to Ensign.—C. Sept. 25.
- Abbot, P., Ens., 4th Extra N. I. at Allahabad.—C. Sept. 26.
- Ainslie, J., Ens., posted to 40th N. I. at Dinapore.—C. Sept. 26.
- Anderson, Ens., app. to do duty with 7th N. I. at Berhampore.—C. Oct. 7.
- Adams, J. W., Brig., to command Muttra and Agra Frontier.—C. Oct. 20.
- Aplin, C. D'O., Capt., 33d N. I., on furlough to Europe.—C. Oct. 13.
- Anderson, J. J. M., Sen. Ens., to be Lieut.—M. Sept. 15.
- Ashton, H., Ens., 10th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.
- Anderson, J. C., Ens., 24th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.
- Altchison, J. W., Maj., Dep.-Adj.-Gen., app. Acting Adj.-Gen.—B. Oct. 5.
- Byam, Lieut., Mil. Estab. of Fort St. George, to be an Extra Assistant to Resident at Hyderabad.—C. Oct. 6.
- Bury, Mr. C., an Assistant to Sec. to Board of Revenue in Central Provinces.—C. Oct. 19.
- Baldock, J., Ens., to do duty with 57th N. I.—C. Aug. 2.
- Bartlett, W., Ens., to do duty with 49th N. I. at Benares.—C. Aug. 2.
- Balderston, A., Ens., to do duty with left wing 4th Extra N. I. at Juanpore.—C. Aug. 2.
- Beavan, R., Ens., to do duty with 50th N. I. at Allahabad.—C. Aug. 2.
- Briggs, Mr. W. T., promoted to be Ensign.—C. Aug. 14.
- Bousfield, H., Assist.-Surg., to assume medical charge of Champaran L. I., at Mullye.—C. Aug. 17.
- Burt, H. W., Lieut., to be Adj. 46th N. I.—C. Aug. 25.
- Bald, Mr. T. G., admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ens.—C. Sept. 13.
- Bowron, Assist.-Surg., to 61st N. I.—C. Sept. 11.
- Baldwin, T. J., Capt., 22d N. I., to be Maj.—C. Sept. 15.
- Butler, W. A., Ens., to be Lieut.—C. Sept. 15.
- Becber, Lieut.-Col., from 6th to 3d L. C.—C. Sept. 18.
- Blenkinsop, Mr. E., admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ens.—C. Sept. 25.
- Butler, Mr. J., admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ens.—C. Sept. 25.
- Brander, Mr. J. M., admitted as Assist.-Surg.—C. Sept. 25.
- Bishop, Mr. G. W., admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ens.—C. Sept. 29.
- Boys, W. J. E., Cornet, posted to 5th L. C. at Kurnaul.—C. Sept. 26.
- Beck, F. G., Ens., posted to 18th N. I. in Assam.—C. Sept. 26.
- Baldeck, J., Ens., posted to 22d N. I. at Midnapore.—C. Sept. 26.
- Brown, C., Ens., posted to 18th N. I. at Bhurtpore.—C. Sept. 26.
- Bennett, T., Ens., posted to 9th N. I. at Secrora.—C. Sept. 26.
- Blake, T. G., Ens., posted to 67th N. I. proceed. to Dinapore.—C. Sept. 26.
- Briggs, W. T., Ens., posted to 6th Extra N. I. at Mullye.—C. Sept. 26.
- Beaumont, E. C. F., Ens., posted to 32d N. I. at Ketch.—C. Sept. 26.
- Berrodalle, G., Ens., posted to 68th N. I. at Arracan.—C. Sept. 26.
- Butler, J., Ens., posted to 35th N. I. at Delhi.—C. Sept. 26.
- Balderston, A., Ens., posted to 16th N. I. proceeding to Goruckpore.—C. Sept. 26.
- Bartlett, W., Ens., posted to 37th N. I. at Bareilly.—C. Sept. 26.

- Becher, G. R. P., Ens., posted to 38th N. I. at Saugor.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Beavan, R., Ens., posted to 31st N. I. at Neemuch.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Beatson, A. C., Lieut., 2d N. I., to be Assist.-Superint. of Roads under Capt. Drummond.—C. Sept. 29.  
 Burroughs, W., Capt., 2d Europ. Regt., to be Fort-Adjutant at Allahabad.—C. Oct. 6.  
 Blenkinsop, E., Ens., posted to 21st N. I. at Bhurtpore.—C. Oct. 5.  
 Brewer, T. M., Ens., posted to 33d N. I. at Nusseerabad.—C. Oct. 5.  
 Bishop, G. W., Ens., posted to 44th N. I. at Dacca.—C. Oct. 5.  
 Brander, J. M., Assist.-Surg., app. to Civil Station at Tipperah.—C. Oct. 13.  
 Butler, D., Assist.-Surg., app. to Civil Station in Ghazepore.—C. Oct. 13.  
 Burnett, Brig., to command Eastern Frontier.—C. Oct. 20.  
 Brown, H., Lieut., 51st N. I., on furlough to Europe for health.—C. Sept. 1.  
 Berguer, J. F., Capt., 60th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—C. Sept. 23.  
 Bolton, T. W., Lieut., 2d N. I. on furlough to Europe.—C. Oct. 20.  
 Bracken, J., Lieut., 20th N. I. on furlough to Europe.—C. Oct. 20.  
 Brennan, Mr. E. app. Master Attendant at Tellicherry.—M. Sept. 23.  
 Backhouse, C. O., Sen. Ens., 25th N. I., to be Lieut.—M. Sept. 13.  
 Bevan, H., Sen. Lieut., to be Capt. 27th N. I.—M. Sept. 13.  
 Blaquiere, G. de, Sen. Ens. to be Lieut. 8th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Beaumont, W., Sen. Ens. to be Lieut. 23d N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Biddle, W., Sen. Ens. to be Lieut. 25th N. I.  
 Boulderson, J. C., Sen. Ens. to be Lieut., 35th N. I.—M. Sept. 13.  
 Billamore, T. R., Lieut., 1st Gr. N. I., to be Capt.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Bellasis, J. B., Ens., 9th N. I. to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Baldwin, S. C., Ens., 30th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Barnwell, R., Sen. Capt. in Line, to be Maj., 20th N. I.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Baillie, T. M., Lieut., 24th N. I. to be Capt.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Brown, I., Maj. app. to 25th N. I.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Bagshawe, F. D., Ens. app. to 25th N. I.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Barford, T., Lieut. Col., 3d N. I., on furlough to Europe.—B. Oct. 12.  
 Burrowes, Lieut. 14th N. I., app. to act as Dep. Quar. Mas. Gen. to Malwa Field Force.—B. Oct. 12.  
 Bell, W. C., Lieut., 2d European-Regt., to be Hind. Interp.—B. Nov. 7.  
 Bellasis, G. H., Ens., posted to 24th N. I.—B. Nov. 7.  
 Colvin, Mr. J. R., extra-assist. to Register of Courts of Sudder Dewnney and Nizamut Adawlut.—C. Sept. 1.  
 Cheap, Mr. J. C., Magistrate of Nuddeah.—C. Oct. 24.  
 Cheape, Capt. J., corps of engineers, to be Superintendent of public works in province of Cuttack.—C. Aug. 5.  
 Campbell, A., Cornet, to do duty with 1st L. C. at Sultanpore.—C. Aug. 2.  
 Cheetham, J. E. Ensign, to do duty with 6th extra N. I., at Dimpore.—C. Aug. 2.  
 Campbell, O., Ensign, to do duty with 5th N. I., at Muttra.—C. Aug. 2.  
 Coull, A. D., to do duty with 16th N. I., at Barrackpore.—C. Aug. 2.  
 Cumberland, M. W., admitted Cadet.—C. Aug. 16.  
 Chapman, H. Assist.-Surg. to do duty with 2d European Regt.—C. Aug. 22.  
 Carr, G., Assist.-Surg., app. to Civil Station at Tipperah.—C. Sept. 1.  
 Corfield, F. B. Lieut., 24th N. I., to be Adjutant, Purneah provincial battalion.—C. Sept. 11.  
 Chapman, H., Assist.-Surg. to officiate as 1st Assist.-Gar.-Surg. of Fort William.—C. Sept. 22.  
 Carter, H., Br. Capt. and Lieut., 5th extra N. I., to be Capt. of a company.—C. Sept. 29.  
 Collyer, F., Cornet, posted to 5th Light Cavalry, proceeding to Neemuch.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Campbell, A., Cornet, posted to 1st Light Cavalry, Sultanpore, Benares.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Carlton, F. A., Ens. to 36th N. I., at Sultanpore, Oude.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Carr, G., Ens. posted to 7th N. I., at Berhampore.—C. Sept. 26.



- Cooper, J. C., Ens., posted to 3d N. I. at Lucknow.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Cumberland, W., Ens., posted to 11th N. I. at Kurnaul.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Cheine, P. G., Ens., posted to 34th N. I., at Seetapore.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Clarke, C., Ens., posted to 1st extra N. I., at Neemuch.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Cecil, G., Ens., posted to 12th N. I., at Loodiana.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Cheetham, J. E., Ens., posted to 21st N. I., at Bhurtpore.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Coull, A. D., Ens., posted to 4th N. I., at Loodiana.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Campbell, O., Ens., posted to 43d N. I., at Saugor.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Carr, G., Assist.-Surg., app. to station of Sen. Civ. Com. and salt Agent in Arracan.—C. Sept. 29.  
 Craigie, P. Lieut., 28th N. I., to be Dep.-Assist.-Adj.-Gen. at Barrackpore.—C. Oct. 13.  
 Campbell, J., Ens., 18th N. I. to be Lieut.—C. Oct. 23.  
 Craigie, Capt., Dep.-Assist.-Adj.-General, posted to Meerut Division.—C. Oct. 24.  
 Considine, D. H., Sen. Ens. to be Lieut.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Chinnery, W. C., Sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 4th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Cabbage, A., Sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 27th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Cosby, C. A., Sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 25th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Cole, C. J., Sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 6th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Caswall, J., Assist.-surg., posted to 51st N. I.—M. Sept. 23.  
 Cooran, J. T., Surg. on furlough to Europe.—M. Sept. 1.  
 Calland, C. J., Ens. 14th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 15.  
 Crosby, J. A., Lieut. 9th N. I. to be Capt.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Carpenter, J. C., Ens. 13th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Chesshyre, J., Ens., 15th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Cruikshank, W. D., Ens., 18th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Clarkson, G., Ens., app. to 25th N. I.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Cunningham, J. J., admitted as Assist.-surg.—B. Oct. 5.  
 Cleather, T., Lieut. - Artill. to be Quarter-Master and Hindoe-Interp.—B. Nov. 7.  
 Deedes, Mr. J. G., Assist. Sec. to Board of Revenue in Western Provinces.—C. Oct. 24.  
 Dick, Mr. J. C., Judge and Magistrate of Futtehpore.—C. Sept. 1.  
 Dick, Mr. W. F., 4th Judge of Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit for Div. of Bareilly.—C. Oct. 24.  
 Dick, Mr. J. C., Judge and Magistrate of Bareilly.—C. Oct. 24.  
 Duncan, A. C., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 6th Light Cav., at Muttra.—C. Aug. 12.  
 Downes, E. T., Assist.-Surg. app. to Civil Station at Bhurtpoor.—C. Aug. 12.  
 Dalrymple, J., Assist.-Surg., posted to 56th N. I.—C. Aug. 23.  
 Durham, Superint.-Surg., app. to Allahabad.—C. Aug. 25.  
 Dickson, R. C., Artill., Br. Capt. and 1st Lieut. to be Capt.—C. Sept. 8.  
 Dunmore, Mr. W. R., admitted Cadet, and prom. to be Ens.—C. Sept. 13.  
 Darby, Surg., posted to 45th N. I.—C. Sept. 14.  
 Deare, P., Lieut., 60th N. I., to be Adj.—C. Sept. 18.  
 Daniel, A., Cornet, posted to 3d L. Cav., proceeding to Keltah.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Dunlop, W., Ens., posted to 5th Extra N. I., proceeding to Jubbulpore.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Drummond, J., Ens., posted to N. I. at Nuaaseerabad.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Davis, C. E., Ens., posted to 62d N. I. at Benares.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Drummond, J. G., Capt., Dep.-Assist. Quar.-Mast.-Gen., to have general control and superintendence of roads in Saugor and Nerbudda territories.—C. Sept. 19.  
 Duncan, Mr. R. B., admitted on Estab. as Assist.-Surg.—C. Oct. 6. App. to perform med. duties of civil station at Calpee.—Oct. 23.  
 Dunmore, W. R., Ens., posted to 35th N. I. at Meerut.—C. Oct. 5.  
 Downs, E. T., Assist.-Surg., to perform med. duties of civil station at Nuddea.—C. Oct. 12.

- Darby, W., Surg., on furlough to Europe.—C. Sept. 22.  
 Doveton, F. B., Capt. 4th L. Cav. to be Aid-de Camp to Maj.-Gen. Sir John Doveton, com. Centre Div. of Army.—M. Sept. 5.  
 Dawney, R., admitted to be Cadet.—M. Sept. 8.  
 Downes, H., Sen. Maj., to be Lieut.-Col. fr. 21st N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Dickson, J., Sen. Ens., to be Lieut., 50th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Deck, J. G., Sen. Ens., to be Lieut., 15th N. I.  
 Deacon, C., Lieut.-Col. 40th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—Sept. 1.  
 Duncan, Mr. W. G., admitted Cadet, and prom. to Ens.—B. Sept. 2. Posted to 24th N. I.—Oct. 5.  
 Dunsterville, J. B., Sen. Capt. 1st Gr. N. I., to be Maj.—B. Sept. 16. On furlough to Europe.—Nov. 7.  
 Dumaresq, E., Lieut., 8th N. I., to be Capt.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Davidson, D., Ens., 18th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 6.  
 Doherty, H. H., Ens., app. to 23th N. I.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Dowell, W. W., Lieut., appointed to 20th N. I.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Dallas, P. G., Cornet, posted to 2d L. Cav.—B. Oct. 5.  
 Dawes, J., Lieut., to be Adj., 15th N. I.—B. Nov. 4.  
 Edwards, W., Ens., to do duty with 48th N. I. at Benares.—C. Aug. 2.  
 Evans, Mr. F. R., admitted Cadet, and prom. Ens.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Edwards, W., Ens., posted to 18th N. I., at Bhurtpoor.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Evans, F. R., Ens., app. to do duty with 62d N. I., at Benares.—C. Oct. 7.  
 Evelyn, W. E. L., sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 41st N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Elliott, J. S., sen. Ens., to be Lieut., 7th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Ensor, F., sen. Ens., to be Lieut., 47th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Ellwood, C. W., sen. Maj. to be Lieut.-Col.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Elderton, C. F., Lieut., 3d N. I., to be Capt.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Eyre, T., Corn., posted to 3d L. Cav.—B. Oct. 5.  
 Fountain, Mr. J. De., to be Ens.—C. Aug. 5.  
 Fountain, Mr. A. De., to be Ens.—C. Aug. 5, to do duty with 4th N. I., at Mizapore.  
 Fullerton, Mr. J. A. S., prom. to be Ens.—C. Aug. 16.  
 Fisher, Lieut., Dep.-Assist. Quar.-Mast.-Gen., to resume survey of Sylhet.—C. Aug. 16.  
 Fisher, A., Lieut., 35th N. I., to do duty with Sirmoor Bat.—C. Aug. 12.  
 Fairhead, J. A., Lieut., 28th N. I., to be Adj.—C. Aug. 29.  
 Fenning, S. W., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut.—C. Sept. 8.  
 Farquhar, W., Surg., to 46th N. I.—C. Sept. 11.  
 French, Mr. J., admitted Cadet, and prom. Ens.—C. Sept. 25.  
 Franklin, J., Capt., 1st L. Cav., to be surveyor of Iron mines in Saugor and Bundelcund districts.—C. Sept. 29.  
 Fane, W. J. J., Cornet, posted to 5th L. Cav., proceeding to Neemuch.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Fountain, J. De, Ens., posted to 56th N. I., at Nusseerabad.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Flower, J. R., Ens., posted to 25th N. I., at Barrackpore.—C. Sept. 26.  
 Fergusson, J. T., Ens., posted to 2d extra N. I., at Futtighur.—C. Sept. 26.  
 French, J., Ens., app. to do duty with 62d N. I., at Benares.—C. Oct. 7.  
 Fisher, J., Lieut., 1st N. I., to be Interp. and Qu. Mast.—C. Oct. 16.  
 Forrest, J., sen. Lieut. 29th N. I., to be Capt.—M. Sept. 1.  
 Fair, A., sen. Lieut.-Col., to be Lieut.-Col. com. N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Frazer, W. C., sen. Lieut.-Col., to be Lieut.-Col. com. N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Fraser, A., sen. Lieut., to be Capt. 46th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Fisher, T. J., sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 4th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Fyfe, W., sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 43th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
 Freeman, W. C., Lieut. 2d Gr. N. I., to be Adj.—B. Sept. 9.  
 Fraser, T. G., Ens. 1st Europ. regt. to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Flemming, R. W., sen. Capt. 9th N. I., to be Maj.—B. Sept. 16.  
 Forster, J. F., Ens. 15th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.  
 French, P. T., Ens. 23d N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.

- Fortune, F. Lieut.**, app. to 26th N. I.—B. Sept. 16.  
**Foularton, R.** admitted as Assist. Surg.—B. Oct. 3.  
**Forster, R. Lieut. Engin.** furlough to Europe.—B. Oct. 5.  
**Falkney, J. E. Ens.**, app. to 15th N. I.—B. Nov. 7.  
**Graham, Mr. H.** Judge and Magistrate of Seharunpore.—C. Oct. 24.  
**Gwatkin, Mr. R. C.**, to do duty with 60th N. I. at Meerut.—C. Aug. 5.  
**Gordon, G. Ens.** to do duty with 14th N. I. at Lucknow.—C. Aug. 2.  
**Grant, C. S. Assist. Surg.**, to do duty with 2d Europ. regt. in Fort William.—C. Aug. 12.  
**Griffiths, Lieut.** to act as Interp. and Qu. Mast. to 37th N. I.—C. Aug. 17.  
**Gifford, Mr. C. T. W. P.** to be Ensign.—C. Aug. 25.  
**Gordon, H. Lieut.** 26th N. I. to be Assistant to Commissioners in Arracan.—C. Sept. 1.  
**Garrett, Mr. E.** admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ensign.—C. Sept. 13.  
**Gould, T. Ens.** 11th N. I., to be Lieut.—C. Sept. 15.  
**Gerard, Surg.** to 3d N. I.—C. Sept. 11.  
**Govan, Surg.** to 1st brigade horse Artil.—C. Sept. 11.  
**Gray, D. M. Assist. Surg.** to 1st Nusseeree bat.—C. Sept. 11.  
**Grant, A. Lieut.**, to be Capt. by brevet 52d N. I.—C. Sept. 20.  
**Gibson, Mr. J.** admitted Cadet, and promoted to Ensign.—B. Sept. 2.  
**Graham, D. Ens.** 19th N. I. to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 15.  
**Graham, G. J. Ens.** 6th N. I. to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.  
**Goldie, A. Ens.** 17th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.  
**Gautier, B. W. Ens.** 23d N. I. to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.  
**Grafton, A. Capt.** appointed to 25th N. I.—B. Sept. 16.  
**Gordon, F. R. Lieut.** appointed to 26th N. I.—B. Sept. 16.  
**Gordon, R. Capt. engineer**, on furlough to Europe.—B. Sept. 9.  
**Glen, Surg.**, appointed to accom. Hon. Governor on his tour from Poonah.—B. Oct. 16.  
**Goodfellow, W. B.** admitted Cadet, and promoted to 2d Lieut.—B. Nov. 4.  
**Gifford, C. T. W. P. Ens.**, posted to 2d N. I. at Keilah.—C. Sept. 26.  
**Gordon, G., Ens.**, posted to 50th N. I. at Allahabad.—C. Sept. 26.  
**Garrett, E., Ens.**, posted to 1st extra N. I. proceed. to Necmuck.—C. Oct. 5.  
**Gordon, P., Ens.**, posted to 52d N. I. at Chittagong.—C. Oct. 5.  
**Galloway, A. Major**, to be Lieut.—Col.—C. Oct. 13.  
**Grant, Mr. C.** admitted to Cav., and promoted to be Cornet.—C. Oct. 20.  
**Gouldhawke, J. Capt.** 60th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—C. Sept. 15.  
**Graham, M. W. Lieut.** 50th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—C. Oct. 6.  
**Gilmore, M. W. Lieut.** 39th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—C. Oct. 13.  
**Grose, J. R.** admitted Cadet.—M. Sept. 8.  
**Garstin, R. Lieut.** 2d L. C. permitted to place his services at disposal of Resident at Hyderabad.—M. Sept. 12.  
**Gummer, S. S. sen. Maj.**, to be Lieut.—Col. fr. 45th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Green, J. sen. Maj.** to be Lieut.—Col. from 24th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Godley, W. sen. Capt.** to be Major, 45th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Gray, G. sen. Lieut.** to be Capt.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Gordon, J. sen. Ens.**, to be Lieut. 24th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Grant, C. St. J. sen. Lieut.**, to be Capt. 4th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Gerrard, J. sen. Ens.**, to be Lieut. 45th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Gibb, C. H. sen. Lieut.**, to be Capt. 23d N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Gill, R. sen. Ens.** to be Capt. 44th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Gibson, G. sen. Ens.**, to be Lieut. 32d N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Gascoigne, E. J. sen. Ens.**, to be Lieut. 30th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.  
**Gordon, R. Capt.** 20th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—M. Sept. 12.  
**Halliday, Mr. F. J.**, 3d Assist. to Register of Courts of Sadder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut.—C. Sept. 1.  
**Halhed, Mr. N. J.**, 2d Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit, for Division of Moorshedabad.—C. Oct. 5.  
**Hall, W. H.**, Cornet, to do duty with 5th L. C. at Keilah.—C. Aug. 2.

- Haslock, J. C., Ens. to do duty with 36th N. I. at Sultanpore, (Oude.)  
—C. Aug. 2.
- Hay, Lieut. 39th N. I., to act as Maj. of Brig. at Berhampore.—C. Aug. 2.
- Harrington, H. B., Ens. 37th N. I., to be Lieut.—C. Aug. 16.—To be Interp.  
and Quarter Master. Aug. 25.
- Hutton, C., Ens. to do duty with 20th N. I. at Barrackpore.—C. Aug. 17.
- Hardie J., to be Assist. Surg.—C. Aug. 25.
- Hamilton, G. W., Ens. 34th N. I., to be Lieut.—C. Sept. 13.
- Hopper, E. K., Ens. to be Lieut. 5th extra N. I.—C. Sept. 29.
- Hailes, M. H., Cornet, posted to 10th L. C. at Meerut.—C. Sept. 26.
- Hamilton, J., Cornet, posted to 9th L. C. at Cawnpore.—C. Sept. 26.
- Hall, W. H., Cornet, posted to 6th L. C. at Muttra.—C. Sept. 26.
- Hall, G. N. C., Ens. posted to 28th N. I. at Barraekpore.—C. Sept. 26.
- Hume, E. K., Ens., posted to 64th N. I. at Agra.—C. Sept. 26.
- Hutchins, Capt. Com. Gov. Gen.'s escort at Jubbulpore, to be Assist. Super-  
intendent of roads under Capt. Drummond.—C. Sept. 29.
- Hickman, E., Assist. Surg., permitted to resign Hon. Comp.'s Service.  
—C. Oct. 6.
- Hart, Mr. T. B., admitted on estab. as Assist. Surg., directed to place him-  
self under Sup. Surg. at Berhampore. C. Oct. 6.
- Hepworth, T., Capt. 61st N. I., to officiate as Maj. of Brig. to troops in  
Assam.—C. Oct. 9.
- Harpur, Assist. Surg., posted to Ramghur local bat.—C. Oct. 17.
- Hutchinson, G., sen. Lieut. to be Capt. 24th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.
- Heendie, A., sen., Lieut., to be Capt. 7th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.
- Hollis, W., Ens., posted to 36th N. I.—M. Sept. 23.
- Hibbert, Mr. J. R., admitted Cadet, and promoted to Ens.—B. Sept. 2. Posted  
to 7th N. I., Oct. 5.
- Hancock, H., Lieut. 19th N. I., to be Capt.—B. Sept. 15. Appointed to 25th  
N. I., Sept. 16.
- Heighington, A. C., Ens. 1st Gr. N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.
- Hallett, J., Ens. 3d N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.
- Holl, F. C., Ens. 4th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.
- Hallum, E., Lieut. 10th N. I. to be Capt.—B. Sept. 16.
- Holland, J., Ens. 21st N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.
- Hopkins, H., Lieut., appointed to 23th N. I.—B. Sept. 16.
- Ingram, J. W., Lieut. to be Captain of a Comp. 19th N. I.—C. Sept. 15.
- Insonides, E., Ens., posted to 62d N. I. at Benares.—C. Sept. 26.
- Iverson, J., Ens., posted to 7th N. I. at Berhampore.—C. Sept. 26.
- Irvine, A., Lieut., to be executive Engineer of 5th or Allahabad Division of  
Public Works, and of Garrison of Allahabad.—C. Oct. 6.
- Jackson, Mr. W. B., 2d Register of Zillah Court at Bareilly.—C. Aug. 17.
- Jenkins, C. C., Ens. 18th N. I., to be Lieut.—C. Aug. 18.
- Johnson, J., Lieut. Artill., to be brevet Capt.—C. Sept. 1.
- Jenkins, R. C., Lieut. 61st N. I., to officiate as Sup. of Cadets.—C. Sept. 15.
- Jackson, J., Surg. to 25th N. I.—C. Sept. 11.
- Jackson, W., Surg., to do duty with 20th N. I.—C. Sept. 11.
- Jones, Mr. W. P., admitted Cadet, and prom. to be Ensign.—C. Sept. 25.
- James, J. A., Ens., posted to 1st extra N. I. proceeding to Neemuch.—C.  
Sept. 26.
- Jones, W. P., Ens., posted to 22d N. I., at Midnapore.—C. Sept. 26.
- James, H., Capt. 20th N. I. to officiate as Superint. of Cadets in Fort William.  
—C. Oct. 6.
- Jenkins, R. B., Capt. 29th N. I., to be Maj.—C. Oct. 13.
- Jackson, E., Lieut. 68th N. I. on furlough to Europe.—C. Sept. 15.
- Jones, J., sen. Ens. to be Lieut. 30th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.
- James, R. H., Ens. posted to 35th N. I.—M. Sept. 23.
- Jackson, J., Ens. 15th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.
- Johnson, G., Ens. 17th N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Sept. 16.

**Jackson, C. F.**, Cornet, posted to 2d L. C.—B. Oct. 5.

**Kennaway, Mr. W. R.**, Assist. Sec. to Board of Revenue in Western Provinces.—C. Oct. 24.

**Kerr, W.**, Cornet, to do duty with 1st L. C. at Sultanpore.—C. Aug. 2.

**King, Ens. J.**, removed from 13th to 62d N. I. at Benares.—C. Aug. 4.

**Knox, R. T.**, Cornet, to do duty with 1st L. C. at Sultanpore (Benares).—C. Aug. 17.

**Kinloch, G.**, Lieut. 3d extra N. I., to be Interp. and Quar. Mast.—C. Aug. 25.

**Kennedy, J. T.**, Lieut. 11th N. I., to be Capt. of a Comp.—C. Sep. 15.

**Kelly, W. B.**, Cornet, posted to 7th L. C. at Kurnaul.—C. Sept. 26.

**Kerr, W.**, Cornet, posted to 7th L. C. at Kurnaul.—C. Sept. 26.

**Knox, R. T.**, Cornet, posted to 4th L. C. at Nusseerabad.—C. Sept. 26.

**King, J.**, Ens. 5th extra N. I., to be Lieut.—C. Oct. 6.

**Knyvett, A.**, Lieut. 44th N. I., to be Assist. to Agent for timber at Nauthpore.—C. Oct. 23.

**King, T.**, Sen. Maj. to be Lieut.-Col., from 27th N. I.—M. Sept. 15.

**Lambe, Mr. G.**, to perform the medical duties of the civil station at Dacca.—C. July 31.

**Limond, Sup. Surg.** appointed to Berhampore division.—C. Aug. 2. Removed to Benares. Aug. 25.

**Llewellyn, Mr. C.**, to be Assist. Surg.—C. Aug. 16.

**Langton, R.**, Assist. Surg. placed under orders of Sup. Surg. of Western Division, at Nusseerabad.—C. Aug. 23.

**Law, Superint. Surg.**, removed from Meerut to Berhampore.—C. Aug. 25.

**Langstaff, Super. Surg.**, removed from Benares to Meerut.—C. Aug. 25.

**La Zouche, P.**, Lieut. 7th N. I., to be Major of Brigade.—C. Aug. 25, and posted to Bundelcund command, Aug. 30.

**Lyons, Mr. E. R.** admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ensign.—C. Sep. 13.

**Long, Mr. R.**, admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ensign. C. Sep. 13.

**Lelcoeter, C. B.**, Lieut. 34th N. I., to be Adj. C. Sept. 11.

**Law, J. V.**, Ens. 1st N. I., to be Lieut. C. Sept. 29.

**Lamb, W.**, Ens. posted to 51st N. I., proceeding to Cawnpore. C. Sept. 23.

**Le Feuvre, J. H.**, Ens. posted to 10th N. I. at Neemuch. C. Sept. 26.

**Lloyd, H. H.**, Ens. posted to 4th extra N. I. at Allahabad. C. Sept. 26.

**Lock, J. B.**, Ens. posted to 1st Europ. Reg. at Agra. C. Sept. 26.

**Laurence, M. J.**, posted to 60th N. I. at Barrackpore. C. Sept. 26.

**Lydiard, W.**, Ens. posted to 2d Europ. Reg., proceeding to Agra. C. Sep. 26.

**Lyons, E. R.**, Ens. posted to 37th N. I. at Bareilly. C. Oct. 5.

**Long, R.**, Ens. posted to 25th N. I. at Barrackpore. C. Oct. 5.

**Lindsay, W.**, Ens. posted to 10th N. I. at Neemuch. C. Oct. 5.

**Lys, F. B.**, admitted Cadet. M. Sept. 8.

**Lang, J. S.**, admitted Cadet. M. Sept. 8.

**Ladd, Mr. J.**, admitted as Assist. Surg., and app. to do duty under Gar. Sur. of Fort St. George. M. Sept. 8.

**Lee, G.**, sen. Lieut. to be Capt., 8th N. I. M. Sept. 15.

**Laing, J.**, Lieut. 21st N. I., to be Capt. by brevet. B. Sept. 15.

**Lloyd, G.**, Lieut. 7th N. I., to be Capt. B. Sept. 16.

**Loudon, S.**, Ens. 16th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.

**Luyken, J. H. M.**, Lieut. 18th N. I., to be Capt. B. Sept. 15.

**Macfarlan, Mr. D.**, Judge and Magistrate of Backergunge. C. Aug. 17.

**Mackenzie, H.**, Ens. to do duty with 6th extra N. I. at Dinapore. C. Aug. 2.

**Mackay, J.**, Ens. to do duty with 39th N. I. at Cawnpore. C. Aug. 2.

**McDonald, Assist.-Surg.**, to do duty with depôt of H. M.'s troops at Chinsurah. C. Aug. 4.

**Maginnis, A. F.**, Ens. to be Lieut., 1st Europ. Regt. C. Aug. 25.

**Macdonald, R. C.**, Lieut. to be Capt., 49th N. I. C. Aug. 25.

**Moore, Mr. J.**, to be Cornet. C. Aug. 25.

- M'Gregor, W. L., Ass.-Surg. to do duty with 2d Europ. Regt. C. Aug. 22.  
 Mercer, R., Ass.-Surg. placed under order of Sup.-Surgeon of Western Division, at Nussereabad. C. Aug. 23.  
 Moir, J. De W. C. J., to be Lieut. C. Sept. 1.  
 Moore, J., Corn. to do duty with 2d L. C. at Muttra. C. Aug. 29.  
 Mackinlay, Capt. Dep.-Assist.-Adj.-Gen., removed from Presidency to Cawnpore Division of Army. C. Aug. 30.  
 Murray, T. Lieut.-Col., removed from 61st N. I. to 2d Europ. Regt. C. Sept. 1.  
 Mackeson, Mr. F. admitted as Cadet, and prom. to be Ensign. C. Sept. 1.  
 Mainwaring, Mr. C. J. admitted Cadet, and prom. to be Ensign. C. Sept. 13.  
 Marshall, B., Ens. 25th N. I., to be Lieut. C. Sept. 15.  
 Mercer, Surg., to 22d N. I. C. Sept. 11.  
 Moscrop, Surg., removed from 3d to 39th N. I. C. Sept. 11.  
 Malcolm, Assist.-Surg., directed to join 43th N. I. at Benares. C. Sept. 14.  
 Martin, W. J., Ens. 9th N. I., to be Lieut. C. Sept. 22.  
 Macdonell, Mr. R., admitted as Cadet, and prom. to be Cornet. C. Sept. 25.  
 Murray, Mr. A., admitted as Assist.-Surg. C. Sept. 25.  
 Maitland, Mr. H. D., admitted Cadet, and prom. to be Ens. C. Sept. 29.  
 Mitchell, J. W., Lieut., 40th N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mast. C. Sept. 25.  
 Macdonald, N., Cornet, posted to 9th L. C. at Cawnpore. C. Sept. 26.  
 Moore, J., Cornet, posted to 1st L. C. at Sultanpore, Benares. C. Sept. 26.  
 Macdonell, R., Cornet, posted to 10th L. C. at Meerut. C. Sept. 26.  
 Menzies, J., Assist.-Surg., app. to 16th N. I. C. Oct. 12.  
 Martin, J. R., Assist.-Surg., to be 3d Perm.-Assist.-Surg. to Presidency General Hospital. C. Oct. 23.  
 Moultrie, W., Ens., 57th N. I., to be Lieut. C. Oct. 23.  
 Minto, W., Lieut., 18th N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mast. C. Oct. 16.  
 Murray, A., Assist.-Surg., directed to place himself under Superint.-Surg. at Berhampore. C. Oct. 24.  
 Moir, J. De W. C. J., Lieut., 28th N. I., on furlough to Europe for health. —C. Sept. 4.  
 Maclean, C. M., admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ens. M. Sept. 5.  
 M'Nab, J. G., admitted to Inf., and promoted to be Ens. M. Sept. 8.  
 Macdonald, J., sen. Lieut., to be Capt. 45th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Morgan, J., sen. Capt., to be Maj. 24th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Munn, H., sen. Capt., to be Maj. 27th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Mowatt, G. S., sen. Ens., to be Lieut., 12th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Methven, M., posted to 65th N. I. at Penang. C. Sept. 20.  
 Mitchell, W. St. L., Ens., posted to 13th N. I. in Assam. C. Sept. 26.  
 Macdougall, A., Ens., posted to 5th ext. N. I. at Jubbulpore. C. Sept. 26.  
 Martin, T. D., Ens., posted to 28th N. I. at Barrackpore.  
 Mayhew, W. A. J., posted to 8th N. I. at Bandah. C. Sept. 26.  
 Mackay, J., Ens., posted to 27th N. I. proceeding to Benares. C. Sept. 26.  
 Mackenzie, H., Ens., posted to 56th N. I. at Nussereabad. C. Sept. 26.  
 Mainwaring, C. J., posted to 1st N. I. proceeding to Delhi C. Oct. 5.  
 Meir, N. G., Ens., posted to 15th N. I. at Allyghur. C. Oct. 5.  
 Marsden, F. C., Ens., 29th N. I., to be Lieut. C. Oct. 13.  
 Maitland, Ens., app. to do duty with 7th N. I. at Berhampore. C. Oct. 13.  
 Macarthur, A., sen. Lieut., to be Capt. 41st N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 M'Curdy, E. A., sen. Lieut., to be Capt. 27th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Metcalfe, J., sen. Lieut., to be Capt. 4th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 M'Leod, W. C., sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 30th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Mellish, P., sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 48th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Mant, C. S., admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ens. B. Sept. 2.  
 Meadows, Mr. A., admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ens. B. Sept. 2.  
 Posted to 18th N. I., Oct. 5.  
 Mayne, J., Lieut.-Col., to be Lieut.-Col.-Com. B. Sept. 16.  
 Manneasy, W. C., Ens., 8th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.

- Meldrum, R., Lieut., 9th N. I., to be Capt. B. Sept. 16.  
 Maughan, T., Ens., 12th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.  
 Marshall, F., Capt., app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.  
 M'Mahon, B., Lieut., app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.  
 Macan, G., Lieut., app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.  
 Munt, J., Lieut., app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.  
 Mant, C. S., Ens., posted to 6th N. I. B. Oct. 5.  
 Morrison, A., Ens., posted to 3d N. I. B. Nov. 7.  
 Nugent, G., Ens., to do duty with right wing 4th extra N. I. at Mirzapore. C. Aug. 2.  
 Napier, A., Ens., to do duty with 36th N. I. at Sultanpore (Oude.) C. Aug. 2.  
 Nicholson, P. N., Ens., to do duty with 28th at Barrackpore. C. Aug. 2.  
 Newton, H. A., Capt., 60th N. I. to do duty with 1st Nusseree Battalion Subathoo, instead of Kumaon Loc. Batt. C. Aug. 4.  
 Nicholson, J., Lieut., 4th N. I. to be Capt., by brevet. C. Sept. 1.  
 Nicholett, W. H., Ens., 28th N. I. to be Lieut. C. Sept. 25.  
 Napier, A., Ens., posted to 42d N. I. at Cawnpore. C. Sept. 26.  
 Nugent, G., Ens., posted to 30th N. I. at Cuttack. C. Sept. 26.  
 Nicolson, P., Ens., posted to 28th N. I. at Barrackpore. C. Sept. 26.  
 Newton, Capt., 66th N. I. to be 2d in command of 1st Nusseree Batt. C. Oct. 20.  
 Nicholay, F. L., sen. Ens., 20th N. I. to be Lieut.  
 Ogilvy, Mr. M. M., admitted Cadet. C. Aug. 18.  
 Oldfield, C. E. T., Lieut., to be Interp. and Quart.-Mast. 5th Light Cavalry C. Aug. 25.  
 Oliver, Offic., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 14th N. I. C. Sept. 14.  
 O'Neill, J. D. P., admitted Cadet and prom. to Ens. M. Sept. 8.  
 Ore, A., Lieut., app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.  
 Ogilvie, W., Capt., app. to 26th N. I. B. 16.  
 Otley, W. J., Lieut., to be Quart.-Mast., and Hindoost. Interp. 2d L. C. B. Nov. 7.  
 Prinsep, Mr. H. T., to be Officiating Sec. to Govt. in territorial depart. C. Oct. 24.  
 Paxton, Mr., Import-warehouse keeper. C. Aug. 17.  
 Palmer, N., Ens., to do duty with 39th N. I. at Cawnpore. C. Aug. 2.  
 Palmer, Mr. H., admitted Cadet. C. Aug. 18.  
 Parke, J. C. B., Capt., to be Maj. 49th N. I. C. Aug. 25.  
 Penny, N., Capt., 1st Extra N. I. to be Maj. of brigade. C. Sept. 1.  
 Pearson, J. T., Assist.-Surg., to Civil station at Ramghur. C. Sept. 1.  
 Palmer, H., Ens. to do duty with 33d N. I. at Nusseerabad. C. Aug. 3.  
 Phillips, Capt., 49th N. I. to be Assist. to Commissioners in Arracan. C. Sept. 8.  
 Palin, Mr. R. W., admitted Cadet, and prom. to be Ens. C. Sept. 25.  
 Piercy, Mr. G. R., admitted Cadet, and prom. to be Ens. C. Sept. 25.  
 Parker, N. A., Ens., posted to 59th N. I. at Agra.  
 Palmer, H., Ens., posted to 48th N. I., at Neemuch. C. Sept. 26.  
 Palin, R. W., Ens., posted to 5th N. I. at Muttra. C. Sept. 26.  
 Piercy, J. R., Ens., posted to 20th N. I., at Shahjehanpore. C. Sept. 26.  
 Palmer, N., Ens., posted to 54th N. I., in Assam. C. Sept. 26.  
 Pine, Maj.-Gen. G. H., appointed to General staff of Army. C. Oct. 6.—  
 Posted to Cawnpore Div. of Army. Oct. 14.  
 Penny, Brig.-Maj., app. to Agra and Muttra frontier. C. Oct. 4.  
 Pogson, R. W., Capt., 60th N. I., to be Agent for family money, and Pay-master of Native pensioners at Barrackpore. C. Oct. 13.  
 Paton, J. F., Capt. eng. on furlough to Europe. C. Oct. 20.  
 Pickering, C., sen. Ens., to be Lieut., 49th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Preston, J. J., sen. Maj., to be Lieut. Col. B. Sept. 16.  
 Palling, G. C., Ens. 2d Europ. Regt., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.

- Purvis, W., Ens., 9th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.  
 Pearson, E. sen. Capt., 15th N. I., to be Maj. B. Sept. 16.  
 Pope, G., Ens., 22d N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 15.  
 Pedlar, P. W., Capt., app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.  
 Powell, S., Capt., app. to 26th N. I. B. Sept. 16.  
 Poole, S., Lieut., to be Adj. 1st. L. C. B. Nov. 7.  
 Prother, E., Lieut. Artil. to be Quarter-master and Interp. B. Nov. 7.
- Rivaz, Mr. G. T., register of Zillah Court of Meerut and joint Magistrate, stationed at Boolandshehur. C. Sept. 1.  
 Robertson, Mr. W. T., Magistrate of Goruckpore. C. Oct. 24.  
 Raleigh, F., Ensign, to do duty with 7th N. I., at Berhampore. C. July 27.  
 Rind, J. N., Ens., to do duty with 3d N. I., at Mynpooree. C. Aug. 12.  
 Rees, W. W., Lieut., to be Brevet Capt., 5th N. I. C. Sept. 1.  
 Robb, F. C., Lieut., 22d N. I., to be Capt. by brevet. C. Sept. 1.—to be Capt. of a Company. Sept. 15.  
 Reddie, Mr. G. B., admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ens. C. Sept. 13.  
 Rich, R., Capt., 19th N. I., to be Maj. C. Sept. 15.  
 Ray, C., Maj., to 48th N. I. C. Sept. 11.  
 Richardson, Mr. R. E. T., admitted Cadet, and pro. Ens. C. Sept. 25.  
 Ryley, J. S. G., Cornet, posted to 2d L. C., proceeding to Muttra. C. Sept. 26.  
 Reynold, H. C., Ens., posted to 25th N. I., at Barrackpore. C. Sept. 26.  
 Ramsay, A., Ens., posted to 34th N. I., at Seetapore. C. Sept. 26.  
 Rice, J. G. A., Ens., posted to 6th N. I., at Kurnaul. C. Sept. 26.  
 Raleigh, F., Ens., posted to 1st N. I., proceeding to Delhi. C. Sept. 26.  
 Reddie, G. B., Ens., posted to 29th N. I., at Shahjehanpore. C. Oct. 5.  
 Richards, Lieut. Col. A., to be Lieut. Col. Com. C. Oct. 13.  
 Richardson, R., Ens., app. to do duty with 62d N. I. C. Oct. 7.  
 Raleigh, E. W. W., Assist.-surg., to have medical charge of escort, accompanying the Governor-General to the Upper Provinces, during his progress on the river. C. Oct. 23.  
 Ramsay, G., Ens., 61st N. I., on furlough to Europe for health. C. Sept. 1.  
 Ramsay, D., Assist.-surg., on furlough to Europe for health. C. Sept. 15.  
 Robertson, R. H., sen. Ens., to be Lieut., 36th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Richardson, G., Ens., 7th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.  
 Rigby, A. G., sen. Capt., 10th N. I., to be Maj. B. Sept. 16.  
 Rebenack, C. C., Lieut., app. to 26th N. I. B. Sept. 16.  
 Richards, R. H., Corn., posted to 3d L. C. B. Oct. 5.
- Swinton, Mr. G. to be officiating Secretary to Government. C. Oct. 5.  
 Simpson, J. M. Ens. to do duty with 5th extra N. I., at Benares. C. Aug. 2.  
 Skipton, Mr. G. to be Sup. Surg. on estab. C. Aug. 18. Posted to Agra, Aug. 25.  
 Stubbs, J. Ens., to be Lieut. 49th N. I. C. Aug. 25.  
 Seton, G. S. Assist. Surg. to Civil Station at Bullooah. C. Sept. 1.  
 Scott, G. R. Lieut. Artil. to be Brevet Capt. C. Sept. 1.  
 Seymour, W. F. A. Lieut. 68th N. I., to be Adjutant. C. Aug. 29.  
 Smith, T. P. Lieut.-Col., removed from 2d European regt. to 61st N. I. C. Sept. 1.  
 Shuldham, Capt. Dep. Assist. Adj. Gen. posted to Presidency Division. C. Sept. 4.  
 Spens, Mr. T. to be Assist. Surg. C. Sept. 13.  
 Smith, J. Major, to be Lieut.-Col. of Infantry. C. Sept. 15.  
 Symes, C. Ens., 19th N. I. to be Lieut. C. Sept. 15.  
 Smith, A. Assist. Surg. to 65th N. I., at Penang. C. Sept. 11.  
 Stewart, J. F. Assist. Surg. removed from 60th to 59th N. I. C. Sept. 11.  
 Spence, Mr. J. K. admitted Cadet, and promoted to be Ensign. C. Sept. 29.  
 Sleeman, W. H. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. 1st N. I. to be Capt. of a Company. C. Sept. 29.



- Symons, W. J. Lieut., to be Adj. of Rajpostana Div. of Artil. C. Sept. 25.*  
*Scott, C. C. J. Ens., Posted to 52d N. I. at Kaitah. C. Sept. 26.*  
*Stokes, G. W. Ens., posted to 60th N. I., proceeding to Barrackpore. C. Sept. 26.*  
*Say, H. H. Ens., posted to 45th N. I., at Baltool. C. Sept. 26.*  
*Smith, E. F. Ens., posted to 23d N. I., at Almorah. C. Sept. 26.*  
*Shortreed, P. Ens., posted to 58th N. I., at Agra. C. Sept. 26.*  
*Simson, J. M. Ens., posted to 17th N. I., proceeding to Delhi. C. Sept. 26.*  
*Stratton, Surg. posted to 2d L. C. C. Oct. 5.*  
*Satchwell, J. Lieut. 29th N. I. to be Captain of a company.*  
*Shortreed, Mr. P. admitted to inf. and promoted to be Ensign. C. Oct. 13.*  
*Shuldham, Maj.-Gen. appointed to command Division of Army on Sirhind frontier. C. Oct. 10.*  
*Simonds, W. Capt. 21st N. I., on furlough to Europe. C. Oct. 6.*  
*Stevenson, Mr. D. H. admitted to inf. and prom. to be Ensign. M. Sept. 1.*  
*Stewart, J. sen. Capt., to be Major 21st N. I. M. Sept. 15.*  
*Shedden, R. sen. Lieut., to be Capt. 12th N. I. M. Sept. 15.*  
*Sinclair, C. sen. Lieut. 24th N. I. to be Capt. M. Sept. 15.*  
*Snow, W. sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 24th N. I. M. Sept. 15.*  
*Simpson, E. J. sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 37th N. I. M. Sept. 15.*  
*Smith, G. A. sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 26th N. I. M. Sept. 15.*  
*Shedden, A. Surg., posted to 52d N. I. M. Sept. 23.*  
*Smith, J. Capt. L. C., on furlough to Europe. M. Sept. 12.*  
*Shortreed, R. Ens. 14th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 15.*  
*Short, C. Ens., 20th N. I. to be Lieut. B. Sept. 15.*  
*Shuldham, E. W. Lieut.-Col., to be Lieut.-Col. Com. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Stanley, W. H. sen. Major, to be Lieutenant-Colonel. B. Sept. 6.*  
*Stirling, J. Ens. 1st Europ. Regt., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Sheriff, J., sen. Capt. 2d Europ. Regt., to be Maj. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Stuart, E., Lieut. 2d Europ. Regt., to be Capt. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Stiles, H., Ens. 2d Europ. Regt., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Stark, R., Ens. 1st Gr. N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Smith, M., Ens. 9th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Saunders, J. Lieut. 15th N. I., to be Capt. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Stirling, W., Lieut. 17th N. I., to be Capt. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Smith, R. W., Lieut. 22d N. I., to be Capt. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Scott, Lieut. 23d N. I., to be Capt. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Seelcy, J. B., Capt. app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Spencer, H., Lieut. app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Stephenson, A. Lieut. app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Soppitt, M. Capt. app. to 20th N. I. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Smith, G., Lieut. app. to 26th N. I. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Scriven, W. T. C., Ens. 5th N. I., on furlough to Europe. B. Oct. 12.*  
*Shepherd, A., Ens. 24th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Oct. 13.*  
*Thompson, G., Lieut. Engin., to be executive Eng. in department of Public Works, in Dist. of Neemuch. C. Oct. 6.*  
*Turner, W., Lieut. 58th N. I., to be Capt. by Br. C. Oct. 6.*  
*Tytler, R., Surg. app. to 5th N. I. C. Oct. 24.*  
*Taylor, R., Ens. of Inf. transferred to Cav. and prom. to Cornet. M. Sept. 5.*  
*Thomas, J., sen. Ens., to be Lieut. 45th N. I. M. Sept. 15.*  
*Taylor, G. P., Ens. posted to 33d N. I. M. Sept. 23.*  
*Teasdale, H. C., Lieut. app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Tollemache, G., Lieut. app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 11.*  
*Taylor, G. C. Capt. app. to 26th N. I. B. Sept. 16.*  
*Tudor, W., Lieut. 8th Madras N. I. on furlough to Europe. B. Sept. 6.*  
*Thomas A., Ens. posted to 8th N. I. B. Nov. 7.*  
*Taylor, Mr. G. J., Register of City Court at Moorahedabad. C. Aug. 17.*  
*Todd, Mr. D. to be Superintending Surgeon. C. July 31. posted to Barrackpore, Aug. 23.*  
*Tritton, Mr. E. to be Assist. Surg. C. Aug. 3.*

- Tod, J. Maj. to be Lieut. Col. C. Aug. 25.  
 Talbot, H. C. Lieut., permitted to resign Adj. of Mugh. serv. C. Aug. 30.  
 Thomas W., Surg. to 28th N. I. C. Sept. 14.  
 Thompson, J. Surg. prom. from 39th to 60th N. I. C. Sept. 11.  
 Taylor J., Assist. Surg. to 66th N. I. C. Sept. 11.  
 Thompson, W., Surg. posted to 45th N. I. C. Sept. 14.  
 Taylor, H., Assist. Surg., posted to 58th N. I. C. Sept. 14.  
 Tombs, Lieut. Col. rem. from 3d to 6th L. C. C. Sept. 18.  
 Thompson, J., Surg. posted to 50th Regt. C. Sept. 29.  
 Tweeddale, W. H., Cornet, posted to 6th L. C. at Muttra. C. Sept. 26.  
 Udny, Mr. C. G. 2d Assist. to Register of Courts of Sudder Dewauny and Nizamut Adawlut. C. Sept. 1.  
 Unwin, W., Ens. 5th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.  
 Vanreunan, T. A., Lieut. Artill., to be Capt. by brevet. C. Sept. 1.  
 Voules, H. P., Corn. posted to 3d. L. C. proceeding to Keltah. C. Sept. 26.  
 Vansandan, L. Lieut. 68th N. I., to be 2d in com. of Rungpore Loc. Inf. C. Oct. 9.  
 Vandazee, H. sen. Ens. to be Lieut., 27th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Vallancy, G. P. sen. Ens., to be Lieut., 30th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Wells, Mr. F. O. Sec. to Civil Commissioner at Delhi. C. Aug. 17.  
 Walker, Mr. R. Judge and Magistrate of Futtehpoore. C. Oct. 24.  
 Williams, Mr. R. to be Sup.-Surg. C. July 31; posted to Nusseorabad, Aug. 25.  
 Winfield, Lieut. J. S. 69th N. I., to command Reformed Bhopaul Contingent of horse and foot. C. Aug. 5.  
 Wallaston, C. Cornet, to do duty with 9th L. C., at Cawnpore. C. Aug. 2.  
 Watson, J. E. Capt., his name to be discontinued on rolls of corps of Hill Rangers. C. Aug. 17.  
 Watson, J. to be Gar. Surg., at Allahabad. C. Aug. 25.  
 Willis, A. L. Ens., 32d N. I., to be Lieut. C. Sept. 1.  
 Woollaston, Mr. W., admitted Cadet, and prom. to be Ensign. C. Sept. 13.  
 Wardlaw, Mr. D. B., to be Assist.-Surg. C. Sept. 13.  
 Walter, S. Br. Capt. and Lieut., 7th N. I., (Dec.) to be Capt. of a Comp. C. Sept. 15.  
 Wynne, Assist.-Surg., directed to join 45th N. I., at Benares. C. Sept. 14.  
 Whitelock, Mr. G. F., admitted Cadet, and pro. to be Ensign. C. Sept. 29.  
 Wallace, Mr. T., admitted Cadet, and pro. to be Ensign. C. Sept. 29.  
 Williams, Mr. G. W., admitted Cadet, and pro. to be Ensign. C. Sept. 29.  
 White, R. D. Lieut., 1st extra N. I., app. to corps of engineers. C. Sept. 29.  
 White, C. E. Cornet, posted to 4th L. C., at Nusseerabad. C. Sept. 26.  
 Woolaston, C. Cornet, posted to 8th L. C., at Kurnaul. C. Sept. 26.  
 Walker, G. W., admitted to Cadet and pro. to Ens. B. Sept. 2; posted to 23d N. I., Oct. 5.  
 Whitehill, C. sen. Major, to be Lieut.-Col. B. Sept. 16.  
 Watkins, C. W. Lieut., 2d Europ. Regt., to be Capt. B. Sept. 16.  
 Wright, J. Ens., 3d N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.  
 Wilson, G. Ens., 10th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.  
 Whitmore, J. Ens., 11th N. I., to be Lieut. B. Sept. 16.  
 Woodburn, A. Lieut., app. to 25th N. I. B. Sept. 16.  
 Wollaston, W. Ens., posted to 57th N. I., proceeding to Pertaubghur (Oude). C. Oct. 5.  
 Wardlaw, D. B. Assist.-Surg., app. to civil station in Sylhet.  
 Whitelock, Ens., app. to do duty with 57th N. I., at Pertaubghur (Oude). C. Oct. 7.  
 Williams, Ens., app. to do duty with 40th N. I., at Dinapore. C. Oct. 7.  
 Wallace, Ens., app. to do duty with 7th N. I., at Berhampore. C. Oct. 7.  
 Wilson, T. Lt.-Col., 28th N. I., furlough to Europe, for health. C. July 31.  
 Whinfield, C. R., 1st Lieut. of artill., on furlough to Europe. C. Sept. 15.

Wilson, C. Lieut., 2d European Regt., on furlough to Europe. C. Sept. 29.  
 Walker, P. A., sen. Corn. 1st L. C. to be Lieut. M. Sept. 1.  
 Wood, H. W., admitted Cadet and pro. to Ensign. M. Sept. 8.  
 Wilkie, P. sen. Ens., to be Lieut., 19th N. I. M. Sept. 15.  
 Wilder, C. P., com., posted to 8th L. C. M. Sept. 23.  
 Young, G. Capt., 68th N. I., on furlough to Europe, for health. C. Sept. 27.

## BIRTHS.

Adams, the lady of Capt. H., of a son, at Satara. Oct. 4.  
 Blair, the lady of Lieut. A. M., of a daughter, at Kylat. Oct. 4.  
 Brown, the lady of J., Esq., of a son, at Serampore. Oct. 5.  
 Cotton, the lady of Lieut. H., Qu.-Mast. and Paym., 10th N. I., of a daughter, at Vellore. Oct. 1.  
 Cassidy, the wife of Sub. Assist.-Surg., of a son, at Bancoot. Oct. 4.  
 Corsellis, the lady of Lieut. H., of a son, at Bhooj. Oct. 10.  
 Elphinstone, the lady of the Hon. J. R., of a son, at Allahabad. Oct. 11.  
 Elliott, the lady of G., Esq., Civ. Serv., of a daughter, at Rutnagurry. Oct. 13.  
 Græme, the lady of the Hon. H. S., Member of Council, of a son, at Madras. Nov. 1.  
 Hampton, the lady of A. F., Esq., at Allahabad. Oct. 2.  
 Hunter, the lady of Lieut. H. R. N., of a daughter, at Garden Reach. Oct. 2.  
 Hunter, the lady of J., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Ghazepore. Oct. 15.  
 Hamilton, the lady of H., Esq., of a daughter. Oct. 2.  
 Harrison, the lady of E. C., Esq., Gar. Surg., of a son, in Rampart Row, Bombay. Oct. 12.  
 Huddleston, the lady of J. A., Esq., of a son, at Bombay, Oct. 23.  
 Hawtayne, the lady of the Venerable Archdeacon, of a son and heir, at Bombay, Nov. 12.  
 Holland, the lady of Capt., Sub. Assist.-Com.-Gen., of a son, who died the same day, at Bhooj, Oct. 11.  
 Keating, the lady of Lieut. C., of a son, who died the same day, at Madras, Oct. 5.  
 Liddell, the lady of D. M'N., Esq., of a daughter, Oct. 22.  
 Law, the lady of Capt., of Artill., of a son, at Bombay, Oct. 8.  
 Moore, the lady of the Rev. W., of a son, at Monghyr, Oct. 9.  
 Manson, the lady of Capt., of Artill., of a daughter, at Bombay, Oct. 2.  
 Mitchell, the lady of the Rev. W., Church Missionary Society, of a daughter, at Bombay, Oct. 13.  
 Morton, the lady of J., Esq., Assist.-Surg., of a daughter, at Coimbatore, Oct. 10.  
 Roy, the lady of Capt. P., of the Country service, of a daughter. C. Oct. 10.  
 Russell, the lady of F. W., Esq., of a son, Oct. 7.  
 Sullivan, the lady of J. S., Esq., of a daughter, at Sylhet, Oct. 13.  
 Shum, the lady of J., Esq., of a son, at Patna, Oct. 10.  
 Stevenson, the lady of the Rev. J., of a son, at Hurnee, Oct. 14.  
 Sturt, the lady of O. F., Esq., of a son, at Vellore, Oct. 18.  
 Spring, the lady of the Rev. F. A. M., of a still-born child, at Bombay, Oct. 18.  
 Sullivan, the lady of J., Esq., of a daughter, at the Nilgherries, Oct. 5.  
 Taylor, the lady of Capt. J., Ass. Com.-Gen., of a son, at Calcutta, Oct. 8.  
 Thompson, the lady of E., Esq., of a daughter, at Boomandee Factory, Nud-deah, Oct. 10.

- Tod, the lady of G., Esq., of a daughter, at Madras, Oct. 10.  
 Vetch, the lady of G. A., Capt., of a son, at Barrackpore, Oct. 1.  
 Vardon, the lady of Capt. H. J., of a son, at Calcutta, Oct. 10.  
 Vincent, the lady of Lieut. and Adj., of a son, at Barrackpore, Oct. 18.  
 Whitehill, the lady of Lieut.-Col., of a daughter, at Deesa, Bombay, Oct. 9.  
 Young, the lady of Capt. Gavin, of a daughter, Oct. 21.

**MARRIAGES.**

- Caswell, J., Esq., to the widow of the late Capt Fullerton, at Palamcottah, Oct. 26.  
 Fasken, W., Esq., M. D., Madras Establishment, to Miss Jane Innes, at Madras, Oct. 6.  
 Goode, the Rev. F., Hon. Comp.'s Chaplain, to Miss Caroline Driscoll, at Calcutta, Oct. 31.  
 Gwatkin, Capt. E., Dep.-Paymast., at Meerut, to Penelope, widow of Capt. A, Bannerman, late Assist.-Com.-Gen., at Meerut.  
 Hugg, B., Esq., Civil Service, to Miss Eliza Maria Free, at Bombay, Nov. 13.  
 Knight, the Rev. J., Church Miss., to the widow of the late Rev. J. Nichols, of Tannah, at Bombay, Oct. 19.  
 Luard, R. D., Esq., Hon. Comp.'s Civil Service, to Mary Ann, second daughter of Major-Gen. Sir L. Smith, at Poonah, Oct. 24.  
 Martin, J. R., Esq., of the Gov.-Gen.'s Body-guard, to Jane Maria, youngest daughter of the late Col. Paton, of the Bengal Estab., at Calcutta, Oct. 26.

**DEATHS.**

- Burn, J. H., drowned while proceeding to Barrackpore, Oct. 2.  
 Cralgie, J., Lieut., 13th N. I., at Bishenath, in Assam, Oct. 8.  
 Ducat, the lady of Dr. C., Civil Surgeon, at Biscullah, Oct. 27.  
 Doveton, C. J., Lieut.-Col., 38th N. I., Maria, eldest daughter of, on the Ganges, Oct. 1.  
 Finlay, J., Capt., 4th N. I., at Cambray, Nov. 5.  
 Frazer, Rev. W., Chaplain, Margaret, wife of, near Bhaugulpore, Oct. 8.  
 Graham, Eleanor, the wife of W. Graham, Esq., M. D., Chittagong, at Calcutta, Oct. 2.  
 Hicks, G., Capt., 8th N. I., James Day, fifth son of, at Baitool, Oct. 1.  
 Jones, C. R. U., Lieut., 15th N. I., at Baroda, Oct. 16.  
 Langley, Charles Edward Rickets, only son of Lieut. Langley, at Arcot, Oct. 22.  
 Stapleton, the Hon. W., second son of Lord Le Despencer, of the East India Company's Service, and Aid-de-Camp to Lord Combermere, Commander-in-Chief in Bengal.  
 Stewart, W., Lieut., 24th N. I., at Poonah, Oct. 2.  
 Steward, the lady of the Rev. J., Church Miss. Society, at Bombay, Nov. 1.  
 Thompson, Dr. R. M. M., Anne, second daughter of, aged three years, at Patna, Sept. 20.  
 Thompson, Dr. R. M. M., Louisa Georgina, third daughter of, aged one year and seven months, at Calcutta, Oct. 8.  
 Watson, Capt. S. Samuel Stratford, eldest son of, at Rajepoor, near Delhi, Oct. 24.

## SHIPING INTELLIGENCE.

## ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1827.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date. 1827.
Mar. 30	Liverpool ..	North Briton	Richmond	Bengal ..	Jan. 25 1826.
April 2	Liverpool ..	Monro Castle	Smith ..	Bombay ..	Oct. 23
April 2	Gravesend ..	Valiant ..	Bragg ..	Mauritius ..	Dec. 19
April 3	Off Portsmo.	Hooghley ..	Reeves ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 9
April 3	Off Hastings	Mar. Bozzaris	Adrian ..	Batavia ..	Dec. 15
April 7	Off Weymou.	Gen. Harris	Shanton ..	China ..	Dec. 20
April 7	Isle of Wight	Canning ..	Broughton	China ..	Dec. 20
April 9	Downs ..	Harriett ..	Guthrie ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 30
April 9	Downs ..	Recovery ..	Chapman	Bombay ..	Nov. 21
April 9	Cowes ..	Calcutta ..	Marlieu ..	Calcutta ..	Dec. 18
April 12	Off Portsmo.	Caroline ..	Kidson ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 5 1827.
April 12	Off Portsmo.	Sir W. Wallace	Brown ..	Mauritius ..	Jan. — 1826.
April 12	Off Dartmou.	Natalie ..	Mannings	Batavia ..	Dec. 10 1827.
April 12	Off Kingsbr.	E. St. Vincent	Middleton	Mauritius ..	Jan. 3
April 12	Off Brighton	Pero ..	Rutter ..	St. Helena	Feb. 23 1826.
April 14	Downs ..	Boyne ..	Miller ..	Bombay ..	Nov. 1
April 14	Liverpool ..	Dorothy ..	Garnock ..	Bombay ..	Nov. 1 1827.
April 14	Off Dover ..	Iberia ..	Kerton ..	Cape ..	Jan. 31 1826.
April 16	Gravesend ..	Providence	Wauchope	Bombay ..	Dec. 1
April 27	Gravesend ..	Norval ..	Conbro ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 8

## ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1826.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Oct. 28	Bombay ..	Royal George	Ellerby ..	London
Nov. 7	Madras ..	Cambridge	Barber ..	London
Nov. 10	Calcutta ..	Hercules	Vaughan ..	London
Nov. 17	Hobart Town	Woodford	Chapman ..	London
Nov. 18	Madras ..	James Sibbald	Forbes ..	London
Nov. 18	Madras ..	Atlas	Hunt ..	London
Nov. 20	Madras ..	Cornwallis	Younghusband	London
Nov. 20	Madras ..	Mary Ann	Spottiswood ..	London
Nov. 20	Madras ..	John	Dawson ..	London
Nov. 20	Madras ..	John Taylor	Pearce ..	Liverpool
Nov. 20	Madras ..	Symabey	Smith ..	London
Nov. 25	Bengal ..	Lady Kennaway	Surfieu ..	London

Date. 1896.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Nov. 23	Bengal ..	Ganges ..	.. Ford	Liverpool
Nov. 23	Bengal ..	Francis ..	..	London
Dec. 2	Calcutta ..	Reaper ..	..	London
Dec. 5	Calcutta ..	Madras ..	..	London
Dec. 6	Calcutta ..	Coromandel ..	.. Boyes	London
Dec. 6	Batavia ..	Bonavista ..	.. Jownes	London
Dec. 14	Batavia ..	Exporter ..	.. Bullen]	London
Dec. 14	Calcutta ..	Rockingham ..	.. Fotheringham	London
Dec. 14	Calcutta ..	Lady Flora ..	.. Fayrer	London
Dec. 15	Calcutta ..	Atlas ..	.. Hunt	London
Dec. 15	Calcutta ..	Laburnam ..	.. Tate	London
Dec. 16	Calcutta ..	John Hayes ..	.. Worthingham	Liverpool
Dec. 16	Calcutta ..	Perseverance ..	.. Brown	Liverpool
Dec. 20	China ..	Winchelsea ..	.. Everest	London
Dec. 20	China ..	Asia ..	.. Adamson	London
Dec. 26	Mauritius ..	Robert Quaker ..	.. Roper	Liverpool
1897.				
Feb. 1	N.S.Wales..	Tiger ..	.. Richards	London
Feb. 1	Cape ..	Brothers ..	.. Briggs	London
Feb. 2	Cape ..	Madeira Packet ..	.. Williams	Portsmouth
Feb. 2	Cape ..	Caroline ..	.. Kidson	London
Feb. 6	Off Ascension	St. Leonard ..	.. Rutherford	London
Feb. 27	Ascension ..	William ..	.. Harris	London
Mar. 6	Madeira ..	Inglis ..	.. Searl	London
Mar. 23	Madeira ..	Grecian ..	.. Smith	London

## DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1897.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Mar. 25	Deal ..	Minerva ..	.. Morris	.. Bengal
Mar. 31	Liverpool ..	Bengal ..	.. Atkins	.. Bengal
April 5	Deal ..	Lion ..	.. Kenn	.. V. D.'s Land
April 8	Deal ..	Enterprise ..	.. Dillon	.. Bombay
April 8	Deal ..	Charles Kerr ..	.. Brodie	.. Bom. & Maurit.
April 8	Deal ..	Roxburgh Castle ..	.. Denny	.. Mad. & Bengal
April 9	Liverpool ..	Sarah ..	.. Madiers	.. Bombay
April 11	Deal ..	Darius ..	.. Blair	.. Mauritius
April 11	Deal ..	Resolution ..	.. Parker	.. St. Helena
April 12	Deal ..	John Bigger ..	.. Kent	.. Bombay
April 12	Deal ..	Princess Victoria ..	.. Matthews	.. Bat. & Singap.
April 12	Deal ..	George ..	.. Fulcher	.. Mad., Cape, &c.
April 14	Glasgow ..	Tigress ..	.. Wallace	.. Bengal
April 16	Deal ..	Alfred ..	.. Pearson	.. China
April 16	Deal ..	Barossa ..	.. Hutchinsson	.. China
April 17	Portsmouth..	Jessie ..	.. Winter	.. Cape
April 26	Deal ..	Lady of the Lake ..	.. Nicholes	.. Bengal
April 26	Deal ..	Bolton ..	.. Clarkson	.. Bombay
April 26	Deal ..	Duke of Sussex ..	.. Whitehead	.. China

## GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

## PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *Atlanta*, from Van Dieman's Land :—Messrs. R. Martin ; E. Stodart ; W. Keating ; J. Corbett.

By the *Pero*, from St. Helena :—Mr. Jas. Metcalf and Son.

By the *Harriet*, from Bengal :—Major Backhouse, H. M. 47th Regt., and Mrs. Backhouse ; Capt. Carter, country service, and two servants.

By the *Calcutta*, from Bengal :—Mr. Begbie, merchant.

By the *Canning*, from China :—James Bannerman Esq.

By the *Nereus*, from Van Dieman's Land :—Mr. J. Hunter, Mr. Spain ; Mr. W. Walkingshaw ; Dr. Gray, surgeon, R. N.

By the *Hooghley*, from Ceylon and Calcutta :—Capt. Simons, N. I., and Mrs. Simons ; Capt. Storey, Madras Infantry, and Mrs. Storey and child ; Capt. Chichester, H. M. 59th Regt., and two children ; Lieut. Bolton, Bengal Infantry ; Mrs. Waters, Assist.-surg. Crawford, Ceylon-staff.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*The Article on the Charge of the Chief Justice of Bombay to the Grand Jury of that Settlement, in July last, communicated by Q., would have been readily inserted in our present Number, had it reached us in time. It shall have a place, without fail, in our next, if permitted to remain with us for that purpose.*

# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 111.

	Page.
1. Greece, in the Spring of 1827 . . . . .	433
2. The Eve of Salamis . . . . .	433
3. Sketch of the Trade with India before the Age of Mohammed . . . . .	437
4. Laws of Communities and Nations . . . . .	451
5. The Mariner's Grave . . . . .	459
6. Excursions on the Banks of the Nile.—No. III. . . . .	461
7. On the Laws of Quarantine.—No. IV. . . . .	467
8. The Fates of Palmyra . . . . .	465
9. View of the Law of Libel in England and India.—No. XII. . . . .	469
10. The Bard's Reply . . . . .	468
11. The Zenana . . . . .	469
12. On the Nobility of the Skin . . . . .	511
13. Sonnet . . . . .	516
14. Rossetti's Elucidation of the Mysteries of Dante . . . . .	517
15. To My own Verses . . . . .	522
16. On the Conquest of Peru and Mexico by the Monguls . . . . .	523
17. The Judges of the Supreme Court, and the Grand Jury at Bombay . . . . .	527
18. Stanzas, written at Sea . . . . .	531
19. Letters from a Continental Traveller . . . . .	532
20. Injurious Changes in the Indian Army . . . . .	533
21. Illustrations of Eastern Manners . . . . .	541
22. War-Song of Makanna, the Caffre Prophet . . . . .	541
23. Captain Grindlay's Views . . . . .	543
24. Verses, by Mr. C. Lamb, on a Picture by Meyer . . . . .	545
25. Letter to Dr. Gilchrist from one of his Pupils in India . . . . .	546
26. The Brazen Steeds of St. Mark's . . . . .	549
27. State of the Cape of Good Hope: by a Colonist . . . . .	551
28. On a gathered Rose-Bud . . . . .	556
29. Karmath, an Arabian Tale . . . . .	557
30. On the Medical Service of India . . . . .	576
31. Scriptural Imitations and Theological Forgeries . . . . .	582
32. The Press in India—The Bengal Chronicle . . . . .	584
33. Alleged Sale of Patronage at the India House . . . . .	592
34. Suppression of Mr. Greig's Paper at the Cape of Good Hope . . . . .	594
35. Admission of Natives of India to sit on Juries . . . . .	598
36. Scheme for paying the Debts of the Civil Servants in India . . . . .	608
37. Taxation without Representation—Comparison of India with America . . . . .	614
38. Memorial of the Liverpool East India Association . . . . .	617
39. Summary of the Latest Intelligence from the Eastern World . . . . .	610
40. Debate in Parliament on the Vote of Thanks to the Indian Army and Navy—and on the Trade with India . . . . .	621
41. Civil and Military Intelligence . . . . .	646
42. Shipping Intelligence . . . . .	656

JUNE 1827.



## NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

*Among the Announcements at the end of this Number, will be found the Prospectus of a New Weekly Publication, to be entitled, 'THE EAST AND WEST INDIAN,' but by whom to be conducted, it is not stated.*

*As MR. BUCKINGHAM has already suffered great inconvenience, and incurred no small share of undue responsibility for the writings of others, by the indirect association of his name with the 'British and Indian Observer,' the 'Telescope,' the 'English Gentleman,' the 'Free Press,' and other Public Journals, in which Indian subjects were intended to form a prominent part, he takes this occasion to observe, that all Works, whether Periodical or otherwise, of which he is, or has been, the Author or Editor in England, have invariably been put forth, openly and undisguisedly, under his own name, and will still continue to be thus directly acknowledged and avowed.*

*He feels it a more imperative duty to state this at the present moment, as arrangements are in train for the publication of a new Weekly Journal, OF AN ENTIRELY NOVEL AND PECULIAR DESCRIPTION, under his Editorship and direction, the particular details of which he hopes to announce in the next Number of the 'Oriental Herald.' He will never be found to shrink from the fullest responsibility for his own acts, words, or thoughts: but he at the same time feels, that this responsibility is quite sufficient, without sharing it for acts not his own, and for the writings and speculations of others.*

*Wednesday, May 30, 1827.*

# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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No. 42.—JUNE 1827.—VOL. 13.

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GREECE, IN THE SPRING OF 1827.

*Communicated by Mons. de Sismondi—for the Oriental Herald.*

WE repeatedly endeavoured, during the spring of 1826, to open the eyes of Europe, and of Christendom, on the scenes then acting in Greece; we endeavoured to prove that the Turkish Sultan would proceed in his exterminating warfare till not one man was left of those belonging to the same race, professing the same religion as ourselves, and capable of an equal degree of civilization. We foretold that this ferocious Mahmoud—this Mahmoud, who could find no other method of disbanding his army, than that of massacring his soldiers, and who again, lately, because a ball happened to strike one of his suite, put to death the whole ship's crew of the vessel from which he supposed the ball had issued, thus murdering hundreds of innocent in order to reach one guilty person,—this Mahmoud, we repeated, would not cease his persecution of the Greeks till the whole nation was exterminated. We announced, that after having finished, he would be obliged to consign to the same butchery the Walachians, Moldavians, Servians, Bulgarians, Montenegrins, the whole Christian part of the population of Albania and Bosnia, and lastly the Armenians, if, indeed, so habituated to blood, he would at length spare even his own Musulmaun subjects.

We addressed alternately the French and English public, when the ruins of Missolonghi still smoked with the blood of its brave defenders;\* we then demanded of Europe to listen, if not to the voice of religion, and of humanity, yet at least to that of their own interests. We demonstrated how dangerous the continuation of these horrible butcheries was, both to the internal quiet of states, by revolting the feelings and opinions of the people, and to the

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\* See 'Courier Français' of May 10th, June 5th, June 12th, July 18th; 'Representative' of June 1st; 'New Monthly Magazine', July 1st; 'Oriental Herald', August 1, 1826.

external, by keeping unsettled the political balance, and preserving the seeds of a future war. Now, when we resume the pen, we fear every instant to learn that Athens has suffered the fate of Missolonghi; that those superb antiquities, the admiration of the world, with the valorous descendants of those who have bequeathed us such prodigies, and the brave soldiers who have so long and desperately defended it, have perished in one common ruin. In fact, we know that Grigiotti, at the head of a thousand Greeks, has been blockaded in the Acropolis since the 30th of June last, by Kirschid Pasha, who commands 15,000 Turks in Eastern Greece; we know that the generous Fabvier, hearing that the powder of the besieged was exhausted, had the boldness to throw himself into the town on the 1st of December, with fifty Philhellene officers and five hundred soldiers, who, instead of taking any clothing for themselves, filled each his knapsack with gunpowder, as he had hoped that to withdraw again was impossible; and as there was a dearth in the citadel of every sort of combustible, as no house was proof against the inclemencies of the weather, these men have suffered dreadfully from cold during this rigorous winter. The garrison has for eight months experienced, without intermission, all the misery of a siege, that has deprived them of every necessary of life, even of the means of baking their bread; death every day stares them in the face. Lately, one of the most admirable antiquities of Athens, the Temple of Erectheus, was, by the Turkish artillery, laid level with the earth, and in its fall crushed the unfortunate widow of Gouras, her child, and ten others. On the 20th of February there remained only forty days' provision and ammunition in the Acropolis; every effort of the Greeks to raise the siege had failed; and when the brave soldiers, whom Fabvier commands, shall have fallen, the Sultan has issued orders to destroy the last remains of those ruins which, in the opinion of the Turks, have too long attracted the attention of Europe.

Greece, in this terrible crisis, surrounded with the most appalling danger, is not united to repel it; the Greeks do not obey one common impulse to direct well the strength which their sufferings in this their last agony supplies them. Two legislative assemblies, one at Castro, the other at Egina, are occupied in mutual accusations, opposite factions in various places menace each other, and nowhere is obedience or confidence in authority to be found. Those who have already so injured the Greek cause, hasten to found, on their dissensions, an accusation against them, and pronounce them incapable of conforming to any government. Those whose charity is exhausted, and whose hearts are wearied with the long sensation of pity, give credence to these accusations, and withdraw their thoughts from a people they pronounce incorrigible. Nevertheless, it is not the Greeks who are to blame; their dissensions arise both from the superiority of their talents and the excess of their suffer-

ings. It is not at Napoli de Romania, or at Egina, but at Constantinople and Vienna, that we must ask the reason of their state of social disorganization.

Jealousy, suspicion, and disobedience, are the necessary, the inevitable results of the distress to which a people so active, ingenious, and bold, have been reduced. If we sometimes, in the tranquil and orderly society of civilized Europe, blame our Government, if it even appears to us odious and stupid, we continue nevertheless submissive, because we well know that the evil it subjects us to by its mal-administration, is nothing in comparison of what we shall draw on ourselves by a revolt: by our submissions, we incur only the loss of a few pounds and some vexations; but by a rebellion, we risk not only our fortunes, but our lives. It is exactly the contrary in Greece; the very existence of society is in such danger, that there is scarcely one false step of any of the constituted powers, or of one of the military commanders, that might not be followed by the destruction of all engaged with them; there every one stakes his all to the Government, and the Turkish scimitar is nearer the head of every Greek than the sword of justice.

Politics, with us, excite only a secondary interest: accordingly, every thing which affects our health, our fortunes, our affections, our reputation, even our pleasures, suffices to divert our attention; but let it be imagined with what anxiety the Greek regards every political question, with what apprehension he watches every decision of his Government, when he knows that its errors may involve the dishonour, slavery, and death, of himself, and of every being most dear to him.

Besides, those people, the Austrians, the Turks, and perhaps some others, who find obedience so easy a task, find thought too hard a one; they are accustomed to submission, even when their most serious interests are concerned, in the execution of the orders given them; they fulfil them without reflection, without even giving themselves the trouble to comprehend them; they feel their own inferiority, their incapacity of judging what suits their country; they do not connect effects with causes; they have no foresight; they obey, because their fathers have obeyed before them, and because those who rule them have always dispensed them from every exercise of an intellectual faculty. But the Greek, who, to ameliorate his condition, has thrown off a yoke he has always detested, and under which his ancestors have groaned, acknowledges no other governors than those whom he thinks capable of saving him; he owes them nothing, he has never granted them an unlimited confidence; day by day, hour by hour, he judges them, to ascertain whether they continue to deserve that he should trust his whole fate to them; and he judges them with that perspicacity, that delicacy of tact, which has always so eminently distinguished this people, and which seems to have made them a nation more of captains than of

soldiers. The study of man teaches us that identity of thought exists only among limited minds ; the more each exercises his own judgment, the greater will be the variety of opinions. Is it strange that among a people, where every one is clever, where every one exercises the whole power of his mind, because all he most values on earth is at stake, there should be found such conflicting opinions !

This is not all ; the distrust so prevalent between the Greeks and their commanders, and between the commanders and those who co-operate with them, is not without reason ; they know that those whom they obey are constantly called upon to sacrifice them to more urgent interests. The strength and pecuniary resources of the state are constantly unequal to its wants. In order to relieve Athens, it is necessary to have Ibrahim Pasha, who is quartered at Tripolizza, master of the Peloponnesus ; in order to victual the army, the fleet must be neglected ; to keep the field, the soldiers must leave their homes, and abandon their wives, children, and harvests to the mercy of the Turks ; the interest of their country demands it—but where is their country ? That ideal being, which has inspired so many heroic actions, has not yet begun to exist for the Greeks ; they know only the district they live in, the village, the mountain, or the island where they were born ; they are Athenians, Mæreotes, Hydriots, Cretans, Acharnanians ; and for those who, by these titles, are their countrymen, they will devote themselves with the greatest heroism ; but they are not, nor cannot yet be, truly Greeks. It is we, who looking at Greece from a distance, consider her as a body, while to her children she is only as scattered members. How is it possible a Mainote or Sphactiote, who has never been out of his native mountain, who cannot read, who has no newspapers, no post for communication, can know what his fellow countrymen are doing in their several districts ? They have never acted together, nor helped each other ; the tyrant who oppressed them endeavoured to spread division amongst them : every one had his neighbouring enemy ; the inhabitant of the Isles was obliged to defend himself against the Turks of Asia ; the Acharnanian and the Suliote against the Albanian ; the Moreote against the Turks of Tripolizza, or Patras ; and the Livadian against the janissaries of Corinth or Athens : animosities were transmitted rather from father to child, than from province to province. It will be long before Greece will have any but local interests, and a local government. She may verbally acknowledge different constitutions ; but until the people are changed, she will remain a confederation of small states. This form of government has its advantages as well as its disadvantages ; none can associate a greater number of citizens for the defence of the country, or can better organize a good militia ; on the other hand, no government finds greater difficulty in marching that militia to the point attacked. Switzerland, Holland, or the United

States, have, in this respect, no advantage over Greece: either of these confederations has found the same resistance on the part of each canton or state, when it has required them to abandon their own homes to defend those of others.

The Greek Government often issues commands, necessary to the public welfare, in vain, because they happen to be disadvantageous to the interests of those who are to execute them: perhaps, too, they are sometimes disobeyed, because they serve only the private interest of the chiefs themselves. But how can it be otherwise? We complain of robbery and dilapidation; but have we a just idea of the condition of men who are often starving, and whose children are starving too? Ought we to wonder that the feelings of nature are stronger than those of patriotism? When a captain receives a distribution of provisions, he, or his soldiers, are almost always accused of embezzlement. Let it be considered, that he has never received any pay, he does not expect any, and perhaps has spent his last crown. Is it very strange that he should exchange a part of the corn in his keeping, with some famished man for clothes or arms, without which he could not keep the field? Is it surprising that his soldiers, instead of taking only the ration of which they are in absolute want, shall transmit a part to their wives and children, whose suffering they witness. The cupidity and bad faith of the Greeks is urged against them; but who, among those who blame them, could be proof against such trials? Who could be proof for seven years? How little do those who accuse the Greeks of cupidity know the irresistible temptation to which such a state of suffering subjects them; and how false the notion, that honesty, that respect for property, can subsist in a country where there is no security. Let them ask not a barbarous people, but Frenchmen and Englishmen, if respect of property is long observed in a campaign? If in the campaign of Moscow, when they were famished, they were very scrupulous about the provisions even of their companions?

It is not only the military chiefs, but also the *primates*, the rich, who are accused of a want of patriotism, and of refusing to aid their country with those riches which nevertheless must perish with her. In the beginning of the campaign of 1826, a Greek army, reduced by want to despair, asked the primates of Athens to advance them at least a month's pay; the primates answered that they had no money; they refused even to discount the bills of exchange offered by two generous foreigners, and they did not open their secret hoards till the captain had permitted his soldiers to begin the pillage of the town. Who is to be accused here? Neither the soldiers nor the primates, but the dreadful state of a country, where nothing is safe but what is hidden.

These primates knew that they had no law to protect them, no security in the future, and that they might every day expect the fate which has since reached them, of having their houses razed to

the ground, or occupied by janissaries, and their land in the possession of others. They knew that, in the moment of their escape and concealment, their life itself depended on this money which they had hidden with so much care, and, perhaps, collected with so much avidity; by that alone could they hope to escape with their families from immediate death, or future famine; and it is not only simple death that is continually before their eyes, but death accompanied with torture, and the most appalling sufferings. Can it be wondered at, that, pursued by this constant terror, they should not always observe the law of patriotism, delicacy, or even honesty? Give them a bearable condition, and the common virtues will again be found among them; in the meanwhile, let us give them some credit for the strength of mind often necessary to resist a temptation, amongst us, only offered to the dishonest.

In the midst of this disorganization of society and of the human heart, the seventh campaign is opening under circumstances calculated to excite the utmost terror for the Greeks. The enemy is every where superior in number; they have destroyed all the habitations of Western Greece, and the woods are the only refuge of the people. The capital of Eastern Greece is besieged, the enemy is master of all the plains and fertile parts of the Morea, and all the islands are in danger. The towns are taken one by one, and their antiquities are destroyed. The country is left uncultivated, the fields are unsown, the granaries are empty, and there are no hopes of any harvests to fill them. There is no commerce, nor industry, nor produce of any kind; and this wretched people, exasperated with rage and despair, accuse their commanders; and, like the crew of the *Medusa*, maddened with hunger, are on the point of turning their arms against each other. If we will not save them for the sake of honour, of humanity, of religion, the time is come to save them for the sake of our own interest. The more their distress augments, the more the danger approaches us.

It suits none but a politician, as frivolous as he is cruel, as incapable of appreciating generous feelings, as he is of finding them in his own heart, as vain of some contemptible successes with women, as he is of having made the liberty of the world retrograde, to say, 'It is true, three or four millions of Greeks will be massacred; but no matter, we shall have peace at that price.' On the contrary, at 'that price,' he will have war. He has it already; at least he has all the cares, dangers, and expenses of war. Three or four millions of men do not perish at the door of civilized Europe, without convulsing the world. The man who has signed the warrant for their extermination, did not foresee that this people, the most active, ingenious, and enterprising with which we are acquainted in history, will not wait patiently for famine, misery, and death, or the ruin of their homes. He did not foresee that the Greeks would defend themselves before they died, and that, at the

expense of the civilized world, which has refused them protection; that the consequences of being in a more desperate condition than such a mass of people was ever reduced to before, would shake the Eastern world to its centre; that robbery would destroy the entire produce of its provinces, the harvests of which supply our markets; that those Turkish merchants would be ruined, whose custom is accounted so advantageous, that it cannot be purchased by too much blood; that piracy would infest every coast of the East; that it would require a larger squadron to protect commerce, at greater expense, and for a longer period, than would have sufficed to secure the independence of Greece.

The marine of the three isles only of Hydra, Spertzia, and Psara, amount to not less than 15,000 sailors. These men, who have wives and children; have also a heart for creatures dependent on them; they see them suffer from hunger; they receive no pay; there is no one to advance it to them; all navigation, all commerce for them is at an end; it is carried on only by Austrian, Sardinian, Sicilian, French, and English vessels, which cover their seas; and those, secure from all the chances of war by their neutrality, are often employed in victualling the Turks, transporting the spoils of the Greeks from one market to another; sometimes even their wives and children reduced to slavery; they enjoy the protection of the laws, they prosper, they have nothing to fear amidst beings reduced to the last term of human misery. Can one be surprised if the Greek sailor, in despair, commences piracy; takes to his boat or his mystick, and attacks and pillages all who come within his reach. He robs those he finds on his seas, because hunger is urgent, and his children are famished; he ill-treats, and, perhaps, kills those whom he attacks, not only to secure himself from their evidence, but in vengeance of their superior happiness; for while he perishes in misery, while despair withers his soul, he feels hatred for those who prosper, whom he believes secure from all danger. There is a point of human misery in which distress becomes fury; do not let us accuse the wretched;—pity them—it is human nature.

‘But,’ it is said, ‘the Marquis Paulucci and other admirals have attacked these pirates, burnt their vessels, and put their crews to death; if there are only fifteen thousand Greek seamen, they will be destroyed, and the Eastern seas will then be quiet and deserted.’ No, they will not be destroyed; for the same poverty, the same wretchedness, which has driven those seamen to piracy, obliges the inhabitants of the island to become seamen, and the inhabitants of the continent to take refuge in the islands. In the midst of the thousand channels of the *Ægean Sea*, no one is an absolute stranger to the maritime life. No Clephti, or Palicare, after having exercised his body in athletic combat, needs a long apprenticeship to learn how to carry on the war on another element. The poor



fugitive, whose cottage has been burnt, whose vine and olive trees have been cut down, when he sees those mysticks, manned with warriors, pass swiftly along his coast, knows that by embarking in one, he will find subsistence, revenge, and perhaps riches.

In fact, though the work of extermination has gone on for six years in Greece, and thousands of victims have sunk under the sword, famine, or fever, yet the number of pirates has not diminished; on the contrary; they have increased and will increase, whilst all other classes in the nation will diminish, till the last Greek has fallen, or till acceptable conditions have been granted to Greece; for then, those who have been driven by despair to piracy, will return with delight to industry and a more quiet life.

Some districts, some towns of difficult access, some islands especially, are still sheltered from the vengeance of the Turks; but if at last the war reaches them, the rage of so many victims reduced to despair, who can no longer deceive themselves as to their destined fate, will become more fearful. The pirates now only infest the Levant; but the Mediterranean will soon be covered with them. The fugitives, who have arrived in Europe, have hitherto only implored our charity, but when the whole Greek fleet is employed in transporting to our shores the inhabitants of an entire country, flying from their executioners, these wandering bands will take by force what they can no longer obtain by their prayers. The Calabrias tremble now before a few hundred robbers: how much more when they amount to perhaps more than a hundred thousand! The most enlightened of the Christian powers have agreed, as we are assured, to put an end to so many horrors; but let them hasten, let them stop, without longer delay, the effusion of blood, if they would save the Greeks and preserve the peace of Europe.

These powers have a right to dictate peace to the Porte, for these are crimes which, by their enormity, exclude a Government from the right of nations; and the crime of Mahmoud is of this number: he has declared war not only against the Greeks, whom he calls his subjects, but against Christian society—against humanity. The atrocious project, which he has followed up for six years, has brought trouble and fermentation in all the neighbouring states; it now brings in danger. Let these powers declare that they do not recognise, as an act allowed by the law of nations, the criminal war he is waging against the religion and race he seeks to destroy. Let them introduce ammunition, provisions, and soldiers into the besieged fortresses, to enable them to await the issue of the negotiations; in short, let them enforce an armistice, by turning their arms against all who continue their hostilities. No crusade against the Turks, no invasion of their territory, no effort to drive them out of Europe, is now called for; Christendom is only called upon to defend itself. Let it say to the Crescent, 'You have gone thus far, but you shall advance no farther: if you attack the towns of

Greece, you make war on us; we demand peace and respect for rights already conquered.' No other language than this ought to be addressed to the Turks, who defeat all negotiations by protracted delays.

But when the negotiating powers shall have put a stop to the effusion of blood, and have secured to the Greeks the right of living, they will not, perhaps, consider their task finished till they have established for them a Government that could guarantee that right. The Greeks are in no state to raise difficulties about conditions; when their persons and properties are safe they will have made a happy change, and will labour with ardour to rise from the state of misery to which they have been reduced. Europe, for its own interest, as well as for its honour, to secure its tranquillity, and to favour its commerce, ought to give them a Government that will, as soon as possible, restore them to human life, and teach them to seek their subsistence and glory in industry, instead of hazardous enterprizes. For four centuries Greece has submitted to an atrocious tyranny; for six years it has been given up to whole armies of executioners. The peace of Europe requires it should have a wise government to calm it; and not an oppressive yoke, which it would soon try to shake off by a new convulsion.

Above all, it must be such a Government as may be supported by a country in the utmost state of poverty, where every thing that could bring in capital has been destroyed, and the capital itself spent. There is not a town or village in Greece that will not require to be rebuilt. The cattle and instruments of agriculture have been destroyed; the olive and orange trees and vines have been cut down for fire-wood; the land, which has been left to lie waste, cannot again be brought under culture without an immense expense. In this state Greece cannot pay a tribute to the Porte, and at the same time support an expensive court. It has been several times proposed, it is said, to give them a king from some of the royal families of Europe; but that would prove both a subject of discord between the mediating powers, and an expensive gift to the favoured party. Nothing can now be taken from Greece: he who reigns there must bring his exchequer with him, and even then he will have by no means an easy life. A power cannot be self-created: its elements must exist in the country where it is established. The only existing element in Greece is a local aristocracy; taxes cannot be imposed, justice maintained, the militia armed or commanded, or the municipal interests defended by any but the local authorities already established there. These local authorities will long be the only real Government; they have formed Greece into a federation, and they will maintain it, whether a king, a hespodar, or senate be placed over them. The central power, established by the mediators, must govern by the interven-

*tion of the aristocracy, or of the local authorities : it will fall if it commences a struggle with them.*

The fault, if it is one, must not be imputed to Greece, where there is more intelligence, and a greater disposition to civilization, than in almost any other part of Europe, but to Turkey, which has so long demoralised it, and to the Christian States which, for six years, have suffered it to remain a prey to the most horrible calamities. In this baneful struggle the passions have destroyed all habits of obedience ; and if it should be still prolonged, anarchy will have taken such firm root, that centuries will be required to bring society back to a state of tranquillity.

It must then be expected, that the moment hostilities cease, Greece will become like one of the well-regulated states of Europe : it must necessarily be long before the ruined houses can be rebuilt, before agriculture, industry, and commerce can be restored. Some time must pass before the Government will obtain an orderly obedience, before the public force can be organised, the taxes paid, or established tribunals created to force respect for the laws. Till then it may, perhaps, be necessary to place English, French, or Russian garrisons in some of the principal towns, to protect the inhabitants both against their enemies and one another. All these impetuous and lawless men, who have grown up amidst the calamities of their country, will gradually return to civil life, or will disappear in obscurity ; agriculture, industry, and commerce, will every year gain fresh importance, and will create new distinctions less dangerous than that of Captain of Clephtis ; in short, Greece will return to order and civilization, and will bless the European powers who have helped her.

Let these powers continue then with perseverance and vigour, but, above all, with celerity, the work they have begun ; if their language is firm, if it is enforced by some acts of vigour, it will cost little money, and a few weeks only, to stop the course of calamities which are the horror of humanity and the disgrace of our age. If their conduct is weak and pusillanimous, the Turks, who think they gain every thing by gaining time, will deceive them, and will continue the war while the negotiations are pending. Yet what Europe ought now to do must still be done later, and with greater difficulty, more danger, and less success. For, however alarming is the beginning of this seventh campaign, however wretched the state of Greece, however rapid the destruction of its inhabitants, the struggle is not merely at an end ; and the danger which threatens the civilized world, from a people reduced to despair by the most terrible proscription, will go on still increasing for years, till the last of the Greeks have perished.

*Geneva, April 27, 1827.*

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI.

## THE EVE OF SALAMIS.

THUS rolls no wave of all the blue *Egean*,  
 But murmurs glory to the sacred shore,  
 Recalling when the loud triumphal pean  
 Was heard the Salaminian waters o'er ;  
 When the deliver'd Ocean proudly bore  
 The victor fleet, in glad disorder on ;  
 Each patriot gazing on his land once more,  
 Free, by the fight so newly lost and won,  
 Her race of science, fame, peace, liberty, to run.

Tears, big tears, fill'd in many a manly eye,  
 Such tears as consecrate the warrior's bay,  
 While the delivering navy gallantly  
 Swept on, magnificent in disarray,  
 Scarr'd with the dints of battle: glad and gay  
 They rode the waves, by them immortal made ;  
 With ploughs of victory, furrowing the bright spray,  
 To be thenceforth with glory's harvest spread,  
 Whose amaranthine sheaves each brow in fancy braid.

It was a sight to warm the slave's heart-core,  
 To see the fleet of Freedom onward come ;  
 To note the proud strokes of the meanest oar  
 That sped the victors of the Orient home ;  
 To watch, by fits, along the sun-lit foam,  
 Shield, helm, and corslet, flashing fast and far—  
 While, ere he left the rich West's golden dome,  
 The day-god cheek'd awhile his sinking car,  
 And breathed the steeds of light to hail the finish'd war.

Moments, replete with glorifying thought !  
 Ye, in yourselves, condensed the life of years ;  
 Born of past triumph, and with future fraught,  
 Kindling an Iris o'er departed tears,  
 And scattering in bright hope the cloudy years  
 Which veil'd thy thunder-peals, Futurity !  
 Light they disperse, as breaks and disappears  
 The mountain mist, when Day's first fire-shafts flee  
 Wide o'er the joyous earth and the tumultuous sea.

No head was there by conscious fame unraised ;  
 No eye but lighted with unwooled fire,  
 As on the crowded strand the conquerors gazed,  
 Musing on home and wife, friend, child, or sire—

Perchance some Grecian loved one : Could *she* tire  
Of that day's lofty tale ? Would not her hand  
Awake, ere night, her long-neglected lyre,  
Blending *his* name with the undying band,  
Whose swords were drawn to fence the daughters of their land ?

All caught the glad contagion ;—even the pale  
And wounded warrior raised his drooping head,  
When louder, as they drew more nigh, the gale  
His country's welcome to his faint ear sped.  
But there was one who, though no tear he shed,  
Nor spoke of rapture, seem'd, while calm his tone  
And mien, to claim among the deathless dead—  
Gods of the Past—the wreath their swords had mown,  
Which made their dust a Spring, and yet might green his own

There was he seen, his lined and lofty brow  
Turn'd for a moment tow'rd his rescued land,  
Then sunk, as if he watch'd the waves below,  
Their hues, their number, and their changes scan'd—  
He saw them not, nor heard the plausive band  
Of rival chiefs before him proudly ranged,  
Who felt, but owned not, that the brow, which plann'd  
That hour of rights retrieved and wrongs avenged,  
Bore the first palm of realms, whose fates his mind had changed

Long as grey Ceta's cliffs the thunder brave,  
And clouds and eagles round Parnassus soar ;  
Long as Cephissus' and Eurotas' wave  
Mourn for the men, the days, the deeds of yore ;  
Long as one column marks the glorious shore,  
Or one lone flower waves in green Tempe's breeze ;  
So long thy shade shall float those waters o'er,  
Thy name be voiced along thy native seas,  
Athens' pride and shame—famed, fallen Themistocles \*

Napoleon of the East ! \* like *him*, the first  
Among the foremost, while in Freedom's name  
Thou led'st the van of battle—like *him*, nurst  
Upon the lap of Glory—wherefore shame  
The breast that fed thee ? and the cause disclaim,  
Which gave such lustre to thine early sword ?  
Was it for souls like thine to sink their fame  
Among the satraps of a despot lord,  
And pile with traitorous pomp a parasite's vile board ?

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\* The short but noble letter of Napoleon to the British Regent—' I come, like Themistocles,' &c.—suggested *one* point of resemblance between these celebrated men. Perhaps their characters, as well as their fortunes, may afford materials for a more extended parallel.

Thy morn was bright with Freedom—wherefore spend  
Thine eve of life in league with Tyranny?  
May not the river, where its wanderings end,  
Pure as the young waves of its fountain be,  
And mix unsullied with eternity?  
I know not; but the tongue of all time gone  
Proclaims, if Man be blest, if Earth be free,  
Not by Ambition must the deed be done,  
Which still for some vain gaud will leave the goal unwon.

Frail gains! even *there* Ambition's high pulse fell,  
Even *then* a cloud obscured that noble brow,  
As, glancing back o'er the Deep's star-dropp'd swell,  
His eye survey'd the grandly mournful show  
Of Asian ships and captives:—Greek hands row  
The torn imperial galleys!—Did the sight  
Remind the conqueror how Fate sways below  
The cypress and the laurel?—Be what might  
The shade, it came—it pass'd—his eye as wont grew bright.

Yet well such scene might prompt the gazer's breast  
How Time and Change the rule of man disown,  
And bid the victor veil his stately crest  
At Iron Destiny's imperious throne.  
Late on those decks the Median plumes had flown,  
Anticipating victory—*now* they bare  
In bonds their vanquish'd lords, while many a moan  
Of bleeding Persians, faintly heard, declare  
How dark to *them* the eve, in Grecian eyes so fair.

There were they throng'd, the satrap and the slave,  
Forgot their bondage, and extinct their pride;  
Following, not sharing, o'er the glittering wave,  
The triumph of the foes so oft decried,  
The slander'd sons of freedom: Some belied  
Grief, by *all* felt not, struggling to control  
Thoughts of the fair babe, and the fairer bride,  
Left where thy kingly waves, Chaosps, roll—  
Sweet waves! all wormwood now to the fond exile's soul.

Oh thou, spoil'd minion of barbaric power,—  
Degenerate Aslarch! could thine eye behold  
The thoughts of *one* such breast in such an hour,  
Haply thine heart, by royalty made cold,  
Would own one gen'rous weakness:—Wherefore roll'd  
This tide of wreck on Europe, but to swell  
Thy vanity of sway? The young, the bold,  
The free, the beautiful, the glorious fell,  
Because weak Xerxes loved a Grecian crown too well.

The tiger and the serpent, do they roam  
 To slake their blood-thirst with the waste of life !  
 Seek they in wantonness the peaceful home,  
 Or court, undared, the desolating strife ?  
 In the deep forest, with night-umbrage rise,  
 They fix their dread and solitary lair :  
 The orphan'd infant and the widow'd wife,  
 Seldom the wreck their fangs have wrought declare,  
 Or wall the fatal rage of venomous despair.

Unlike the tyrant ! *his* far-sceptred hand  
 Grasps at supreme dominion ; and for *this*,  
 War calls its locusts up to waste the land,  
 Which violation only can make his.  
 Woe, woe to those, who seek their baleful bliss  
 In wringing tears, blood, curses, from their kind !  
 Who, to revenge the happiness they miss,  
 Enthral the body and degrade the mind,  
 And with a wrong'd world's sighs load the lamenting wind !

But ye, the men, who with their strength have striven,  
 What wreath for *you* shall Liberty entwine ?  
 Your names will glow, like stars along the heaven,  
 Instinct with immortality ; the line  
 Of tuneful spirits will your deeds enshrine  
 In lays that live for ever ; while forgot—  
 Or, worse, recorded and accursed—shall pine  
 The tyrant's memory, *yours* will haunt each spot,  
 On which to win or die was once your glorious lot.

The men of Marathon are gone ; but yet  
 Their trophies light the unforgotten plain :  
 The sun that look'd on Salamis is set ;  
 But who dare say its warriors fought in vain ?  
 Greece, when she casts off her ignoble chain,  
 Will call their spirits from the sacred wave,  
 And turn to conquer on the same bright main.  
 Hail and farewell ! ye everlasting brave,  
 Who there to servile life preferred a splendid grave !

Bend from your clouds, shades of the mighty dead ;  
 Hear from your waves the music of your fame ;—  
 Soon, o'er the fields and seas where once ye bled,  
 May loftier lyres than mine your praise proclaim,  
 The lyres of Grecian freemen ! May each name,  
 Which Time has given to Glory, o'er the bowl—  
 The bowl of peace—relume the patriot's flame,  
 Kindle the fires of the rapt poet's soul,  
 And wake the song, whose tones through echoing ages roll !

## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TRADE WITH INDIA BEFORE THE AGE OF MOHAMMED.\*

*From the German of Johann Gottfried Eichhorn.*

ACCORDING to Moses,† at so early a period as six hundred years after the Deluge, the Ishmaelites conveyed spicery, balm, and myrrh on their camels to Egypt. I have not been able to ascertain whether, along with the two natural productions of Arabia, they also imported the spices of India, as the Hebrew annalist has neither directly mentioned such importation,‡ nor interwoven any hint on the subject in his narrative. Two centuries later, it is probable that Asia Minor and Egypt purchased Indian produce from the Arabs, for Moses was well acquainted with cinnamon,§ a plant which is known to be a native of India.

The dark period between Moses and Herodotus, of which we should have known nothing chronologically, had not the history of a family accidentally furnished us with an imperfect record of time, supplied some information respecting India; but the veil of fabulous narration has been cast over the events of that period, and the philosophical inquirer must strip them of their mythological covering before they can be received as positive historical facts.

Modern authors have persisted in attributing a direct Indian trade, at a very remote period, to two nations, the Egyptians and the Phœnicians. Diodorus Siculus, not the elder Manetho, makes Osiris (be he deity or mortal) sail first to Ethiopia, then through the Arabian Sea to India and China, and far northward.|| The memory of this extraordinary expedition is alleged to have been perpetuated in India by the building of a city, and at Nyssa, in Arabia, by a hieroglyphic inscription on a pillar.¶ To this

\* Those who refer to the ancients for information on India should take care that they are not misled by them. With them, India is in the East what Scythia is in the North. They include, under the general name of India, Ethiopia, Arabia Felix, India Proper to the Ganges, and Persia. Had this circumstance, with which an attentive comparison of Arabian and Syrian with Greek historians, has made me acquainted, been known to the writers of the last century, they would not have imputed ignorance to the Greeks on this point.

† Genesis, xxxvii. 25.

‡ I certainly did not look into the Books of Moses for the name of India, since I am persuaded that the country was not known to him (see note †† at p. 438). But though unacquainted with that part of the world, it was not impossible that, by his enumeration of plants, he might afford, indirectly, some means of judging whether a trade between India and Egypt then existed.

§ Exodus, xxx. 23. V. Celsii; Hierobotanicon.

|| Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. p. 10.

¶ The following, according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. p. 16. is the inscription—*Πατήρ μου ἑστίν*, &c. &c. [*My father is Saturn, the youngest of all*



visionary tale, Huet and Kircher have given the sanction of their authority, and the former\* built upon it a system of Egyptian commerce, which M. Mignot has successfully overthrown.†

In the time of Herodotus, the Egyptian priests had not fabricated the story of a second expedition to India, which they consigned to Sesostris.‡ Diodorus Siculus, who lived nearly 500 years after Herodotus, is the first historian to whom Sesostris is indebted for the fame of navigating the Ganges, and the whole of the Indian Ocean, with 400 large ships.§ But how were the Egyptians, in the infancy of their navigation, and in the absence of suitable materials for ship building, able to fit out a fleet of 400 large ships in the Arabian Sea? Is it likely that the Brahmins, who, in their annals, have carefully described a visit from Pythagoras, should have overlooked the far more important landing of Sesostris in India.|| Besides, since Eratosthenes declared this expedition, against which may have been adduced in his time numberless reasons, now lost along with other memorials of the Greeks, to be fabulous,¶ how can Huet be justified in founding on it conclusions respecting the trade of India?\*\*\*

Those great navigators, the Phœnicians, who sailed to the north of Europe for amber, appear to have undertaken no voyage to the East Indies;†† probably because, before they had made sufficient

the Gods. But I am Osiris; that king, who led an army to every region, as far as the deserts of India, and those places lying under Arcturus; as far as the streams of the river Ister, and also to other parts of the earth as far as the Ocean. I am the youngest son of Saturn, sprung from an honourable and noble race, a relation of the Day. And there is no place of the habitable world which I have not visited, distributing among all those things of which I had become the beneficent possessor.‡]

\* At Nyssa, in Arabia.—In this I have followed Diodorus of Sicily, as I had to relate his fable, though I am of opinion, with Bayerus, that Nyssa was in India. The grounds are these: 1. The excellent Scholiast of Aristophanes, *Ranas*, act i. sc. 5. p. 422, says, Νύσος δ' Διόνυσος τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς δομαῖετ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐν Ἰνδοῖς Νύσῃ. [‘Bacchus is called Nyssus by the Indians, from Nyssa, one of their cities.‡] 2. Neispor, a place in India, corresponds exactly with Nyssa, for *puor*, which is affixed to various Indian towns, (as, for example, *Fulepuor*,) is *opus ædificatio, structura*. See ‘Bayeri, *Historia Bactriarum*.’ And 3. Strabo, Book xv. p. 687, speaking of India, says:—Ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων Νύσσαρος δὴ τινὰς ἔθνος προσωνόμασαν καὶ πόλιν παρ' αὐτοῖς Νύσσαν Διόνυσου κτίσμα, &c. &c.—[‘from these they called a certain nation the Nyssæ, and the city Nyssa, built by Bacchus.‡]

\* ‘*Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens*,’ p. 39.

† ‘*Memoirs de Littérature, tirés des Registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres depuis l'Année, 1761, 1763*,’ t. 31. p. 156.

‡ ‘*Herodot.*’ lib. ii. p. 149.

§ ‘*Diodorus Siculus*,’ i. p. 35.

|| ‘*De Pauw, Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*.’ T. i. p. 32.

¶ ‘*Strabo*,’ lib. xv.

\*\*\* ‘*Histoire du Commerce*,’ &c. p. 38.

†† On this account Moses knew nothing of the people of India. See ‘*Astruc*,

progress in navigation, they removed from their original settlement on the Arabian Gulf to the coast of the Mediterranean.\*

But though the Phœnicians carried on no direct trade with India, the merchandise of that country was to be found in their mart at Tyre, 600 years before Christ. Hither, according to Ezekiel,† were brought from Daden, a colony of Arabs,‡ on the Persian Gulf, three articles of Indian produce, namely, teeth (horns) of the Monoceros (Nahrwal),§ ivory, and ebony.||

Whether the islanders brought these commodities to Tyre, or whether they were purchased for them by others who undertook the task of forwarding them, and what route they or the intermediate dealers followed, whether they chose a tedious and difficult course through Arabian deserts, or sailed up the Euphrates to Thapsacus, and then completed their journey by land, are questions I do not pretend to resolve. If any people acted as third parties between them and Tyre, that distinction may have belonged to the Gerræ, provided it should appear that they are, as a nation,

Conjectures sur les Memoires Originaux, dont il paroît que Moÿse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse.' Bruxelles, 1753.

\* There would be no inconsistency in supposing, with Strabo, a colony of Syrians to have emigrated to the Persian Gulf. (Compare Strabo, b. xvi. p. 766, with Niebuhr, p. 297, who found a place called Sûr in that quarter.) But the fact depends, first, on the coincidence of the name, which is quite accidental. Secondly, though there should be well founded reasons for believing that the city of Tyre, in the Mediterranean, had formed a colony at Sûr, in Arabia, it does not follow that the colonists traded to India. The contrary, indeed, may be inferred, as will appear from the next note.

† Ezekiel, xvii. 15. The existence of Indian produce in the mart of Tyre does not prove that the articles were conveyed thither by Tyrians. Had they been the original purchasers, would Ezekiel have mentioned Daden? Would he not rather have named India itself?

‡ 'Michælis Spicilegium Geographicæ Hebræorum Exteræ,' p. 201, &c.

§ The probable conjecture on the Hebrew נָהָרְוָל, which I have adopted in the text, was first suggested by Professor Michælis, in his 'Spicilegium Geographicæ Hebræorum Exteræ,' p. 205, 206. The Nahrwal (Monodon) has a tooth as compact as ivory, and differing from it only in the colour, which, however, can be improved by bleaching. That wares made of the tooth of the Nahrwal are still sold for ivory, is well known to dealers. It is not surprising that the Hebrews, as well as other ancient nations, should have taken the tusk of the Nahrwal for a horn; for even in modern times this error has been fallen into, and a false system built upon it. See 'Anderson's Reise nach Grönland,' p. 208. 'Before this the people imagined the tooth to be a horn, like the horns of a deer, as they believed that marine animals had no teeth, (a notion still entertained by a great number of our Greenland captains,) and thereupon founded the conjecture that the porpoise, the *Phocæna*, or *Delphinus Septentrionalis*, was the female unicorn.'—'Wormius in Museo,' p. 269, describes a Nahrwal, the length of which was thirty ells, with a tusk seven ells long. In the year 1736, one came up the Elbe with a high tide, the tusk of which stood outside of the head five feet four inches, Paris measure. See 'Klein, Historia Piscium Missu,' il. do. p. 18, sect. 18, tab. ii. 'Linnæi Syst. Nat.' ed. x. 'Hall,' p. 75.

|| 'Bochart's Hierozoic,' part ii. lib. i. c. 20. p. 140.

*Oriental Herald*, Vol. 13.

2 H

ufficiently ancient.\* The Gerræ, originally a small and poor people, who fled from Chaldea to Arabia,† as the Phocæi did to Gaul, had to struggle with a barren soil. To escape from starvation, they traded by the Euphrates to Thapsacus, and then to the coast of the Mediterranean; and thus grew a rich and powerful people.‡ In the same manner, necessity compelled the Massilienses, the Venetians, the Dutch, and the Icelanders, to become merchants.

It was not difficult for Asia Minor and Greece to obtain Indian merchandise from Tyre; and the Greek who, a thousand years after Moses, performed a learned journey, and on his return related, but with a prudent *ὡς φασι*, facts which he had in part collected from mariners, might receive from Phœnician navigators accounts

\* Long before the age of Alexander, these fugitives had settled on the Persian Gulf; for Aristobalus, who was with Alexander's army, and whom Strabo follows, gave an account of the track by which they prosecuted their trade. See below, Note †.

† Strabo, b. xvi. p. 783.

‡ The route which they followed varied at different times. See Strabo, as above. Their earliest course was by the way of Thapsacus.

I must here point out a fault which Huet ('Histoire du Commerce,' &c. p. 55.) has committed, and which later authors, who have touched upon the trade of the Arabs, have imitated. He asserts that the inhabitants of Arabia Felix traded to India; but he gives no authority, and those who follow him give as little. The whole question turns upon the authority of Strabo, and writers who lived after his time; but the testimonies are recent, and belong to a period when the Romans traded with India. Now, Strabo (b. xvi. p. 780.) says only this much: 1. That formerly, on the Arabian Gulf, the luxury of two powerful people had induced the Minyæ and Sabæi to embark in trade; but he does not speak of India, and among the merchandise brought to Leucocane, mentions no Indian, but merely Arabian articles. 2. Here two routes were open to them: they could convey their goods by land, on camels, by the way of Hadsjer (Petra) to El Arish (Rhinocolura), and there transfer them to Egyptian merchants; or, they could ship their cargoes for Myoshormos, and sell them to Egyptians, and then forward the merchandise, on camels, to Coptus, and thence on board papyrus ships to Alexandria. The latter track (Strabo, b. xvi. p. 781.) must have been chosen in the time of Augustus, who first made Myoshormos an entrepôt. (See sect. 10.) 3. It was but shortly before the reign of Augustus that the desire of mixing in the Arabian trade attracted the Romans to the rocky regions of Hadsjer. Consequently, it appears that it was through the arrival of the Romans at Hadsjer that the Arabians were first prompted to undertake their trading expeditions to El Arish. Strabo, after Athenodorus, also observes, to the disgrace of the Romans, that the same spirit of litigation which the chicanery of the lawyers nourished in Rome, was introduced into the Arabian Deserts, as it had been into the fens of Germany, where it caused a revolt. This was the more embarrassing to the Nabathean courts, as, before the arrival of the Romans, judicial controversies were unknown.

However, if the accounts of the invasions of India by Kings of Yemen (Schulten's 'Monumenta Historiæ Antiquiss. Arabum,' p. 49.) could be credited, it might be conjectured that these expeditions had opened a way for a trade by the inhabitants of Arabia Felix with the East Indies. But these accounts appear to be merely inventions of later writers, and as the fertile country of Yemen inclined the population to indolence, it is very improbable that expeditions so hazardous, as those to India, would be undertaken by them.

of the Indian commodities, which he recorded in the journal of his travels.

While this trade was in progress, Alexander overthrew the Persian empire, and, not to be outdone by his putative brothers, Bacchus and Hercules, pressed forward to India. Twice he attempted, by two different routes, to circumnavigate Arabia and unite Egypt with the Babylonian Empire, which he had already conquered.\* One fleet was fitted out from Egypt to sail to Susa; (Shooster;) but, having been wrecked when it got half way, the expedition failed. The second fleet sailed from Babylon, descried some islands at a distance from its course, made occasional descents on the continent, and returned.†

The Ptolemies at length succeeded in establishing a direct trade between the people of India and the Egyptians. The first Ptolemy, who, from being Governor of Egypt, made himself King, endeavoured to attract foreigners to his dominions, and founded institutions for the encouragement of trade; but dissensions arising between him and his jealous colleagues, want of time at last obliged him to abandon his plans for commercial intercourse with India. His successor, however, Ptolemy Philadelphus, established this trade; and, like Louis XIV., the founder of naval power among the French, enjoyed the pleasure of seeing it flourish in the highest degree. In the first place, he accomplished the great project in which tradition has employed Sesostrius and Darius, and, by means of a canal, joined the Nile, at Pelusium, with the Red Sea, whence his fleets were to have sailed for India.‡ But as the numerous rocks and sandbanks rendered the navigation of the Red Sea dangerous to wretched Egyptian ships, built of papyrus, he, in the second place, laid the foundation of a city on the frontier of Ethiopia, named after his mother, Berenice, in the expectation that he might from that point prosecute his commercial enterprises more successfully. Here, however, his caravans, which travelled from Coptus, had to encounter the difficulties of pathless and arid deserts, as his ships had before contended with the dangers of rocks and sandbanks. Thirdly, to facilitate the journey, he also established several caravanserais between Coptus and Berenice.§ Fourthly, and lastly, to obtain a better knowledge of the country, he sent two mathematicians, Megasthenes and Dionysius, to India; || who, on their return, drew such an alluring picture of the regions they had

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\* That injudicious compiler, Arrian, who has related more inconsistencies respecting India and Arabia than all the other writers of antiquity put together, gives accounts of these expeditions.—*Historia Indica*, p. 635.

† Ibid. p. 636.

‡ Strabo, b. xvii. p. 804.

§ Ibid. b. xvii. p. 815.

|| Strabo has made use of the reports of their mission in his 9d and 17th books. See also Pliny vi. 17.

visited, that every one longed to try his fortune in India as eagerly as our Germans, fifty years ago, sought theirs in America.\*

In a short time the newly established trade acquired a considerable degree of prosperity, and Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was the founder of it, saw, at a festival which was celebrated by a solemn procession, cinnamon, ebony, female slaves, 2400 Indian dogs, besides Hyrcanian dogs, and, including some Molossi, many parrots, and twenty-six oxen.† What wonder then, that Eratosthenes, who lived at the court of the third Ptolemy, should have obtained correct information respecting the voyage to India, and that Strabo should, on his authority, relate, what posterior voyages had corroborated, namely, that 'Taprobane was seven days' sail from the most southern part of the continent?‡ § The merchants sailed up the Nile from Alexandria to Coptus, and there loaded their camels with the goods which had been brought to that place. The caravans travelled by night, and were guided in their journey as the Assyrians formerly, the Laplanders now, and all ships before the invention of the compass, by the stars. It was at first found necessary to load some camels with water, but to avoid this inconvenience, and to have the opportunity of employing more camels in the transport of merchandize, cisterns for collecting rain water were afterwards built on the road between Coptus and Berenice.¶ Previously, the papyrus ships of the Egyptians sailed only as far as Ocelis in Arabia, which was then the entrepôt for all Egyptian, Arabian, and Indian merchandize; and another people, probably Arabs, visited the ports of India.‖ Now, however, a direct trade with India commenced.

The navigation of India remained for some time in this state, by sailing slowly from Egypt and Ocelis along the innumerable windings of the coast, until a maritime genius discovered a shorter course. The adventurous Hippalus had, in his voyages to India, paid particular attention to the situation of the commercial cities of that country, and to the phenomena of the Indian Ocean. Tired of the circuitous course hitherto followed, on taking his departure from the harbour of Ocelis, he sailed directly into the open sea, and landed successfully in India. To immortalize the memory of this heroic deed, the monsoon, with which he sailed, was named after him, and others followed, with emulative boldness, in the

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\* It was after the return of Megasthenes and Dionysius, that Greek romances, in the style of 'Fortunatus and his Wishing-Cap,' the subjects of which were drawn from India, began to be written. Those who wish to see passages extracted from these romances, may read Arrian's 'Historia Indica,' which is a fit companion for the Icelandic sagas.

+ 'Athenæus,' lib. v. p. 201.

‡ 'Strabo,' b. xv. p. 690, 691.

§ Ibid. b. xvii. p. 815.

‖ I draw this conclusion from a passage in 'Arrian's Periplus Maris Erythraei,' p. 14, 15, ed. Huds. Geogr. Min. t. i. which can be referred to no other period.

newly discovered route.\* This daring enterprize had two important consequences. First, the Egyptian merchants, who no longer participated with the Arabians in their tedious route, shortened the voyage to India. Secondly, the Egyptian Government speculated on the means of securing the monopoly more firmly to its subjects; and one of the later Ptolemies, probably with this view, founded a colony on the Island Dioscorides, where the language of the people, six centuries after Christ, still betrayed their origin.†

The state of the Græco-Egyptian empire must, at one time, have interrupted, if not destroyed, the trade with India. Antiochus Epiphanes, in the reign of Philometer, made an attack upon Egypt, conquered and pillaged the Delta, penetrated as far as Memphis, and even besieged Alexandria, the supply of which was consequently obstructed.‡ The successor of Philometer, a tyrant, so oppressed the inhabitants of Alexandria, that many, like the Huguenots of modern times, fled in despair to foreign countries. At length, feeling, probably in his finances, the mischievous consequences of his misgovernment, he not only solemnly recalled the refugees, but, by promises of great advantages, endeavoured to induce foreigners to settle in his dominions. The merchants who had emigrated now returned in crowds, and zealously united their labours to restore suspended trade. That it had, through the tyranny of Ptolemy Physcon, and the flight of the Alexandrian merchants, been entirely lost, might be concluded from an anecdote in Strabo, provided it could be regarded as historically true. The coast guard-ship, not a vessel that sailed to India, found an Indian nearly dead in a vessel which had been driven ashore in the Arabian Gulf. After he had recovered, and, by the command of the king, instructed in the Greek language, he related that he had been cast ashore at that place, along with his companions, who had all died of hunger.§ It is said that under the guidance of this unfortunate Indian, Eudoxus of Cyzicus, who was then in Egypt, sailed, by command of Physcon, to India, with presents to the Nabobs, and thus, as it would appear, renewed the intercourse which had been discontinued. Eudoxus loaded his ships with spicery and precious stones, which he intended to convey to his native country. But Physcon, conceiving he had a greater right to these treasures than Eudoxus, who had earned them by his dangerous voyage, seized upon the rich cargo.|| After the death

\* 'Arrian's *Periplus Maris Erythrae*,' p. 32. i

† 'Cosmas, *Indicopleustes in opinione de mundo*,' p. 178.

‡ 'Livy,' xlv. 11, 12.

§ The stamp of fiction is on the face of this story. Even Strabo thought it so improbable, that he formally rejected it, pp.—100, 101. An interruption of the trade may, however, have given origin to the fabrication.

|| 'Strabo,' as above.

of *Phyſcon*, his widow, *Cleopatra*, ſent a more conſiderable expedition to India, under the command of *Endoxus*, which did not return until Egypt was under the reign of her ſon.\*

The Egyptians ſeem to have proſecuted their trade with India uninterruptedly,† until after the unfortunate battle of *Actium*, when the celebrated *Cleopatra*, wiſhing to reſcue herſelf and her treaſures from the triumph of *Augustus*, propoſed to embark on the Arabian Gulf.‡

Under the reign of the laſt *Ptolemy*, Rome was a maritime power, and in that character ſoon arrived at a ſplendour which, in the expedition of *Pompey* againſt the pirates, aſtoniſhed the half of the then known world. Had her conſtitution ever permitted Rome to become a commercial ſtate, ſhe muſt neceſſarily have aſſumed that rank at this time; for when *Pompey*, with the uſual fortune of the Roman arms, proſecuted the war againſt *Mithridates* in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian Sea*, a new way to India was diſcovered through *Pontus* and the *Caspian*;§ but of which, it appears, no advantage was taken.||

*Augustus*, who ſoon after reduced Egypt under the rigorous yoke of Rome, deſpot-like, exhausted his treaſury by the lavish expenſure of enormous ſums to ſecure the favour of the ſoldiery and an indolent populace. To diſguiſe his arbitrary views, he ſhared the provinces with the Roman Senate, and, with apparent diſinter-eſtedneſs, gave up the richeſt. But the moſt remote, which were, however, protected by powerful Roman armies, and among them Egypt, the granary of Rome, and the central point of the whole *Asiatic* trade, were reſerved by the wily tyrant for himſelf. The canals of Egypt were cleaned, and their flood-gates repaired; and he made arrangements for the improvement of the trade with India. As the lawyers of Rome, who had no experience in maritime transactions, were not able to draw up a commercial code, *Augustus* borrowed the laws of the *Rhodians*.¶ He alſo employed *Dionysius* to explore the interior of *Asia*, of which the Romans had then no geographical knowledge.\*\* Finally, becauſe the harbour of *Berenice*, from which, ſince the time of *Ptolemy Phila-*

\* 'Strabo,' as above.

† Had this not been the caſe, it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed that *Agatharchides* would have written his book, '*De Mari Rubro*,' under the reign of *Ptolemy XI*.

‡ '*Plutarch in Vita Anton*,' p. 498.

§ *Pliny* '*Nat. Hiſt.*' lib. vi. c. 17. The diſcovery of this route was not difficult, as the inhabitants of this region carried on an inland trade in *Strabo's* time, and probably earlier. See '*Strabo*,' b. xi. p. 496.

|| At leaſt I have met with no paſſage which might juſtify the belief that Indian produce was ever brought by this route to Rome; and *Pliny* refers for his authority only to *Varro*.

¶ *Lex Rhodia de tactu*.

\*\* '*Pliny*,' lib. vi. 27.

delphus, expeditions had always sailed to India, was not secure, the neighbouring port of Myoshormos was made the rendezvous of the Indian fleets.\*

These politic arrangements enabled him to command the Roman empire through Egypt; and that the seat of his inordinate power might not be known, he, in the first place, prohibited all Roman senators and knights from visiting Egypt, except a few of his favourites, whom he had sent there as governors.† Secondly, doubtless for that same reason, he left the Indian, and probably every other trade, in the hands of the Alexandrians,‡ whose commercial enterprize was raised to far greater activity under the Romans than under their preceding masters. For even under the Ptolemies, the Egyptians were afraid of a tempestuous sea, and scarcely twenty ships sailed from Berenice in a year; but now 120 Roman ships sailed yearly from Myoshormos to India.§ The Egyptian merchants built a temple at Limyrica, which, as a mark of their gratitude, they dedicated to Augustus.||

At the same time, Augustus did not neglect his finances. Alexandria added more to his revenues in one month, than Judea did in the course of a whole year.¶ Duties were levied in the Nile on imports and exports, as well as on 240 trading vessels which navigated that river.\*\* At length he endeavoured to draw new treasures from Arabia, for fresh acts of corruption and crime. All the expeditions which he undertook to Arabia had, for their ultimate object, to pillage a country so famed for riches,†† and to turn back, by means of custom-houses established on the Arabian Gulf, the stream of wealth into the exhausted Roman empire.‡‡

Meanwhile, the city of Rome, the seat of the empire, continued as ignorant as ever of the commerce with India; for, according to the arrangements made by Augustus, the Alexandrians §§ sent their merchandize to Puteoli,||| whence the Romans distributed it over the then known world, as they now do their *Agnus Dei*,

\* \* Strabo, b. xvii. p. 813.

+ Tacitus, Annal. ii. 50.

† 'Strabo,' b. ii. p. 118.

§ Ibid.

|| In Peutinger's Tables, we find a temple dedicated to Augustus in Limyrica, between Tundis and Masiris.

¶ 'Josephus de Bello Jud.,' lib. ii. c. 16. § 4.

\*\* 'Strabo,' b. xvii. p. 798. Strabo informs us, on the authority of an oration of Cicero, that Ptolemy Euergetes annually levied *φορος τάλαντων μυριάς καὶ διαχίλιον τετρακόσιον*. "A tribute of 12,500 talents." That is, levied at a time when only twenty ships sailed to India. What treasures must not Augustus have drawn out of this rich province?

†† Even Strabo assigns this as a reason for the expedition of *Ælius Gallus*, b. xvi. p. 480.

‡‡ Under the Emperor Claudius, the revenue of the Red Sea was farmed, Pliny vi. 23.

§§ See Strabo, as referred to in note † above; and b. xvii. p. 798.

||| 'Philo. in Flaccum,' p. 968, ed. Pref.



rosaries, and other relics. Correct information respecting the course to be followed by ships bound to India, was not obtained until a short while before the time of Pliny;\* and it was probably supplied by the collectors of the customs on the Red Sea, who, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, were driven on the island Taprobane.† From Alexandria, the traders sailed up the Nile to Coptus; they then proceeded by land to Myoshormos,‡ from which they took their departure for India in the latter part of June.§ Several months were spent on this voyage; as, in consequence of the burning heat of the sun, little progress was made during the day. The ships always touched on their way, first, either at Ocelis, or at Comocoim in Arabia,|| and next at the Happy Islands,¶ and Dioscorides,\*\* whence, after refreshing, they made sail for their destination.

In the time of Trajan, there were three Indian ports open to the Egyptians; one at Barygaza, another at Calliana, and a third at Musiris. In the time of the Emperor Verus, the second, at Calliana, was closed against them; †† and if they were, by stress of weather, obliged to put into that place, they were compelled to sail again, without landing their merchandize, and to proceed to Barygaza under the convoy of Indian seamen, whom Sandanes, King of Calliana, sent with them. The politic Nabob of Barygaza, on the contrary, rendered the trade with the Alexandrians subservient to the increase of his finances, and sold them permission to carry on a free trade, for a large yearly tribute, in articles of clothing, silver vases, musical instruments, female slaves, wine, and the finest ointments.‡‡

Merchandize was brought by the inhabitants of the country to

\* Pliny, vi. 23. Ibid. c. 22.

† Ibid. c. 22. 'Anni Plocani quid maris rubri vectigal a fisco redemerat, libertus circa Arabiano navigans, aquilonibus raptus.' He boasted of the grandeur of Rome to the natives, and induced them to send ambassadors to that city. In like manner, Lewis XIV. received an embassy from China.

‡ Ibid. vi. 23. 'Sed quia major pars itineris conficitur noctu propter æstus et stativis dies absumuntur totum a Copto Berenicem iter duodecimo conficitur die.' It does not follow, from this passage, that in Pliny's time the traders proceeded on ship-board to Berenice; but that they made it an entrepôt for Egyptian merchandize, which was afterwards shipped at Myoshormos.

§ Ibid. 'Navigare incipient æstate media ante canis ortu aut ab exortu protinus.' But, according to the opinion of the ancients, the Dog-star rose about the 19th of June. This information is also given by Arrian, in *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, p. 32.

|| Ibid. 'Veniuntque circiter xxx. die, Ocellum Arabiæ aut Canæ thuriferæ regionis.'

¶ 'Agatharchides,' p. 66.

\*\* 'Arrian,' p. 17.

†† 'Arrianus, in *Periplus Maris Erythræi*,' p. 30. ed. Huds. Arrian, or the author of this *Periplus*, probably lived under the Emperor Verus.

‡‡ 'Arriani *Periplus Maris Erythræi*,' p. 28.

Barygaza, from the commercial cities with which there was no navigable communication,\* and also from the neighbouring districts. The articles thus conveyed were chiefly the following: varieties of onyx,† Indian sandon, molochites, and much common othonium; also nardus, cattyburinia, patropapige, cabalite, costus, bdellium, myrrh, lycium, silk, and long pepper. These were exchanged for Italian, Laodicean, and Arabian wines, brass, tin, lead, coral, chrysolite, plain and variegated dresses, belts, storax, mellilotos, glass, sanderaca, antimony, and ointments.‡ Here, also, as in the other commercial cities, the Egyptians exchanged Indian money, which circulated along with Greek drachmæ, introduced by Alexander's generals, for Roman denarii, with great advantage to themselves.§ Musiris was frequented on account of its excellent pepper and malabatrums.||

The Egyptian ships, loaded with the rich produce of India, commenced their voyage homeward in the month of December. On their way, they touched at several places on the coast of Arabia, where they exchanged part of their cargoes for Arabian incense, and other articles. Finally, the traders returned with their merchandize to Alexandria, after an absence of nearly one year.¶ From Alexandria, which was the staple of all the produce of Asia, these articles of merchandize were distributed over the whole of the then known world; and in this way enormous riches were acquired, for the demand for such commodities was very great. Rome annually lavished, upon Asiatic merchandize, at the lowest calculation, money to the amount of about 1,250,000 dollars; a sum which, at that time, when no American mines had depreciated the value of gold and silver, was immense, and the

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\* 'Arrianus,' l. c. p. 20.

† Pompey, who, on his return from the Mithridatic war, introduced among the Romans a new luxury in precious stones, brought the first Vasa Murrhina to Rome.—Pliny, xvii. 2. See Christ. de Murrinis veterum. Lips. 1783. What kind of price was put on these brittle utensils may be seen in Pliny, lib. c.

‡ With regard to many, indeed the greater number of the above articles, I am not sufficiently acquainted with their natural history to venture to give them their vulgar names, or those which belong to them in the Linnean nomenclature. Any one who may have time to collect and arrange all that is to be found in the ancients on such articles, would, in return for his laborious task, receive the thanks of every lover of natural history. For the satisfaction of those who may wish to prosecute this subject farther, I shall quote the passages from which I glean my information; and first, 'Arrianus in Periplo Maris Erythrei,' p. 28.

§ 'Arrianus,' p. 27.

|| See note ‡ above; and 'Arrianus Periplo,' p. 31, who mentions that many ships traded for pepper and malabatrums to certain emporia, of which Musiris was one.

¶ Pliny, vi. 28. Ex India navigant mense Ægyptio Tybi, nostro Decembri.

expenditure of which was chiefly occasioned by the luxury of the voluptuous Roman ladies.\*

The power of Rome split into two divisions; one in the East, the other in the West. The Western Empire was attacked by powerful barbarians, who probably put an end to all communication between the Egyptian merchants and the voluptuaries of the West. The Eastern Empire, which had long indulged in the consumption of Indian merchandize, continued at first to receive supplies through the hands of the Alexandrians; but it was not long before the merchants of Byzantium found the way to India themselves. They embarked at Aila, sailed round Arabia,† and not only imported Indian merchandize for their own use, but, by ingenious artifices, also secured to themselves the trade between India and Arabia.‡ The Arabians were, at that time, miserable navigators, and crept timidly along shore, like the ancient Gauls and Britons, in wretched ships composed of sticks covered with skins, or of boards clumsily joined together by ropes, unprotected by pitch or any sort of caulking, against the admission of the water,§ while the Alexandrians and the Byzantines, on the contrary, pushed out into the open sea on their voyage to India. The obvious advantages which the Arabs would have derived from a better system of navigation, could not fail to have forced upon them the employment of more durable materials, and to have taught them a better method of ship-building, had they not been totally destitute of the mineral which, for that purpose, is indispensable. This deficiency was not long a secret to the Byzantines, who prohibited the sale of iron to the Arabs under the penalty of death.||

The ships of Byzantium, which sailed from Aila, and refreshed at Bulice in Arabia, proceeded, for the most part, to the island Taprobaue, which was at that time a mart for every description of Indian merchandize. Thence the Byzantines sent ships to Male, Calliana, and other commercial cities of India, whereby they saved the people of different countries who came to Taprobaue the

\* Pliny has two calculations in his 'Natural History'; 1st, lib. vi. 23.—2dly, including the merchandize from Arabia, and the country of the Seres, lib. xii. 18.

† 'Procopius de Bello Persico,' p. 33. ed. Hoeschilli.

‡ On retrospection to the time when Hippalus first ventured into the open sea, no trace is to be found that the Arabs brought merchandize from India. (See note || p. 442.) After that period, the Egyptians supplied them with Indian commodities, of which fact there are numerous proofs in 'Arrian's Periplus Maris Rubri.' The Byzantines, when they began to trade with India, having on their way touched at Arabia Felix, prohibited their seamen from selling iron to the Arabs. Was not this done from fear that the Arabs might improve in the art of ship-building, and learn to sail to India themselves,—an enterprize to which the geographical situation of their country naturally invited them?

§ 'Procopius de bello Persico,' p. 32. ed. Hoeschilli.

|| Ibid.

trouble of making a more distant voyage, and obtained for themselves the profits of a carrying trade.\* Nevertheless; all direct communication of the Byzantine navigators with the principal commercial cities of India, did not on this account cease. But the Persians wrested from them the trade with the Seres.

The Persians, who were sworn enemies of the Byzantines, had founded a mart, before the middle of the third century, in Arabia, on the Persian Gulf.†

Shortly afterwards, the preachers of the Nestorian doctrine, whom the persecuting spirit of the ecclesiastical government of Byzantium exiled, fled to India. As insinuating as Jesuits, they soon became favourites of the Persian court, made proselytes, sent missions to India, and everywhere established convents and bishoprics, dependent on a real Pope of the East, who resided in Persia. In that age, therefore, the Persian merchants found in the places to which they traded, as for instance in Male and Taprobane, orthodox brethren and ecclesiastics of their own faith, who maintained polemical disputes with the Byzantine monks, and thus enjoyed more commercial advantages than the Byzantines.‡ Besides this, they, in the first place, carried on a trade in horses with Taprobane; § secondly, their vicinity to the country of the Seres, secured to them the trade in silk.|| In consequence of this last advantage, the Byzantines were obliged to procure their supplies of silk from the interior of the Persian empire; and this was probably the case before the year 420; for at that time Byzantium complained that her merchants were plundered in Persia.¶ This trade gave to Dubius, a Persian province, a remarkable degree of prosperity. Not only were the finest horses reared there, but the province, on account of its fertile soil, became an emporium for the Byzantines, Iberians, and other neighbouring nations, who brought merchandize thither to barter.\*\*

Of the annual profit which the Persians derived from this trade, we have no statistical account; but that it was considerable, is evident, because the merchandize exchanged by the Byzantines not being sufficient, they had every year to transmit the balance, which was considerable, in money to Persia.††

\* 'Cosmas Indicopleust,' p. 336—338.

† 'Philostorgii, Historia Ecclesiastica,' lib. iii. c. 4.

‡ 'Cosmas Indicopleust,' p. 336—338. § Ibid. p. 339. || Ibid. p. 198.

¶ 'Socrates, Histor. Eccles.' lib. vii. c. 18.

\*\* 'Procopius, de Bello Persico,' p. 80. ed. Hoeschili.

†† 'Suidas,' f. v.

The perpetual wars carried on between Persia and Byzantium must often have interrupted all commercial communication for several years at a time. The Byzantines regarded with jealousy the large sums which flowed into their enemies' treasury, and made repeated attempts to destroy the Persian monopoly.

With this view, Justinian urged the Homerites in Arabia Felix, to make war on the Cavades, and promised to purchase silk from them, if, with their assistance, he should wrest the silk trade from the Persians, and they become the medium of intercourse with the country of the Seres. The whole plan of the expedition was drawn up; but the scheme was not prosecuted, on account of some internal commotions among the Homerites, and because Belisarius, who, with an army to which the Arabian auxiliary troops were joined, protected the East from the invasions of Persia, was recalled to oppose the Vandals. Thus the Persians retained the undisturbed possession of the rich trade in silk.\*

Nevertheless, the Homerites undertook, in their miserable ships, the voyage to the country of the Seres. The artful Persians did not pretend to exclude their neighbours from trading to the same ports to which they repaired themselves; but they forestalled the silk market, in the same manner as, in modern times, the British forestalled the trade of India against the French, and thus disgusted the Homerites with an enterprise, in other respects, not very alluring.†

In this way Justinian found the commercial policy, by which he hoped to procure silk without the intervention of the Persians, completely frustrated; but two monks from India soon introduced into Greece the caterpillar which produces this exquisite article,‡ and founded the first silk manufactories in Byzantium, Athens, Thebes, and Corinth. It happened, on this as on other occasions, that fortune favoured the empire, by bestowing advantages which the efforts of Justinian were no longer capable of obtaining.

\* 'Procopius, de Bello Persico,' p. 34.

+ Ibid. l. c.

‡ 'Theophanes Byzantius ap. Photiu.' 'Procopius Vandalie,' lib. iv. c. 7, p. 613.

COMPARATIVE MORALITY OF THE LAWS OF COMMUNITIES,  
AND THOSE OF NATIONS.

IN every day's conversation we hear it decidedly stated that civilization has arrived at its highest point ; that human thought has exhausted every subject, and that, in the management of affairs in general, just and sound principles have been discovered, and form the basis of human action. To this, however, we must demur, and it will be our object, in the following paper, to show that this supposed meridian of light and knowledge, the result of our combined industry and thought, is, at present, but as the twilight in reference to the future destinies of the world, and that our *moral* civilization is as yet but in its infancy.

Perhaps it would be going too far to say that many of the truths hitherto admitted have partaken, more or less, of the nature of paradox ; but, astounding as it may appear at the first blush of the assertion, we are, nevertheless, persuaded of its truth. The sciences, the arts, the general industry of man, have undoubtedly made immense progress ; but civilization, considered as a moral science, has remained nearly stationary ; or, at best, is as yet extremely defective. We know that several of the European states can boast of splendid palaces—of statuary and paintings, finished to high perfection ; we know they can display vast treasures in industry and the arts : but we look to other objects as proofs of the civilization of nations. Luxury, and the pomp of genius itself, are often the adjuncts to, and decorators of, barbarism ; which, with all their influence, they have not as yet been able to destroy. We desire to understand the merits of public institutions ; we ask to be acquainted with the principles of government, and the species of education furnished to children. But it generally happens that for actions, we are presented with books ; for sentiments and belief, with doctrinal points ; and so on, throughout the catalogue of human *duties*.

One thing, however, is clear, that the duty of man in society commences as soon as he comes into the presence of another individual man ; and when a number of persons, even for the first time, assemble together, no matter whether on the borders of a river, or in some other spot more obscure. even then, we say, duties are imposed upon each of its members towards the others ; and each individual has, in his turn, contracted, either expressly or impliedly, engagements towards the sovereign society at large. As societies increase, as they settle in more distant quarters ; as their wants and wishes gradually enlarge ; as their rude commerce, with their other interests, multiply and strengthen,—

their original duties remain the same in principle, although they must necessarily appear to change in their relationship to external society. The moral obligation is superinduced upon the natural; and, as what is termed national civilization advances, so shall we find its best, if not its only secure basis, to be founded upon strict adherence to that ever-existing, though often unseen, and too frequently un-admitted moral obligation. The grand principle of this political machine called society is *justice*; its conservative power is *patriotism*; and the principle of its destruction is either *anarchy*, or *despotism*. Each individual in society should be just to his fellow-man as well as to society, even for the individual's own good; society should be just to each individual, as well as just to all other societies; and hence we arrive at the necessity of a *universal duty*. When the individual tyrannizes over the individual or communities,—and when society, in its turn, tyrannizes over either an individual or other societies,—we arrive at a state of *crime*: and when an individual sacrifices himself for the good of society, we call his conduct by the term *patriotism*.

Such are the unchangeable bases of the great code which has emanated from universal justice. These principles have their echo in the consciences of all men; and must we not ask ourselves, with astonishment, how it happens they should have been so long despised, and that nations, which even now boast of the highest degree of civilization, should have scarcely adopted any portion of them in their mutual and reciprocal interchange of duties? Every man admits that individuals should be just towards each other; the feeling that he should be so, strikes deeply into the heart; a rigorous justice is invoked, and often enforced, with respect to the individual's moral duty; but society (as applied to states or nations) has, on the contrary, been ruled by conventional policy; or, by what Pope has so happily termed a 'crooked justice.' That such a difference in principle should exist between the duties of individuals, and of societies, is not merely matter of regret, but is disgraceful to the spirit and intelligence of modern times. Were all knowledge and all power concentrated in any one or two bodies of society, the wonder would be comparatively lessened; because, in proportion as knowledge is limited, the many are unable to ascertain their rights, and principles may be invaded, while their injurious consequences would be remote and unfelt. The history of Rome, the histories of France and England, in short, the history of every nation pretending to civilization, can attest the truth of these observations. Nay, those histories would justify us in going much farther; for it would appear that nations, in relation to each other, have often remained in a barbarous or savage state, while the individuals composing those states had arrived at a degree of civilization, approaching, in some measure, to perfection. The individual duties have been acknowledged; their performance

enforced; or non-obedience to them punished; while the code of national duties has been light, vague, and general, not often acquiesced in, and rarely acceded to without the intervention of brute force. It has thus happened that injustice has governed masses of men, whilst individuals have often submitted (as between each other) to such an extreme rigour of justice as in some instances to amount to a blemish upon humanity. For example, the taking away of human life may be, and is considered, one of the greatest crimes; and yet, to punish lesser crimes, society itself becomes guilty of what may be termed *legal homicide*, or, in other words, takes upon itself to deprive an individual of life at its mere will, and upon its own personal authority. Society punishes robbing, when attended by force and violence, sometimes with death, and sometimes by punishment only less severe in degree; and how is this? Society usurps the right of property of another; and, while punishing other crimes, the award of punishment induces, as its immediate consequence, the confiscation of the property of the adjudged criminal. Thus society, we see, punishes the individual robber, while the same society does not abstain from conquest: for it wrests from less belligerent neighbours whole provinces at once, and dooms the subjugated people to tyranny and to slavery; while, strange to say, it affects to call such conduct by the terms of military renown, national glory, and other equally honourable epithets. Crime is only reputed crime in the eyes of the law, when it is committed by some one individual to the detriment or injury of another individual; but, if crime be committed by a hundred thousand against one, or by one against a hundred thousand, or by nation against nation, it is not only excused, but it assumes the name of heroism, of honour, and not unfrequently of virtue! Need we any use of argument, or any detail of facts, to justify these assertions? Need we refer to the pages of antiquity, or look beyond the hour at which we write in order to prove how nations have violated their duties, or how they have wantonly trampled upon the rights and privileges of others? And how is it that all this comes to pass,—that it is applauded,—or if not applauded, why is it not punished? Why is there no *censor morum* amongst nations, while each separate state takes such especial care that the individuals who compose it shall be punished with the utmost rigour of laws, enacted, too, by those very persons who are allowed to violate the same duties with impunity?

Let us, however, not be mistaken; our object is not that crime should go unpunished, nationally or individually, but that such foul injustice and such monstrous contradictions should no longer be permitted. Either let us abjure all morality, as far as regards our duties towards society, or at once admit that we are all equally bound to act upon one universal principle of morality. Let us state boldly, in the face of the world, that laws have generally been



made in the interest and favour of mere power, such as to this very day dominates in the bosom of European civilisation, and let us admit frankly, that this is the same power which still rules in the vexatious and contortious intrigues of cabinets, which held the Spanish provinces, bound hand and foot, to Spain (though now so happily emancipated,) which directs the Turk against the suffering Greek, the blinded and bloody Spaniard against the Portuguese Constitution, and, we blush to say it, which decrees the heartless and unconstitutional fiat of the Parliament of Great Britain against the miserable, injured, and suffering people of the sister kingdom—Ireland. If individual and national justice were the same, how could these anomalies exist? If the duty of man towards man could rationally, naturally, aye, and scripturally prevail, how could we find France lending succour in arms and money to Spain, to shake the freedom of Portugal? how could Great Britain constitute a new world in South America, to shake off the thralldom of the besotted and benighted Government of Spain; and yet, the Government of the said *Great Britain*, so far forgetting its moral obligations to society at large, as to hold Ireland in a condition little short of brute and savage nature? We, in England, boast of laws and institutions—we boast that our religion has been purged from the abuses of popery—we hold ourselves out to the world as the asylum of the oppressed, as the punishers of the oppressor;—and yet, in the West, our own subjects are treated as helots, in the East they are treated as slaves; and all our nominal care of the negroes of the West Indies extends to this mighty effort, that women are not to be subjected to the lash, and men with minds and feelings are to be considered fellow-beings, (although with black faces,) if they brave the burning of a tropical sun, if they toil and sweat for their owners' wealth, and if, in a word, they doff the image of their maker, and conform, in all the absolutism of tyranny, to the whims, caprices, or, as it may be, the colonial regulations of their *legal* and tyrannical masters?

Before the eighteenth century, no voice, or at least but few, were lifted up against this political monster, at whose shrine even publicists and philosophers had consecrated altars. BACON, that father of experimental philosophy—that mighty genius, with his eagle eye and spirit-stirring pen—BACON, that man of hitherto untold sagacity and *acumen*—BACON, even in his retreat from the giddy, tempting, and evanescent world, one of the brightest glories of our English nation,—could not free himself from the narrow contractions, the scholastic speculations, the professional prejudices with which his craft had tintured his colossal mind. Even BACON, although far removed from the idol of ministerial power, could not forsake his habitual worship. It is lamentable, indeed, to think—that which every-day's experience teaches thinking men to believe—that official personages never dream of curing abuses

while they profit or have profitted by them ; that even the greatest and most single-hearted man rarely think of reforming defects in their own branches of any given profession ; and that, which is the most lamentable reflection of all, the greatest men, in our own and other countries, never fail to make a compromise between acknowledged justice towards individuals, and that injustice which they maintain to be necessary to the palpable and disgusting designs of power and authority in state affairs.

There are not many of the writers, of what may be termed remote antiquity, who have blended, with their inquiries, the science of morality, as generally applicable to the purpose and business of ordinary life ; they had their systems, and lived and moved under impressions, such as Plato, and Homer, and Socrates, and Seneca felt, and taught, and loved ; but the virtues they taught were severe to practise, and their lives in few relations corresponded with their precepts. With them the span of human life was narrow, though the sphere of duty was large ; the business and the commerce of mankind was restricted ; society was neither so classified nor artificially refined as in after times, or at the period in which we live. But after all, we must still be surprised at the splendid efforts which they made to teach men a love of real heroism, of genuine constancy, and the sublimest notions of virtue. They taught their disciples that to be virtuous was to be happy ; that order must exist in every state ; that all could neither be learned, wise, nor the possessors of supreme authority ; they taught us human nature in the school, in the camp, and in the senate ; and they left it to modern times, not to teach us new principles, but the application of those already known, to that state of society in which a larger growth of wants, of pleasures, and other circumstances have arisen.

However, from their time, ages rolled on, and little improvement was made in the condition of man, speaking of him in his individual capacity, or congregated into what we now call society. The light of revelation soon after burst upon us, centuries seemed to have changed their course ; new nations gathered together ; passions overwhelmed the new-modelled world ; human institutions, for good or for bad, spread over the surface of the habitable globe ; a genius arose here and there, which dissolved the fitting fabrics of existing societies ; conquest flapped its bloody wings, and innocent broods were congregated under their sanguinary influence ; wars and broils soon followed on the evil hatching ; the spawn of blood was matured into tyranny, and under the mutations of this monster, nations of black and white have usurped the dominion of mankind to a period, which, we could wish, for the sake of humanity, was not so remote. We shall not now wade through the dreary desolation of mental waste, of idle cu-

riosity, of barbarous feud, and priest-craft bigotry. That task be theirs who have a taste for miserable chivalry, for religious mumery, sickly romance, and the buffoonery of mistaken sensibility. Still, whatever might have been the state of the world, the wants, the wishes, and the pleasures of mankind increased; the hordes of savages became civilized, by mixing, in communities, with the less savage; the darker ages rolled away; and, as individuals became more knitted together in their moral and other relations, and as societies or nations found their interests reciprocally dependent on each other, they adopted a new and different mode of proceeding. Ignorance led the way to fanaticism; in the progress of time, fanaticism gave way to a more rational zeal; this zeal became attempered by sounder thinking and more natural modes of acting; and, in the silent, but progressive events of those conjoint influences, the art of printing and the mariner's compass came upon us, like lightning from heaven, to open the treasures of nature and of man; while man, as if not utterly ungrateful, has at length begun tardily to answer to their awakening powers.

Speaking of the darker ages, and how we have casually receded from them; again comes our leading position, *In what degree do nations act towards nations, as all admit individuals in all nations are compelled to act towards individuals?* We shall not look to France—the next approaching to Great Britain, according to the mass of all her writers, except the man of men, the other great publicist—LOCKE. Locke read a lesson to our own Government—Locke opened out and fathomed the human mind—Locke admitted our duties, but asserted our rights—Locke inculcated general principles of good government, but he emancipated subjects from their slavery to princes and powers. In a word, he asserted and proved the dignity of mankind, if they would only do their duty. We are not combating the reasonings of Mr. Locke, as to innate ideas; we take no part with Leibnitz, with Euler, with Pascal, nor with the mighty Milton, on a subject, as yet disputed. Our position is clear, plain, and explicit; and we ask, how does it happen that individual towards individual shall be subjected to a rigorous justice—while nation as to nation shall be allowed to run the gauntlet, and be freed from the obligations of natural or universal morality? Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, and Lord Stowell, have delivered opinions, which, in their several periods of time, have been the standard of international law; but read them with a view to the international obligations of morality, and there they are found to be completely silent. And why is this? Let us answer, that nations and their rulers have very mistakenly imagined they have an interest adverse to the individuals whom they rule; that nations usurp the right of legis-

lation, and that when such a system prevails, we may well say, with the Roman poet,

*Quidquid delirant reges, placentur Achivi.*

When we arrive at a comparative degree of civilization, power and intrigue work hand in hand; individuals expect to derive from the powerful some advantages from the want of which other individuals must suffer. The machine of government is all this time said to work well; and those who lend themselves to the operating system, may have some chance of preferment, while the honest, the deserving, the plain-speaking, and the virtuous, are left

\_\_\_\_\_ "to choose

"Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

Looking to our own and other countries, how does the matter stand? or rather how has it stood from that period, from whence all may be allowed to date an actual period of moral civilization? None of the great geniuses whom we have mentioned have ever endeavoured to introduce, into the domain of moral ideas, the rectitude and precision of the exact sciences; they have never dared to acknowledge the perfect identity which exists between individual morality and that of a community of people,—between the morals of kings and governments reciprocally towards other kings and other governments. The reason of this again is plain:—the governing and the governed have no reciprocity of interest or feeling. The governing, generally speaking, can only govern in consequence of the weakness or pusillanimity of the governed. The governed, it is true, are in all cases the many; but the conflict of interests, the power of bribery, and the natural disposition of each individual to benefit his condition, (be the result to his fellow-individual what it may,) enables the one to dominate for an hour, and induces the other to submit during that hour, or some subsequent hour, to such domination, till, in the sequel, it has generally been found that while individuals exclaim against the abuse of national power, means are found to win them away to the ascendant faction, and the mass of the population are left to their dangerous and untitled fate.

No doubt, the eloquent and ingenious men of this and other countries, have set mankind upon the right road to discoveries upon this subject; and there can be as little doubt, that eloquent and ingenious men of other times are also to be found embattled upon the side of justice, and engaged as the apologists of the views of individuals against those of governments and nations. Lælius has eloquently and truly said—"*Truculentia es bellus, non homo, qui in bello nulla esse Jura censes.*" PLUTARCH, in his

parallel of the lives of Alexander and Cæsar, has also decidedly admitted, that "good faith is the only means by which mankind can be governed." And in his life of Pyrrhus we find many just, though indignant observations upon the same subject. Here then we find that ancient as well as modern authors justify us in our opinion; our leading proposition stares us at every corner, and over and over again we are compelled to ask,—Why is not individual and national morality reduced to some common standard of obedience? The advocates of kings—of power in other chief magistracies than those of kings—of oligarchies, aristocracies and republics—all are found inclining to their favourite power;—they quote authority, they cite precedent, they invent some one sophistical argument or another, to justify the ways of power against weakness. Else, how can we look to the dismemberment of Poland?—at the invasion of Sicily by Austria?—else how can we think with common forbearance upon a few monied men in England attempting to justify their usurpation of the whole East India territory? Have they improved the people? have they fertilized the soil? have they dislodged ancient prejudices? have they fostered genius? have they reduced chaos into order? or rather, have they not almost in every instance left confusion worse confounded?

Sovereigns educated in the scraglio, or in the palaces of despotism, may easily persuade themselves that they have "a divine right" over the people whom they govern; that Providence has made other men to be their slaves; and that they are entitled to take by force, or at their caprice, from the wealth amassed by their industrious subjects. Nor is this a doctrine of one or two thousand years ago; it exists in full force at the hour we write. The sovereigns of Europe, notwithstanding their high-flown promises, as well as the ministers of those sovereigns, still insist strongly upon the divine right of kings, to outrage all morality, to plunder at discretion, to violate public liberty, and to consider the royal promise as 'the baseless fabric of a vision,' a mere empty sound. But this doctrine, though repudiated in England, seems to be sternly maintained in many of the dependencies of England, especially in Ireland and the East Indies. Though the vast continent of India adds so much to the private fortunes of English individuals—although the soil of India might afford employment for so much English skill and capital, and such extraordinary profit—yet it is strange to contemplate how little has been done for that country—how fearful the government seem to be of treating that mighty limb of our empire with the feeling of a parent state. Jealousy and distrust preside over the distracted councils of India; and until the system by which she is and has been governed, be altogether altered, we may well charge England, as a nation, with enforcing one degree of moral duty between in-

dividual and individual, and acting upon another, as a nation, towards the individuals composing her great empire in the East and in the West, but in the former more especially.

Such conduct, we are aware, has at all times found its advocates. Grotius and Puffendorf, in claiming some rights for mankind, have been so delicate towards power, as to war against that justice and that universal morality, the principles of which they set out by adopting. Machiavel, despite of his power of sarcasm, in attempting to prove too much, has proved nothing. Our own historian, Gibbon, is never to be believed, when speaking of the sacerdotal order. No confidence can be placed in Hume's history of royalty. And even Bodin, so notorious in his support of the several republican doctrines, is usually unjust in his estimate of that which concerns the respective interests of nations.

But we shall conclude by repeating, what we have already said, that all *policy*, not founded upon *morality*, is a science of *falsehood and deception*. This eternal and unchangeable truth requires to be brought constantly before the eyes both of nations and of kings; for it can only be by both acting on the basis of *pure morality*, that Peace and Justice will ever acquire the sovereignty of the world.

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#### THE MARINER'S GRAVE.

On ye who rest in perfumed halls,  
 Think of the mariner at sea,  
 On whom the shadow of the great wave falls,  
 While the winds howl drearily.

Ye have lights gleaming in your bowers,  
 And the echo of music comes,  
 Sweet and soft as the night dew to flowers,  
 Through gilded and shining domes.

But he looks over the vessel's side,  
 As the winds roar fierce and loud,  
 He sees but the billows in their stormy pride—  
 He looks up at the black storm cloud.

He thinks upon his cottage home,  
 Of his children so loved and fair;  
 And feels that the hour may quickly come  
 When they shall be desolate there.

*The Mariner's Grave.*

They may look from the dizzy cliff in vain,  
When the blue sky smiles on the wave,  
Nor think that the sun, which brightens the main,  
Cannot pierce to their father's grave.

They may play in joy on the golden sand,  
When the storm has pass'd in its gloom,  
Nor deem, as the ripples roll sparkling to land,  
That they roll o'er their father's tomb.

The widow and orphan may hang o'er the spot  
Where the dead in the church-yard sleep,  
While the willow sad, and 'Forget me not,'  
Grace the spot where the mourners weep.

But lone and deep is the seaman laid  
Who sinks in the ocean surge ;  
The storm blast howls as his grave is made,  
And the sea birds sing his dirge.

When the martial chieftain goes to rest,  
The roll of the muffled drum,  
And the minute gun, and the flag depress'd,  
Tell the warrior's hour is come.

When the potent statesman sinks to earth,  
Banner, and plume, and pall,  
The pomp and pride of might and birth,  
Swell round his funeral.

But the elements come forth combined  
In their power when the seaman dies,  
The rattling thunder, and rushing wind,  
Meet at his obsequies.

He has banner and plume in the broken cloud  
That rolls o'er the dreary sky ;  
The lightning's torch lights his heaving shroud,  
And thus doth the mariner lie.

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

## EXCURSIONS ON THE BANKS OF THE NILE.

## No. III.

*Baths of the East—Isle of Rhoda—Nilometer—Old Cairo—St. George, the Slayer of the Dragon—Turkish Funeral—Baxars—Caravan for Medina.*

THE baths of the East, so celebrated for their antiquity and luxury, had often held out to me their strong temptations, though a dread of their effect upon my extremely relaxed habit of constitution had hitherto deterred me from entering them; but to-day, cramped in every joint, by the fatigue of my recent ascent to the summit of the great pyramid, and sore in every limb, from the exertions made to wind through the deep passages and mysterious chambers of its interior, a persuasion of their beneficial effects on a stiffened frame overcame all my apprehensions, and after dressing with difficulty, I entered one of the principal baths in Cairo, about nine o'clock. Under the care of one of the attendants, I was conducted from the outer room, in which the garments of visitors are left, through the narrow passages, all increasing gradually the temperature of heat, until we reached the room properly called the Bath. Here, stripping off the clothes which had been wrapped round me in the outer chamber to prevent taking cold, I was seated on a bench of marble, surrounding a fountain in the middle of the hall, and in an agreeable temperature of about 105°. The dome-built rooms, the sides and pavements of which are elegantly finished with rich mosaic; the ample marble reservoirs for immersion; the surrounding couches—every thing, indeed, wore the air of luxury; and to a people fond of inaction and repose, the bath must be a high enjoyment. During the first half hour, the Turkish attendant was employed in gently pressing the muscles of the body, bending the joints, and varying the position of the limbs, while a perspiration, as agreeable as profuse, issued from every pore, and gave me a gradual relief from all the stiffness and soreness with which I entered the bath. To an European, the ideas of perspiration, and suffering, or fatigue, are so intimately associated, that the sensation of pleasure, which now accompanied this relief, was altogether new to me; and I conceived that if it were possible to exhaust life by such a process, this mode of dying would be the most agreeable that could be conceived. With a small bag or glove, made of goat's hair, I was rubbed from head to foot, and saw with surprise the long and solid rolls which this powerful *frottement* brings from the skin, rendering it as smooth as satin. This operation was followed by a gentle friction with a fine soft mass of raw silk and highly perfumed soap, and this again removed by a pure tepid shower. I was then conducted to a white marble reservoir filled with water, the temperature of which



could be altered at the pleasure of the bather, and here reposed my limbs, which had acquired an incredible pliability, while the skin was soft and smooth as that of an infant. The room was now perfumed with wood of aloes, yielding a fragrance of the sweetest kind. The descriptions of the ancient baths in Homer had often delighted me; but, until actually visiting this, I had never correctly appreciated the pleasure it was capable of affording; and if it could thus yield enjoyment from the swarthy hands of a wrinkled old man, what must have been the feelings of Telemachus, when the glowing fingers of the lovely princess, the youngest and the most beautiful of the daughters of Pylos, wandered over his swelling veins, perfumed his yielding limbs, and trembled, perhaps, to execute the dangerous task? After the bath, I reposed upon a couch that had been prepared for me in one of the outer rooms, and enjoyed the sweetest sleep and most delightful dreams that I ever remember; each, no doubt, an immediate consequence of the refreshing purification which this most delightful of all Eastern luxuries affords. After dressing in the clean and loose Oriental garments which my servant had provided for me, I found coffee, sweetmeats, and perfumes prepared in another apartment; after partaking of which, I left the bath at four o'clock, and throughout the remainder of the day enjoyed a calmness and serenity of feeling, full of satisfaction and delight.

An English traveller, whom I had been long expecting by way of Alexandria, had just arrived from Syria, alone, having lost his companion by a fever at Tripoli. In paying him a visit, I had hoped to prevail on him to accompany me into Upper Egypt; but disappointed at not arriving early enough to see the Pyramids, he had already engaged a passage for Alexandria, to depart in a few days. I sent for Denon's work, and, turning over its pages, a slight inspection was sufficient to tempt him. He told me it was possible he might alter his determination, and I was cheered by the hope, at least, of his doing so. In order, however, to improve the short stay he proposed making here, we rode together to Masr Fostat, and crossed over in a boat to the isle of Rhoda, to inspect the Nilometer.

This column of white marble, surmounted with a Corinthian capital, and divided into cubits and fractional parts, is fixed in the centre of an artificial basin, the bottom of which is level with the bed of the river—the pillar itself being about a foot in diameter, and the basin from ten to twelve feet square. It is surrounded by the ruined wall of a once handsome mosque, in the centre of which it stands; and which being on the northern extremity of the isle of Rhoda, admits the waters of the Nile through a channel built for the purpose. This building, which was destroyed by the French in their last campaign, was afterwards used by them to erect ovens for their troops, and is now completely dilapidated. As not merely the prosperity, but the very existence of Egypt as a habitable

country, must always have depended on the inundation of its soil, an attention to the rise of the river must have been one of their earliest studies. Accordingly, we find that the Nilometer was originally fixed at Memphis, its most ancient capital; that being destroyed in the ninety-sixth year of the Hegira, it was removed to Rhoda, by order of the Caliph Soliman; and this being again broken down a hundred and forty years afterwards, it was re-erected by El Metauakkel, under the name of the New Mekias or Measure, which is the Nilometer that now exists. Around the walls of the basin are Arabic inscriptions recording these changes, cut in relief, and still very perfect. We learnt from the superintendant of the place, that on the rise of the Nile, this column is examined every morning by appointed persons, and its height proclaimed in the public streets; that when the water reaches to twenty cubits, the canal which supplies Cairo is opened with great pomp and ceremony; that it had hardly ever failed to attain this elevation, and that in the present year it had exceeded it by five cubits, forming one of the highest inundations within recollection or on record.

Leaving the southern point of the island, we walked along its eastern bank, which faces Gizeh, from which it is separated by the Nile. Reposing under the shade of the spreading trees, that border its western edge, we found a number of female parties, attended by their slaves, enjoying the delicious freshness of the river breeze, indulging the shadow of that freedom for the substance of which they pant so eagerly, and endeavouring to forget the imprisonment of the harem, by fluttering like captive birds at a distance from their cage. My companion was delighted with the charming contrast to the grey rocks and naked plains of Syria; and there was certainly a beauty in the landscape sufficient to charm the most fastidious taste. This island, a perfect garden of verdure and fertility, enjoys a fairy situation, and is thus chosen as a retreat of pleasure by persons of every age, sex, and condition. Its northern and southern views lose themselves in the windings of the Nile. Isolated by its stream from Fostat, on the one side, and Gizeh on the other, those divided channels present an ever-varying picture of moving scenery. Mount Mokattam and the holy spires of Cairo rise in the east, and the massy pyramids elevate their summits in the west; every point of view, indeed, presents some object of interest or beauty, and every step opens up some novelty of prospect.

Returning to Masr Fostat, we visited the aqueduct, and the ruins of the ancient Fortress, which, according to Strabo, was built by some Babylonians, who returned here with the consent of their sovereign; or, according to others, by some Persians after they had ravaged Egypt under Cambyzes. It was the garrison post of one of the three Roman legions which held possession of this country, but it is now unfit for military or any other purposes. We entered the Coptic convent, and visited the grotto in which it is pretended the

holy family concealed themselves, when flying into Egypt to avoid the persecution of Herod, in obedience to the angel of the Lord's command; and afterwards called at a Greek convent to refresh. Before we partook of any thing, however, the Superior wished us to see the relics, and passing through a large collection of toes and fingers, teeth and nails, blood and hair, of saints unknown in any calendar but their own, we came to the Sanctum Sanctorum—hallowed by the precious elbow of the famed St. George, the slayer of the dragon. The recollection of my boyish days returned; the 'History of the Seven Champions of Christendom' recovered all its lost interest; and we talked of St. George's prowess and renown, as though he were a hero of our own times. But the priest was most unpardonably ignorant on so important a matter. He knew nothing of his saintship beyond the act that canonized him, or of the scene of his exploits, except that it was in the Holy Land; and though one might pardon his uncertainty as to the identity of the relic itself, yet not to know whether it was the right elbow or the left, was an ignorance too gross to be forgiven! It was an instructive lesson, in the knowledge of human nature, to observe how strongly his jealousy was excited, when the servants told him we had visited the Coptic grotto of the holy family *before* we had come here. Both the virgin and her infant child, were, in his estimation, much inferior to St. George; and, from the invidious distinctions which he drew between them, it might be fairly inferred that if the Saviour himself should again return upon the earth, he would desert his train, to follow in that of this miraculous conqueror, St. George, whom he had, from infancy, been accustomed to regard as the idol of his adoration.

Depositing a few piastres '*pour l'amour de Dieu*,' as these priests both received and distributed their food without payment, we rode to Cairo, passed through its labyrinth of streets from west to east, and came out among the extensive cemeteries, that lie scattered in the plain behind the city in that quarter. Here another scene presented itself, in the interment of a 'Turkish infant. An Arab walked before, bearing on his head a coffin covered with an embroidered cloth, on which sat the image of a child richly dressed; wearing a female turban, and the flowing tresses of its hair descending over its shoulders, covered with gold sequins and spangles. About a dozen hired mourners followed the corpse, making a dismal lamentation, and piercing the air with their cries. No grave had been dug for it, in preparation, until finding a vacant spot, they halted, when a male of the party, who was provided with a spade, soon dug a hole of about a foot in depth. During this time, the mourners ceased their cries, and the females all drank water out of a brass cup. When the whole was ready, a priest knelt at the grave, assured the survivors that death was the gate of heaven, and after a short prayer, the cries of the mourners were resumed; the body was then taken from the coffin, and buried in an embroidered silk bag, in which it was completely enveloped; after which

procession returned in the same order, and we continued our ride, as at first intended, towards the tombs of the Caliphs and the Mameluke Beys.

These edifices, situated without the walls of the city, and nearly a mile to the eastward, though much injured by time, and neglect of repair, are still highly interesting monuments, and form a most beautiful architectural group. The light richness of the Arabian style prevails through all its varieties of form, and every variation presents new beauties. A skilfully designed Saracen palace might be made infinitely elegant; as there is certainly no order of architecture in which ornament can be so abundantly lavished without becoming heavy; although it would still stand apart from the divine chastity of the Grecian, or the grave and solemn majesty of the Egyptian temples.

We returned through the bustle of an Arab fair, held in the neighbourhood of the Caliphs' Tombs, where there appeared to be as much fun and frolic as ever reigned in Smithfield; and thus closed a day of varied and interesting pleasure.

Having been given to understand, from all those with whom I had conversed on the subject, that it would be dangerous, if not impracticable, to perform my intended voyage up the Nile in a European dress, I was assisted, by the merchant with whom I resided, in the selection of an Oriental one, for which purpose we passed the greater part of the day in the Bazars together, where I was agreeably detained by the objects of novelty and curiosity that presented themselves on every side. There is no part of the city, indeed, where the infinite variety of its inhabitants may be seen so well as here, and where the attention of a traveller to their manners and customs would be more amply repaid. It is impossible not to admire the fidelity of description which distinguishes the 'Thousand and One Nights.' The same characters are before one, and the same scenes and circumstances, even now, divested of the marvellous, daily occur.

After being occupied through the whole of the following morning (Oct. 17), in paying visits to the Frank families of Cairo, I passed the afternoon with Colonel Butain, a French officer of Engineers, who had visited Mount Sinai, and Upper Egypt, and penetrated to the Oasis of Secwa, from Alexandria, without, however, making any new discoveries relative to the site of the temple of Jupiter Ammon. He described to me his having arrived at a large lake, in the centre of which was a small island, with the appearance of ancient ruins on it; but this it was impossible to verify, as none of the Arabs encamped around it had ever been on the island itself, nor was there a boat or any other means of passing over to it. He spoke also of a petrified forest, of several miles in length, through which he was conducted on his return; but to this I was not induced to give implicit credit, though he made the most solemn protestations of its truth; and other persons of our party,

long resident at Cairo, professed to have heard the same thing from native travellers in Lybia.

Taking our fowling-pieces, for an hour's diversion, we formed a pigeon-shooting party, and rode early, on the morning of the 18th, to Shoobragh, the country residence of the Egyptian Pasha. As we were fortunate enough to obtain admission into the gardens, I found more pleasure beneath the shade of its arbours than in the sports of the field, and accordingly remained there alone, while my companions were in the adjoining grounds. The Pasha's dwelling being closed, I had no opportunity of seeing its interior; but the situation of the house, gardens, &c., on the edge of the Nile, renders it a most agreeable residence.

Returning from thence before noon, we were sufficiently early to see the grand caravan setting out for Medina, with the new covering for the Prophet's tomb, on which occasion all the splendour of Cairo was exhibited; as it was an event which had not been witnessed for the last fifteen years, in consequence of the holy cities being in possession of the Wahabee Arabs, over whom, however, very signal successes having recently been obtained, the Pasha of Egypt had undertaken to open the road in person. We followed this caravan from the city to the Tombs of the Caliphs, where it halted, for the purpose of forming in order; but all was so confused, that it was impossible to trace any thing like a plan in its arrangements. The consecrated camel which bore this holy burthen, and which is for ever afterward exempted from labour—being adorned, lodged, and fed, at the public expense—was the object of every one's attention, and some lives were lost by persons being trampled on in the eagerness of the crowd to approach and kiss its sacred covering, and commit the holy theft of bearing away one of its threads. It was calculated that there were thirty thousand pilgrims in the caravan, besides the military escort, musicians, standard bearers, camel drivers, &c.

On the 19th, accompanied by my friend, I rode early to *Masr el Ateek*, or Old Cairo, the scala, or harbour for boats bound to and arriving from Upper Egypt, in order to select one of these for my voyage up the Nile to Kench, from whence it was my intention to cross the Desert to Cossair, on the Red Sea. After much time and difficulty, we at length procured an excellent boat, with a crew of nine persons, including the reis, or commander, and his young son, at a charge of nine piastres, or little more than a Spanish dollar per day. After taking pipes and coffee together to confirm the bargain, in one of the coffee-houses near the river, where the captain stipulated for a large portion of the sum to be paid in advance, according to the almost universal mode of dealing here, we sailed in the same boat to Boolac, making the tour of the Isle of Rhoda, and passing near to Gizeh, on the western shore. My afternoon was passed in the Bazars, completing my preparations for the voyage on which I was about to enter.

FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS AND PERNICIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE  
LAWS OF QUARANTINE.

No. IV.—CONCLUSION.

In 1825, the question of pestilential contagion was again much and vehemently contested. On the side of the received doctrine, in the absence of fact and argument, assertion and assumption were, as usual, freely employed. Dr. Maclean was alike the object of the censure of the advocates, and the praise of the opponents of that doctrine. A pamphlet published at this period, attributed to the Rev. Dr. Walsh, Chaplain to the British Embassy at Constantinople, entitled, 'An account of the Levant Company, with some notices of the benefits conferred upon Society by its officers, in promoting the cause of humanity, literature, and the fine arts,' &c., in speaking of the plague, takes occasion to make the following observations:

'It has been, however, reserved for one of the most extraordinary men of the present day, through the agency of the Levant Company, to do almost as much for the cure of this disease (the plague,) as had been formerly done for that of the small pox. Under the auspices and at the expense of the Company, Dr. Maclean went to Constantinople in the year 1815, and personally examined all the phenomena of this distemper. In the midst of the abject terror that surrounded him, this intrepid man entered and took up his residence in the plague hospital, exposed himself to the disease, marked its symptoms, and watched its progress in the numerous cases that every day occurred; and after passing through the most appalling dangers and revolting scenes, he happily survived, and finally returned to his employers with such lights on the nature of this disease, as will probably form a new era in its history and mode of treatment: in the words of the ambassador, Sir Robert Liston, "the opportunities he has had of a narrow examination of the plague, both in the case of the patients and in his own person, have given him a knowledge of the disease which may prove of essential benefit," and convince Europe that its great auxiliaries, ignorance and terror, have been the principal causes that hitherto extended and continued its ravages.

'Dr. Maclean has published "Results of an Investigation respecting Epidemic and Pestilential diseases, including Researches in the Levant concerning the Plague," 2 vols. 8vo., 1818; and "Evils of Quarantine Laws, and Non-existence of Pestilential Contagion," 1 vol. 8vo., 1824. There is much important information contained in these books; but it is to be regretted that there is also much that is wholly irrelevant. But whatever opinions may be entertained of his compositions, there can be but one as to his conduct, and that is, that it deserves unqualified praise. His zeal, his intrepidity, his humanity, his activity, his perseverance, and his self-devotion to a pursuit from which every one else shrinks back with horror and dismay, are the qualities of no ordinary mind, and mark him as one of those men who seem destined by providence in different ages, as instruments to improve the condition of man-

kind by important discoveries and changes. And if Dr. Maclean did nothing more than lessen that debasing terror, which, while it degrades the mind, predisposes the body to take the disorder—if he only pointed out a new origin of the complaint and induced men of science to investigate it—if he merely set in his own person the example that medical men may approach the sick, so that they are no longer abandoned to ignorant empirics—if, in fine, *without neglecting any reasonable precaution*, which ought *never to be omitted* in an infectious disease, he has conveyed a feeling of security and a hope of success, he has already become a public benefactor.

In Numbers V. and VI. of the 'Westminster Review,' published also that year (1825), there appeared two very able articles, attributed to Dr. Southwood Smith, of Trinity Square, in which the arguments of the advocates of contagion are stated at great length, and triumphantly combated. The Reviewer pays a high compliment to Dr. Maclean, whom he denotes as 'one of those extraordinary men, who is capable of concentrating all the faculties of his mind, and of devoting the best years of his life to the accomplishment of one great and benevolent object;' repeatedly risking in this cause his life, and encountering for its sake all sorts of suspicion and abuse. We may observe, by the bye, that there must be a very strong disposition in man to truth, for on any principle of prudence no man would ever depart from received opinions. In politics he is branded as a revolutionist; in religion as a heretic; in business as a projector. 'If I held a hundred truths in my hand,' said Fontenelle, 'I would not let one of them escape.' Fortunately all men are not so prudent as the old philosopher; and in spite of example, every now and then there are men ready to sacrifice peace, happiness, and wealth, with the quixotic design of benefiting the world. All this, of course, is as it should be, because it is; for philosophical imprudence was not given to man without a reason, any more than worldly wisdom. 'But,' continues the Reviewer, 'the demonstrations of respect and gratitude, which he (Dr. Maclean) has received from private individuals and from public bodies, in all the countries which he has visited, have proved that the benevolence of his intentions have been recognised, and the value of his labours appreciated; and he may enjoy the further satisfaction of knowing that his opinions are making a steady progress, not only in his own profession, but among well-informed men in every station, and that at no distant period they will universally prevail.'

Early in 1825, a bill was brought into Parliament, founded on the report of the select Committee on foreign trade of the preceding year, with a view materially to alleviate the laws of quarantine. But such was the clamour against the proposed alterations raised by the Sanitarians in England, and re-echoed by those of the continent, that Government thought fit to recede from their original intentions, and to re-model the law in such a manner, as to render it inefficient or nugatory, and scarcely intelligible; leaving, how-

ever, the most arbitrary discretion to the Privy Council. The Italian states had, in their alarm, or affected alarm, for the consequences of the proposed diminution of quarantine in England, gone so far as to lengthen considerably the usual period of detention for British ships, as if the inhabitants of this country were actually empested; the merchants turned their backs upon investigation, and even blamed Dr. Maclean, whom they had before encouraged, as if he had been the cause of this new mischief; and the Government, instead of remonstrating with vigour and firmness, as would have become them, against the extravagant measures of the foreign quarantine stations, weakly acquiesced, against their better knowledge, in the pernicious views and prejudices of the most insignificant of the Italian states. Would this have happened, if the quarantine restrictions had not, upon grounds very different from those of their merits, been in favour with the Government of this, as well as with the governments of other countries? In the mean time, petitions from Dr. Maclean, on the subject of these laws, were presented to both Houses of Parliament; one to the House of Commons, in March 1825, by Mr. John Smith, Member for Midhurst, and one, in June of the same year, to the House of Lords, by Lord King. Of the latter, which differed in some respects from the former, and which has not been published, it not being the custom of the House of Lords to print petitions, the following is a copy:

*'To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.*

*'THE HUMBLE PETITION OF CHARLES MACLEAN, M. D.*

*'SHEWETH,*

*'That Quarantine Laws, purporting to be for the preservation of the public health, are founded on the belief that epidemic diseases depend upon a specific contagion.*

*'That their object is to prevent the introduction and spreading of epidemic maladies generally, but more especially of plague and yellow fever.*

*'That the means which they employ are bills of health; quarantine and lazarettos; and in general, every mode of separation, seclusion, and restriction.*

*'That this system originated in ignorant and credulous times; has been continued without proof; and rests at this moment upon no other foundation than the assumptions of the 10th and 17th centuries.*

*'That, with respect to yellow fever, the doctrine of contagion has, by the experienced part of the medical faculty, been for some time abandoned; and that even those who still persist in maintaining it, admit that precautions against this disease are unnecessary in England.*

*'That your Petitioner trusts he shall be able, even within the compass of a petition, to adduce to your Lordships sufficiently strong grounds for concluding that plague cannot be propagated by contact; that its cause is incapable of being imported; that that cause cannot, therefore, be a specific contagion; and consequently that quarantine laws are without foundation or object.*



‘ That in a plague hospital of Constantinople, in 1816, the result of a free intercourse, upon a large scale, between the sick and persons in health, was proof that the disease is incapable of being propagated by contact, arithmetically as nineteen to one; and that other unequivocal instances of a similar result are within the knowledge of your Petitioner.

‘ That during the 140 years in which the commerce with Turkey was carried on by the Levant Company, previous to the establishment of quarantine in this country, as well as during the 104 years in which quarantine has existed,—in all 244 years—no disease has been occasioned in consequence of importation, by ships, or goods, or persons, into England.

‘ That with respect to the last great epidemic of London, in 1665, which happened in the interval (159 years ago,) its phenomena have distinctly assigned to it a place amongst epidemics, excluding it of course from the number of contagious diseases; the laws of these two classes of maladies being not only dissimilar, but opposed.

‘ That, contagions not being limited to soil, it would have been quite impossible, did the supposed *virus* exist, that it should not have been in a constant course of importation, in the twenty thousand vessels, that must have arrived in British ports, during the first of the above periods, from countries liable to epidemic diseases; and in the thirty thousand vessels, that must have arrived, during the last of these periods, could communities survive such ordeals.

‘ That your Petitioner humbly submits, that the entire absence of sickness among the crews and passengers of fifty thousand vessels in 244 years, and among the expurgators of goods, in thirty thousand vessels, in 104 years, in England, is proof that pestilential contagion had not been shipped in any one of these vessels (for if it had been shipped it could not have invariably become extinct on the passage, nor could quarantine have prevented its affecting the persons on board); and that it had not been shipped in any one of the numerous cargoes which were imported during that long period of time, from countries, in some of which epidemic diseases were almost constantly prevailing, is proof that it does not any where exist.

‘ That your Lordships will readily perceive that a specific contagion could not continue to prevail for a long series of years, in any one country, without its being conveyed to every other with which that country had intercourse, whether by sea or land.

‘ That the non-importation of the cause of plague into England by sea, and into Persia by land, at those times in which it has been raging in Turkey, is, therefore, a most unequivocal proof that that cause is not a specific contagion.

‘ That, in principle, quarantine laws very much resemble our ancient laws against witchcraft, recently repealed, with this material difference in practice, that, whilst they are infinitely more destructive, they have not, however, fallen into disuse.

‘ That, as your Petitioner has proved at large, in works which are before the public, these laws are, in times of pestilence, a powerful additional cause of sickness and mortality; as well as, in other respects, highly injurious to many of the best interests of communities.

‘ That they impede science; produce immorality; obstruct travelling; restrict commerce, navigation and manufactures; occasion the failure of expeditions and the destruction of armaments; are injurious to the general consumer and the public revenue; and are capable of being, as they have sometimes been on the Continent of Europe, rendered eminently subservient to the purposes of despotism.

‘ That the question at issue is a question of fact, fit to be decided by appropriate evidence; not a question of physhc, fit to be decided by professional authority, opinion, or vote; that, of the validity of the doctrine of pestilential contagion, from its having so long existed as a mere matter of faith in the Medical Schools, physicians are necessarily less competent judges than other persons of liberal education: and that, in all cases, induction of experiment ought to supersede assumption.

‘ That, upon conviction consequent on direct personal examination, notwithstanding the previous inveteracy of prejudices in the Peninsula, the Spanish Cortes did, in 1822, reject, contrary to the unanimous advice of all the medical members of their own body, being nine in number, as well as to the known opinion of an immense majority of all the physicians of Spain, the third project of a code of sanitary laws, which had within a short period, been assiduously prepared by successive committees of public health.

‘ That, in a work published last year (1824), entitled “*Evils of Quarantine Laws, &c.*” your Petitioner presumes to have refuted all the objections against the doctrine of non-contagion, which have been adduced by the advocates of the sanitary laws, and more especially in reports of the college of physicians, and in the evidence of medical witnesses examined by committees of Parliament, in the course of the existing controversy: and that he now most respectfully solicits the justice from your Lordships, that his facts and arguments may be duly balanced against their assertions and assumptions.

‘ That, if it should become manifest, upon thus fairly weighing the evidence on both sides, that pestilential contagion does not exist; that quarantine laws are consequently without either foundation or object; that they are besides productive of infinite mischief; that they are eminently anti-commercial, anti-social, and anti-christian; and that, whilst the evils apprehended from their abolition are purely imaginary, those which would result from their continuance are real and serious; all the best interests of mankind would imperiously demand the earliest possible abolition of restrictions which are a source only of evil.

‘ That if, on the contrary, it should become manifest that pestilential contagion does exist, and that sanitary laws have both a foundation and an object; consistency, as well as public safety, would imperiously require, that, instead of being modified or abolished, quarantine restrictions should be augmented in duration, increased in rigour, and universally extended.

‘ That as to ignorance respecting epidemic diseases, perpetuated by the fundamental error of the belief in pestilential contagion, may, on a reasonable computation, be attributed the deaths of several millions of human beings annually throughout the world, and the misery of many millions more, the earnestness, perhaps the importunity, with which your Petitioner presumes to press his conclusions upon the attention of your Lordships, will, he is persuaded, be readily pardoned.

‘That your Petitioner, having thus respectfully offered to your Lordships an epitome of principles obviously of extraordinary importance and universal applicability, entertains the most perfect reliance that your Lordships, in your wisdom, will adopt efficient measures, in order speedily to arrive at a decision respecting their validity, which may form a correct ground for legislation, and prove permanently satisfactory to your Lordships’ minds.

‘And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.’

In the different stages of the new Quarantine Bill, the subject was repeatedly debated in Parliament, and strong opinions expressed against the doctrine of contagion. On the second reading of that bill, Mr. J. Smith is reported, in the ‘Morning Chronicle’ of the 31st of March, to have said, that, ‘since 1819, the opinions of medical men had undergone a considerable change on the subject. This was not the time for him to refer to the authority of Dr. Maclean; that gentleman, whom he was proud to call his friend, possessed more knowledge of the subject than any other man; and notwithstanding the prejudices and professional jealousies he had to encounter, he had made many converts to his opinions.’ On the same occasion, and in the same Journal, Mr. Hobhouse is represented to have said, that, ‘with respect to the opinions of professional men, there were many reasons why much confidence should not be placed in their conclusions. Such men were under such shackles from their very calling, that they were rarely found the friends of improvement. But he would say of that individual, whose name had been so deservedly eulogised that evening, he meant Dr. Maclean, that he was one of those extraordinary persons, destined as well from vigour of intellect as unremitting exertion and industry, to create a great change in the world, and to whom, in future ages, the finger of the historian will point as one of the greatest benefactors to his species.’ Mr. Wallace, one of the parents of the new bill, candidly admitted, ‘that many of those who had heretofore entertained strong opinions as to the communication of the plague by contagion, now both felt and expressed strong doubts.’ In commenting upon this discussion, the editor of the ‘Morning Chronicle’ says: ‘High and deserved compliments were paid by almost all the speakers to Dr. Maclean, who sufficiently proved both his zeal in the cause of truth and the sincerity of his belief, by voluntarily exposing himself to contact with the plague at Constantinople.’ Mr. Huskisson is stated to have declared, in a subsequent debate, that, ‘even if he were convinced, as strongly as Dr. Maclean, that it was impossible to introduce the plague here, he should still think, that, under existing circumstances, proper precautions ought to be observed.’ This seems to be very little short of an acknowledgment of conviction. On the 17th of June, on presenting Dr. Maclean’s petition to the House of Lords, it was well and pointedly observed by Lord King, that, ‘if it were proved that the plague was contagious, then we did not take

half precautions enough; if it were proved not to be contagious, then no precautions and no quarantine were necessary; if the question were yet doubtful, it was a very fit matter for inquiry.' These discussions having terminated in the usual manner, *i. e.* without any immediate useful results, the quarantine stations of Europe clung only the faster to their profitable delusions, and commerce and the public have continued to suffer as before.

In 1826, Dr. Maclean determined to make an attempt, in order, if possible, to avoid the necessity of resuming the discussion in a controversial shape, to induce the President of the College of Physicians, by conciliation, to exert his influence to procure an unbiassed investigation of the subject. The following correspondence, which he has considered it a duty to lay before the world, will show the extraordinary hostility which has prevailed against all fair examination of the doctrines at issue, and the no less extraordinary subterfuges which have been resorted to, in order to avoid doing justice to science and to mankind. The facts being before them, the public will judge for themselves of the nature and motives of this hostility.

*Dr. Maclean to Sir Henry Hallford.*

SIR,

5, Beaufort Buildings, June 10, 1826.

Persuaded that you must be of opinion that all points of medical science are fit to be decided only by their intrinsic merits, and knowing that, upon you personally, whether in your individual capacity, or in your official capacity, as President of the College of Physicians, much depends towards causing those merits to be subjected to a proper scrutiny; that it is, therefore, in your power to accelerate or retard, to a certain degree, the progress of knowledge in your department; and feeling assured, from what I hear of your character, that you are desirous of promoting science, and the good of mankind, I address you with a frankness corresponding with such sentiments.

You are, of course, acquainted with the nature of the controversy, which has long subsisted respecting the existence of pestilential contagion, and the operation of quarantine laws, and in which it has been my lot to have taken a principal share. Prepared as I am, if necessary, to continue to prosecute this controversy before the tribunals of the public and the legislature, I am, however, I do assure you, much more desirous of proposing a mode by which it may be made to cease, in a manner that shall be creditable to all parties; as, by such means, the benefits of a correct decision would be the sooner obtained for the public, much professional scandal avoided, and our country made to take the lead, as it is entitled to do, of other nations, in the career of improvement in this important branch of medical science.

My proposition, then, is, that, abandoning all retrospective views and controversial discussions, a course of experiments should be instituted, as it were, *de novo*, in order to ascertain inductively the most efficient treatment, as well as to investigate the causes and means of prevention of plague and other epidemic maladies; and to report to yourself, as President of the College, the results obtained.

Such a course of experiments, I beg to say, that I am willing and desirous, either alone, or with colleagues, to undertake; and, I presume to think, that I may be deemed to have given proof of possessing some qualifications for the task. The power of causing a measure of this description to be adopted, I am humbly of opinion, rests entirely with you; for it is not to be doubted, that if a plan of investigation, obviously fraught with such immense benefits to the world, were recommended to his Majesty by the weight of your authority, he would be graciously pleased to direct, and would feel a particular gratification in doing so, the appointments to be made, which are necessary to carry it into effect.

When you have duly reflected on the nature of these propositions, I shall be happy to be favoured, either personally, or by letter, with your sentiments upon this very important subject, not doubting that they will be such as will be calculated to confer lasting benefits upon mankind, and to reflect lasting honour upon yourself. I remain, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

CHARLES MACLEAN, M.D.

*Dr. Maclean to Sir Henry Hallford.*

SIR,

5, Beaufort Buildings, June 20, 1826.

In illustration of the observations which I had the honour of addressing to you on the 13th instant, I beg permission to state somewhat more fully why it appears to me that the institution of further experimental inquiry concerning the nature, and cure, and cause, and prevention of plague and other epidemic diseases, is equally indispensable, whatever supposition may be deemed to be the true one respecting pestilential contagion. In regard to this matter, there are three suppositions, some one of which must necessarily be admitted by every person to be correct: its existence is proved; it is disproved; or the question is undecided. On the first supposition, the operation of quarantine, and the method of treatment, would still remain to be investigated; on the second, although quarantine, as being without an object, would necessarily be discontinued, the nature and cure, and the cause and prevention, of plague and other epidemic maladies, would, nevertheless, demand additional elucidation; and in the third, all the points at issue would require to undergo further scrutiny.

Without wishing to urge a hasty decision concerning the proposition which I have had the honour of addressing to you, I may be allowed to observe, that it would be a matter of personal convenience to me to be favoured with an early intimation of the general bias of your mind upon the subject. I have the honour to be, &c.

*Sir Henry Hallford. Bart., to Dr. Maclean.*

SIR,

Curzon-street, June 28, 1826.

I must own to you candidly that I thought the question, on which you do me the honour to address me, set at rest; and that I have determined not to move it, unless I receive instructions from the Government to bring it again before the College of Physicians.

I could not presume to open the subject to the King, in order to procure his Majesty's interposition, but through the Secretary of State for the Home Department. His Majesty is very generous and condescending to me on all

occasions ; but I dare not take advantage of the access which he is pleased to give me to his presence, to introduce business which concerns the public.

I beg you to believe me, Sir, very much yours and faithfully,

HENRY HALFORD.

*Dr. Maclean to Sir Henry Halford.*

SIR,

5, Beaufort Buildings, June 29, 1826.

However obvious it is that a scientific question cannot be set at rest by mere authority, it was no part of my purpose to induce you, at present, to move afresh the question of pestilential contagion. On the contrary, the principle of my address was explicitly to propose a measure, by which I was of opinion the interests of the public, and of medical science, would be materially served, your personal honour, and that of the body over which you preside, consulted, my own just views promoted, and a controversy productive of much animosity and professional scandal amicably terminated. All these objects, I am persuaded, it is in your power readily to accomplish, by procuring, through the Minister for the Home Department, the appointment of a commission for conducting an experimental inquiry into the nature and cure, and cause and prevention of plague and other epidemic maladies, which should be entirely with a prospective view, and without reference to preceding discussions, respecting pestilential contagion and quarantine. If your decision should be in the affirmative, I offer my services upon the principles stated in my former letters ; if in the negative, the public and the legislature will judge to whom the blame ought to attach of my being compelled to resume what I shall henceforth, in that case, call the *Sanitarian* controversy ; and more especially, if it should be made ultimately to appear that the nation has, for a series of years, been wantonly subjected to an annual expenditure and losses, amounting to several hundred thousand pounds, as well as to other enormous evils, in consequence of an opposition that shall prove to have been wholly frivolous and vexatious. Not doubting that you will decide according to sound discretion, and the paramount interests of the public, in this case, and that I shall be favoured with an early answer, I have the honour, &c.

*Dr. Maclean to Sir H. H.*

SIR,

16th July, 1826.

I am sorry that events place me under the necessity of urging an early answer to my propositions recently made to you concerning the investigation of epidemic diseases. Information acquired since I last addressed you, respecting new and expensive projects, which are in contemplation, and are well calculated to perpetuate the existing delusions on this subject, makes it an imperative duty, on my part, if there should be much further delay, or if the answer should be in the negative, to recommence, through all the channels, which I may find open to free discussion, in all the quarters of the globe, the controversy, which I was otherwise willing to abandon, in a manner that should be creditable to all parties. You are doubtless, Sir, aware, that, besides the immense expenditure which must be occasioned by carrying these projects into execution, of building walls to *shut out larks*, and the ridicule which must accompany it, your determination, at this period, is the more important, and the more fraught with responsibility, on account of the prospect afforded by the melancholy state of the country, the destitution of the people, the absence of their accustomed labour, their depression of mind, &c.,

of an epidemic fever in the autumn, which could not fail to be greatly aggravated by the adoption of any of those measures usually founded on the existing delusions. The frankness with which I have addressed you, will, I am persuaded, meet with a corresponding candour on your part; and if you should not yet have been able to form any regular decision, you will perhaps have no objection, in the mean time, to acquaint me with what may be your intentions.—I have the honour, &c.

*Sir Henry Hallford. Bart., to Dr. Maclean.*

SIR,

Wiston Hall, Leicester, July 18, 1826.

I thought it proper to lay all your letters addressed to me before the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and as I know nothing of building walls to shut out larks, nor have heard of any schemes in agitation by the Government, I must refer you to Mr. Peel for the information you want.

I have been brought down here sooner than it was my intention to come by a private misfortune, but I shall return to London on Saturday.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY HALLFORD.

*Dr. Maclean to Sir H. Hallford.*

SIR,

24th July, 1826.

I am happy that you have thought it proper to lay my letters before the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and I trust that I shall shortly be favoured with a decision concerning my propositions. In regard to the terms, 'high walls to shut out larks,' I beg to explain that I quoted them as they were familiarly applied to the preposterous walls, thirty feet high, of the lazaretto of Mahon, in Minorca, and those built in imitation of them at Malta, after the plague of 1613. The contemplated measures in England to which I alluded, are land lazarettos at Liverpool, &c. In reference to this subject, I think it sufficient at present, without indulging in a single comment, barely to state the following propositions: 1. A specific contagion, it is evident, cannot continue to prevail for a long series of years, in any one country, without being frequently conveyed to every other with which that country has intercourse, whether by sea or land. 2. The non-importation of the cause of plague into England by sea, and into Persia by land, under the circumstances of their constant intercourse with Turkey, is incontrovertible proof that that cause is not a specific contagion. 3. From the earliest intercourse between England and Turkey to the present time, being 246 years, 140 without, and 106 with quarantine, no plague has been occasioned in consequence of importation by any of the 50,000 vessels which must have arrived during that period. It has never happened; for a fact so remarkable, if it had ever occurred, would have been universally recorded. 4. The fact that the cause of plague has never been brought to this country by sea is sufficient proof that it has never been shipped; for if it had been shipped, it could not have invariably become extinct in the passage, nor could quarantine have prevented the expurgators of goods in the lazarettos from being affected. 5. Under these circumstances, quarantine and lazarettos would be palpably without an object in England, even if contagion did undoubtedly exist in the plague of the Levant. 6. But that such an agent has never been shipped to England, during an intercourse of 246 years, from a country in some parts

of which the plague almost always prevails, is assuredly proof sufficient that it does not exist there as the cause of that disease.

Under all these circumstances, I confess myself utterly unable to comprehend upon what grounds, under any possible supposition in respect to contagion, quarantine can be deemed to have any object, and much less to be necessary, in England.

Surely, therefore, it would be better now to expend a certain moderate sum in taking proper measures to ascertain the real state of the questions at issue, than to embark in an expense of, perhaps, fifty times as much in building land lazarettos, which, even before they are finished, may be pronounced to be without an object? The prevalence of epidemic fever in Dublin and other places, and the too great probability of its becoming even general throughout the United Kingdom, give to this subject a great additional importance at the present moment. Requesting the earliest intimation respecting the sentiments of Mr. Peel, I have the honour, &c.

Dr. Maclean to Sir Henry Hallford.

SIR,

5, Beaufort Buildings, August 14, 1826.

I take the liberty of requesting to be informed, whether, in laying my letters before the Secretary of State for the Home Department, you have recommended the adoption of my propositions, or any other plan of inquiry into the nature and cure, and cause and prevention of plague and other epidemic diseases. From the great public importance of the subject, as well as the responsibility which it involves, I think it necessary to be very candid, as well as very explicit with you, on this occasion.

After taking a full view of the numerous articles which were written on this subject, during the last year, I beg to state that I am now prepared to show, even more distinctly, if possible, than I have already done, that sanitary laws are not only *one* of the opprobria medicorum, but in pre-eminence of mischief, *the* very opprobrium of *the age*; that they are no less barbarous and absurd than the ancient laws against witchcraft, and much more destructive in effect, although, perhaps, less terrific in form, than those of the renowned tribunal of the Inquisition, which, since 1823, even all the fanaticism of Spain has not been able to restore. It is demonstrable, that more human beings have been systematically sacrificed by the sanitary or quarantine laws in one season, in London, Marseilles, Moscow, Messina, Cadiz, Barcelona, and Naples, than have fallen victims throughout the world to the united operation of the laws against witchcraft, and the dreaded tribunal of the Inquisition, during the whole period of their existence. Nay, it may even be doubted whether they have not, in equal periods, destroyed more lives than all the other scourges of mankind put together, war and insurrections included. In 1822, the non-professional members of the Spanish Cortes, judging of my representations with their proper senses, did not hesitate to reject, by a considerable majority, this abominable code, even in direct opposition to the *unanimous* opinion of the physicians of their own body, being *nine* in number! Yet, in 1826, there are to be found, among otherwise enlightened members of the medical profession in England, men who continue to uphold, even at the sacrifice of millions to the state, this very atrocious institution, the offspring at once of the most consummate tyranny and the vilest selfish-



ness. You will readily excuse the force of this language, Sir, because you must be assured that I cannot mean it personally. The occasion calls for the most unvarnished statements. If pestilential contagion existed in every bush, sanitary laws would still be inhuman and unjustifiable. But if there be not a single fact upon record to justify a belief in the existence of such an agent, and if the possibility of its existence has been clearly disproved, as I maintain is the case, how much more criminal still will be the gratuitous support of a system, which, besides being expensive and otherwise pernicious, is thus proved to be without a rational object. It will be a curious, although not a difficult problem to solve, whence it happens that, whilst in America, France, and Spain, illustrious physicians have been anxious to proclaim their recantation of doctrines shown to be discreditable, there should still be in England so infatuated an obstinacy of belief.

I beseech you, Sir, as you value the dignity of science, the respectability of the profession, the welfare of society, and your own permanent reputation, that, if your leisure should not enable you personally to give sufficient time and attention to the examination of this most important subject, you would not receive without distrust the mere assertions of the partisans of this astonishing faith. In opposition to facts and principles as incontrovertible as the demonstrations of Euclid,—as clear as noon-day, you will assuredly not think it justifiable to consider the effusions, the mere assumptions, unmixed with a solitary fact to the purpose, of the various supporters of the Sanitary Laws, from the official and authoritative *dogmata* of a late Governor of Malta, to the anonymous fables of a writer in No. 65. of the ‘Quarterly Review,’ worthy to weigh as a feather in the scale. The gross absurdities and palpable delusions of the Sanitarians generally, who have taken part in this controversy, I am now occupied, in case I should be placed under the necessity of further exposing them, in fully displaying. In all their effusions, a *knowledge of the practice of quarantine* is, I shall show, uniformly confounded with *experience of the plague*. They have, in fact, not a particle of such experience. How indeed can persons, with the prejudices of nearly three centuries (according to themselves, of several thousand years,) obscuring their senses, discern the merits of any facts or principles, which contradict their indelible faith? It is utterly impossible that a thorough believer in pestilential contagion, whilst he remains such, should comprehend the real causes of pestilence. They are incompatible conditions of the intellect. A mind, saturated with false, cannot be accessible to true knowledge; or a blind man distinguish colours.

With proof superabundant of the monstrosity of the quarantine laws, as well as of the absolute criminality of all attempts to stifle inquiry respecting them, whilst they are a source, in the present calamitous condition of the country, of constant and immense expenditure and losses, I am now fully prepared; and the time is happily arrived, at which it has ceased to be in the power of mere authority to prevent the diffusion of any truth, under the shallow pretence that the question is exclusively professional, and only to be judged of by professional men. Such doctrines are fit only for the doctors of the Sorbonne, and the sixteenth century. But, having stated these circumstances, I now, in the perfect spirit of conciliation, repeat the offer, which I have already virtually made in the course of this correspondence, of abstaining from pressing my particular claims and opinions (and in this I

think I am making some sacrifice of honest fame,) upon the implied condition of being enabled, by your concurrence and that of the minister of the Home Department, to obtain for the public the benefits of an early and efficient inquiry into questions so deeply affecting their welfare. Upon him and upon you it will entirely depend, whether this important inquiry shall in future be conducted with or without controversy. I shall wait your answer for a week. I have the honour, &c.

*Dr. Maclean to Sir Henry Halford.*

SIR,

September 9, 1826.

I had the honour of addressing you on the 14th ult., 'requesting to be informed, whether, in laying my letters before the Secretary of State for the Home Department, you have recommended the adoption of my propositions, or any other plan of inquiry into the nature and cure, and cause and prevention of plague and other epidemic diseases.' The object of that measure must, as I conceive, have been either to promote, or to impede inquiry, or to transfer the responsibility to the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and as silence can only admit of an unfavourable interpretation, unless I receive a satisfactory explanation on these points, in the course of the ensuing week, I deem it but candid to state, that I shall not only think myself at liberty, but consider it my duty, to publish our correspondence, with such commentaries as the importance of the subject demands in such a case! The public will be the judges between us. I have the honour, &c.

*Sir Henry Halford, Bart. to Dr. Maclean.*

SIR,

September 14, 1826.

In your letter to me of the 9th, you repeat your desire to know whether, when I communicated your first, of the 10th June, to the Secretary of State, I made any observations in encouragement, or in discouragement of your proposal to open the question of quarantine again, with few documents.

I have to reply, that I left your paper, with a copy of my note in answer to you, with Mr. Hobhouse, Under Secretary of State, without entering into the question at all. But, as I stated in my note, that I considered the question as set at rest, and that I was not disposed to re-open it, unless Government desired me, as President of the College of Physicians, so to do, perhaps this might be considered as a discouragement; for Mr. Hobhouse, when he returned me the papers some time afterwards, remarked that nothing could be more correct than my answer to you, (alluding, I suppose, to my declining to make use of my access to his Majesty's person on account of his health, to introduce public business to his notice,) and that consistently with the answer I had sent you, I could not be the medium of communication with the Home Department, nor could I encourage any direct application by you to Mr. Peel. Mr. Hobhouse added, however, that if *you* should make it, Mr. Peel would be ready to give it such attention as it might appear to him to deserve.

I shall be sorry, Sir, if, by failing to communicate to you sooner the substance of Mr. Hobhouse's remarks, I have prevented you from taking such further measures as you might have thought proper. My apology is, that my time is fully occupied, and that I have too often to reproach myself for neglecting business which does not immediately belong to my attendance on the sick.

It is obvious, after this explanation, that you had better direct your future observations, not to me, but to the Secretary of State.—I am, Sir, much your obedient servant,

HENRY HALFORD.

Although Dr. Maclean had determined, in order to be able to place the good faith of all the parties in its true point of view before the public, to go through the ceremony of addressing the Home Department, he could not but perceive, from the tenor of Sir Henry Halford's letters, the little prospect that existed of obtaining a fair inquiry; and he accordingly, in the month of August, (the state of the kingdom as to fever, and the state of the press, affording the opportunity of being attended to,) resumed the controversy in the newspapers. He successively published thirteen letters in the '*Globe*,' in confirmation of his own doctrines, and in refutation of some of the most vaunted of the numerous articles, in favour of contagion and quarantine, which had appeared in journals, reviews, pamphlets, and books, during the two preceding sessions. In the eleventh and twelfth of these letters, ('*Globe*,' 27th December 1826, and 12th January 1827,) he placed the subject in an entire new point of view, showing, from the bills of mortality in several pestilences in England, and from other proofs in other countries, that, in point of fact, and without any reference to what may be the cause of these diseases, quarantine is not only inefficient for its professed object, but positively and highly destructive of human life. These two letters comprehended the contents of a representation which he had transmitted to Mr. Peel, Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the 2d of October 1826; assured, as the subject related exclusively to health and life, that, if there existed any intention of a *bona fide* inquiry, the course adopted would have been to refer this paper to the College of Physicians, requiring them to make a detailed report to the Secretary of State respecting its allegations. Dr. Maclean delivered this representation in person at the Secretary of State's office, and was informed by the office-keeper that Mr. Peel was out of town, but that it would be forwarded to him that evening; yet he next morning received a letter of the very same date from Mr. Dawson, the Under Secretary, in the following words:—'*I am directed by Mr. Secretary Peel to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated this day, submitting for his consideration some observations on the propriety of abolishing the quarantine or sanitary laws; and I am to acquaint you, that he has referred the same to the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade, for their Lordships' consideration.*' What share Mr. Peel might have had in the merit of this unusually prompt decision, what influence the representations of Sir Henry Halford might have had in the adoption of the course pursued, or how far Mr. Dawson might have been provided with discretionary powers for the occasion, the reader will judge for himself from the context

of the whole correspondence here presented to him. One thing, however, is certain, that the merits of the paper in question could not have been very profoundly considered at the Home Office; and it is to be hoped, that, under the new æra which is just opening, matters of such public importance will be treated with somewhat more gravity, deliberation, and justice.

After a delay of three months, and repeated applications to the Board of Trade, and to the Home Office, Dr. Maclean did, at length, on the 3d of January 1827, receive the following notification from Mr. Under Secretary Hobhouse: 'I am directed by Mr. Secretary Peel to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, and to acquaint you, that he has been informed by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, to whom your observations on the necessity of abolishing the quarantine laws, and prayer to be appointed to investigate the nature, cause, and cure of the plague, &c., were referred, that their Lordships' having in view all that has passed with reference to this subject during the last few years, are of opinion that there is no sufficient ground to warrant a compliance with your proposal.' Shortly after the receipt of this intimation, Dr. Maclean, in a letter dated the 22d of January 1827, accompanying a new version of his representation, thus remonstrates with the Secretary of State for the Home Department: 'With due deference, I must be allowed to observe, that I am unable to comprehend how the consideration of the effects of the operation of the quarantine laws upon human life can come properly within the cognisance of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade. There is nothing in my recent communication to you which at all directly concerns commerce: and although to that part of their Lordships' *opinion* which regards myself, I may bow in silence, against that which concerns the public I am bound most solemnly to protest. I have now, therefore, to request, that in justice to the great public interests at issue, the representation herewith transmitted be referred to the Royal College of Physicians, as the body responsible for such general measures as affect the lives and health of his Majesty's subjects; and that, in the event of their thinking fit to deny the authenticity of my facts, or the validity of my conclusions, they be directed to state in detail the grounds of their judgment..... Any other than a detailed report, in such a case, would, as I have repeatedly experienced, be perfectly nugatory as to all the purposes of efficient inquiry; and I cannot suppose it to be the wish of any branch of his Majesty's Government, that the truth in this important matter should not be fully investigated, and speedily applied.' The following reply, dated the 27th of January 1827, was received from Mr. Hobhouse: 'I am directed by Mr. Secretary Peel to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22d instant, and to acquaint you, that the proper department of the Government for superintending the execution, and considering the effect of the

quarantine laws, is that to which your former letter was referred; and to which Mr. Peel must request you to address any further communications which you may have to make on the same subject. Mr. Peel does not intend to refer the paper which accompanied your letter of the 22d instant to the Royal College of Physicians.' Was ever determination of public functionaries more palpable and unanimous, to evade examination and inquiry—the subject, too, regarding a demonstrated imposture, and destructive delusion, the consequences of which have been shown to entail upon the nation a pecuniary detriment of millions sterling annually? This extraordinary evasion has, notwithstanding the almost incessant solicitations of Dr. Maclean, been practised for a period exceeding eleven years, to the indelible disgrace both of humanity and of science. And these mischiefs are now further to be continued, because, forsooth, the President of the College of Physicians chooses to consider the question as 'set at rest' *by authority*—the Secretary of State for the Home Department thinking it right that facts which regard the *health and lives* of the people should be referred, not to the College of Physicians, but to the *Board of Trade*—and the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade to be of opinion, that there is 'no sufficient ground to warrant a compliance' with Dr. Maclean's proposal, or the adoption of any efficient measure of inquiry of their own. Really this is a little too much in the way of a blind deference to authority at the present day; especially when we consider the irresistible nature of the new facts set forth upon this occasion. The folly is even said to be contemplated, directly in the face of this explicit evidence, to incur a further vast expenditure in the construction of land lazarettos. Surely this is a fit subject for the interference of Parliament, whose business it is to compel public functionaries to do their duty, when unwilling, by entering into a *bona fide* inquiry on subjects of important national concern. But, whatever may be done by Parliament, the inquiry shall be prosecuted before the tribunal of the public, until these disgraceful institutions shall have been abolished. The question may in the mean time reasonably be asked, whether, if it had been felt that the College of Physicians could in decency have denied the authenticity of the facts stated, or the validity of the conclusions unfavourable to quarantine deduced from them, the reference proposed would not have been cheerfully consented to? The transactions of eleven years warrant an unhesitating answer in the affirmative. How disgraceful the inference!

The following are some of the leading facts stated in Dr. Maclean's representation to Mr. Peel, showing that quarantine restrictions are destructive of human life, and requesting that they might be referred to the College of Physicians for a *detailed* report; a request with which that Secretary of State thought fit positively to refuse a compliance.

Dr. Maclean had repeatedly demonstrated, by every variety of

proof, positive, negative, analogical, circumstantial, and *ad absurdum*, that pestilential contagion does not exist; and that quarantine ought, therefore, to be abolished, as being without an object. He has here taken a new ground, and shown that these restrictions ought to be abolished, as being, in point of fact, destructive of human life. Each probation is alone conclusive. What must be their force when united!

The destructive effects of the operation of the quarantine laws are clearly traceable, in all the epidemics in which they have been employed, and of which any correct history has been given, as those of London, Marseilles, Moscow, Messina, Naples, Noya, Cadiz, Barcelona, Tortosa, Palma, Malta, Gibraltar, &c. But it will be sufficient for our purpose here to adduce some of the most striking and important instances. The history of the plagues of London, in 1592, 1603, 1625, 1636, and 1665, and the bills of mortality of those periods, present the following facts:

1. Generally the first considerable increase of sickness took place early in July, and the first considerable decrease late in September, the usual epidemic season in such latitudes.—2. In the plague of 1592, quarantine laws not being in use, (they were not introduced into England until 1603,) the mortality during the period mentioned was steadily about fifteen hundred a-week, a few under or over.—3. In the subsequent epidemics, the quarantine restrictions being applied, the fluctuations during the same period were considerable; sickness and mortality regularly and rapidly increasing during their operation, and as regularly and rapidly decreasing during their suspension. The effects of this operation were particularly striking in the plague of 1665. There were three remarkable periods of the disease. The first from November 1664 to June 1665, during which time, there being no quarantine restrictions in force, the malady made but a slow and fluctuating progress. The second from the beginning of July to the 19th of September, during which time the sanitary laws being enforced with as great rigour as they ever admit of, the disease continued regularly to spread, with a rapid, decided, and appalling progress. The third, from the 19th of September to the end of the epidemic, late in November, during which time quarantine restrictions having been abandoned, the decrease of the mortality was at least as great, rapid, and decisive, as its preceding increase during their operation. It was precisely when sickness and mortality were at the highest, and when a disease that was really contagious would have spread with increased rapidity, that the shutting up of houses, and other sanitary regulations, were abandoned as fruitless, nothing being looked for but universal desolation. Yet the weekly decrease of mortality was according to the following proportions: 19th of September, the highest, 8297; 26th, 6460; 3d of October, 5720; 10th, 5068; 17th, 3225; 24th, 1812; 31st, 1000; 7th of November, 1400, being an increase of 400, attributed to an

unusual influx of persons from the country ; 14th, 905 ; the subsequent bills continuing to decrease, with some trifling fluctuations, until the mortality approached the standard of ordinary seasons.

In Marseilles, in 1720, sickness kept regularly increasing from early in July to late in September, the sanitary laws being in strict operation. During the last month of that period, the average deaths exceeded a thousand a day. It was when mortality was at this height, that all precautions were abandoned in despair, religious processions resorted to, and the pestilence immediately began to abate.

In Moscow, in 1771, the usual sanitary precautions being established, the deaths continued regularly to increase from 200 daily towards the end of July, to 400 by the middle of August, to 600 towards the end of the same month, to 700 at the beginning of September, a few days afterwards to 800, and successively to 1000. On the evening of the 5th of September, the people rose, broke open the hospitals, put an end to the quarantine, and restored the religious ceremonies used for the sick. They hunted down the physicians, broke their furniture, and sacked their houses. The quarantine laws were not reimposed, and the sickness immediately began to abate. It greatly declined in October, and almost wholly ceased in November.

Thus, in the great epidemics of London, Moscow, and Marseilles, sickness and mortality continued to increase rapidly during the operation of the quarantine laws ; and upon the suspension of their operation, they as rapidly decreased, until their final cessation. The inference is inevitable. But if these restrictions had been continued, on the occasions mentioned, to the end of the epidemics respectively, it would still have been ridiculous to attribute to them any share in checking a sickness in *October* or *November*, which they had obviously contributed greatly to increase in *July*, *August*, and *September*. Similar facts have distinguished the other epidemics mentioned, and the same reasoning will equally apply to them. It would, therefore, be superfluous to enter into further detail.

If, in point of fact, the operation of the sanitary laws is found, by experience, greatly to aggravate pestilences in their course, would it not be a gross absurdity to suppose that it could prevent their commencement ? Accordingly, the case is notoriously otherwise. The fever of Gibraltar, in 1813, for instance, commenced at the usual period of the epidemic season, although the place had been for *several months* previously in strict quarantine, on account of the plague of Malta. The fever of Tortosa, in 1821, commenced *several weeks* after the town had been put under the most rigid restrictions, on account of the alarm occasioned by the breaking out of the fever of Barcelona ; and, principally owing to those very restrictions, destroyed almost the whole of the inhabitants. Of the survivors, who took refuge in the opposite villages,

on the right bank of the Ebro, no person in health sickened, and very few of the sick died ; nor did any one of the inhabitants of the villages, although in unrestrained communication with the sick refugees, take the fever, excepting such as had visited the town of Tortosa.

These are facts, the force of which the innumerable vague hypotheses which have sprung up, in the course of centuries, respecting pestilential contagion and sanitary laws, cannot for a moment withstand. They vanish before them like chaff before the wind.

# THE FATES OF PALMYRA.

## PART I.

THE past—the past—the hoary past—  
 It rises in its youth again !  
 O'er Syria's desert, void and vast,  
 I see the Lord of Israel reign !  
 From the green\* land of palms, around  
 The roofs of ancient† Tadmor rise ;  
 And Syria's breezes waft the sound  
 Of Zion's holy melodies !  
 Behold the bearded Hebrew bend  
 T'ward the far land Jehovah gave,  
 While strains from Israel's harps ascend,  
 First heard by Siloa's distant wave !  
 See the pale maids of Judah dancing  
 In many a lone and palmy bower,  
 Their glorious eyes, with dark fire glancing,  
 Beneath their own rich sunset's hour !  
 It fades—it fades—the dream is o'er ;  
 I see grey Tadmor's roofs no more.  
 Again—again ! in other years,  
 On Tadmor's site behold arise  
 The young Palmyra ; bright she rears  
 Her marble crown in eastern skies !  
 Long had she slept in dim repose,  
 Scorn'd or forgot by empires round ;  
 When, like a new-born star, she rose,  
 Brightening the waste's remotest bound :—  
 Commerce had breath'd its quick'ning breath  
 O'er those lone sands on Syria's plain ;  
 She rose from darkness and from death ;  
 Alas, magnificent in vain !

\* Josephus asserts that both *Tadmor* and *Palmyra* have the same signification, viz. *the place of palms*.

† Since writing the above, the author has become not a little sceptical respecting the local identity of the scriptural Tadmor and Palmyra. Solomon, we are told, 'built Tadmor in the wilderness;' but, if that place occupied the site of Palmyra, it is difficult to conceive how he could have built or governed it, when Damascus, during all his reign, was in the possession of a hostile king. Under such circumstances, what intercourse could take place between Jerusalem and Palmyra?



*The Fates of Palmyra.*

Soon the far sons of ev'ry land  
 Mix in her marts, a varied throng !  
 As wave on wave o'ersweeps the strand,  
 They crowd her splendid streets along :  
 To breathe, for gold, her distant air,  
 Indian and Greek forsook their home ;  
 And Mithra's votary greeted there  
 The servant of the gods of Rome.  
 Now, through the buzzing mart, drags on  
 To cumbrous length, some burthen'd wain ;  
 Now, from his chafing bark, anon,  
 An Arab marks the stranger train :  
 The beautiful and haughty steed  
 Curves his fine neck, and champs the wind,  
 And shows, even thus, with what free speed  
 He flung the wilderness behind.  
 Next winds the lengthen'd caravan,  
 Laden with ev'ry precious store,  
 By Nature given, or wrought by man,  
 On many a far and favour'd shore.  
 Rich Indian spices there are mix'd  
 With treasures of the eastern bee ;  
 And costly vases breathe betwixt  
 Guns from the incense-bleeding tree :  
 Sweet dates from many a grove of palm ;  
 Grapes sunn'd on many a distant vine,  
 Are blent with amber and with balm,  
 With unwrought gold, and perfumed wine :  
 There too, the wonders of the loom,  
 That weaves the purple wealth of Tyre,  
 Are piled o'er caskets which inhume  
 Rare gems, like drops of crystall'd fire.  
 Moving in long and docile line,  
 Like their own kindred sands in hue,  
 The camels, tow'rd's their welcome shrine,  
 File the voluptuous suburbs through.  
 Fair was the scene that met around  
 The weary traveller's brightening eye ;  
 Dear to his fainting heart the sound  
 Of living waters warbling nigh :  
 Oh, ne'er can music breathe so sweet,  
 No, not the music of the sphere,  
 As those cool tones, when first they greet  
 The desert pilgrim's fevered ear !—  
 Nor heard alone those \* fountains well,—  
 Oft, gleaming through festooning shades,  
 Clear as they left their rocky cell,  
 They gushed, or fell in bright cascades,

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\* The fountains of Palmyra have, in all ages, been celebrated for their beauty and salubrity.

Through fadeless bowers, in whose rich gloom  
The queenly rose of Syria rear'd  
Her incens'd crown, and every bloom  
That gems the flowery East appear'd.  
*There*, o'er their beds the waters flash'd,  
Flinging the soul of freshness round—  
*Here*, into sculptured cisterns dash'd,  
Reviving, by their shine and sound,  
The camels, as around they stood,  
Draining the fresh and sparkling wave.  
Their grey forms imaged in the flood,  
Which deep their sultry nostrils lave ;—  
While near, beneath some lofty palm,  
Whose green shade trembles on the tide,  
The same sweet sounds their drivers calm  
To slumber at the fountain-side.  
Day wanes, and in the sunset's glow  
The radiant hills of Syria rise ;  
And goldenly the plains below  
Catch the deep glory of the skies ;  
Magnificent the parting sun  
Illumes the pile, the fane, the tower,  
Or rests in loving light upon  
The green crest of the glowing bower,  
High on whose still and summer boughs  
The Orient's burning nightingale  
Hymns to his crimson love his vows,  
And bids her odours sighs exhale,  
With soften'd sounds the waters fall ;—  
On the calm sunny air the cries  
Of toil and trade have died, and all  
Is hush'd into a quiet voice,  
A still, wide hum—that breathes of peace,  
And well befits the gentle hour,  
When for a while life's labours cease,  
And evening brings her golden dower.  
Calm, happy hour !—and when more bright  
Did thy soft presence gleam below,  
Than when, all glorified with light,  
Palmyra's piles gave back thy glow ?  
They fade—the last rich gleams of day  
Fade in the red dusk of the clime ;—  
And soon the stately streets are gay  
With lights, and music's festal chime :  
The bowl is twined with flagrant flowers,  
The banquet spread in many a hall,  
And joyous fleet the rose-crown'd hours  
O'er many a brilliant festival.  
Yet some there were who stole from these  
To scenes less bright, but far more dear,  
Their hearts of loneliness to ease  
In solitude of sweet shades near,

*The Fates of Palmyra.*

Woody by the hour which lovers love,  
 When beauty looks most beautiful,  
 And when the soft light from above  
 Has power all dreams but *one* to lull ;—  
 All, save that *one*, the dearest far  
 Of all man dreams beneath the sky,  
 Bright'ning his life, as some sweet star  
 Lights up the cold wave murmuring by ;  
 Palmyra *then* had shades as fair,  
 As ever heard the whispered tale,  
 Where no sound broke the star-lit air,  
 Save music of the nightingale.

All silent now !—The starry wings  
 Of Midnight wrap the lonely plain ;  
 The murmurs of the sleepless springs  
 Alone disturb her solemn reign.  
 Oh, full of gorgeous gloom that hour,  
 Where'er it falls, the wide world round '  
 It gives to every scene a power  
 To stir the soul with thoughts profound ;  
 With thoughts that, like sidereal strains,  
 Are all unheard the bright day long,  
 But when Night breaks their fountain-chains,  
 Gush forth at once in mystic song !  
 Yet ne'er on scene more grand, more fair,  
 Look'd Midnight from her purple throne,  
 Than that, which slept beneath her there,—  
 The glorious City mute and lone !  
 The everlasting stars shone down—  
 The burning stars of that pure sky—  
 Touching the dim and shadowy town  
 With hues that met no mortal eye.  
 In strange and awful light arose  
 The sculptured arch, the column'd fane ;  
 And in one glimmering haze repose  
 Palmyra and her green domain.  
 Yet seem'd a light more sad than this,  
 To be by Syria's midnight shed  
 Upon the wide Necropolis—  
 The silent City of the Dead !  
 It gleam'd upon the place of tombs :  
 It tinged each pale white sepulchre,  
 And glimmer'd on the cypress glooms  
 That rose in funeral verdure there—  
 Over the dust of those of old,  
 Who lived, who loved, and pass'd away,  
 Leaving their story to be told  
 By stones that long survive all clay :—  
 There yet the proud tombs stand or scorn  
 Of the forgotten desert-born !—

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL VIEW OF THE LAW OF LIBEL  
IN ENGLAND AND IN INDIA.

No. XII.

*Practical View of the Law of Libel in England.*

In 1803, (February 21st,) while the negotiations between England and France were rapidly tending to a war, which broke out in less than three months, Jean Peltier, editor of the 'Ambigu' newspaper, was tried for a libel on Napoleon Bonaparte. This was a direct concession to the demands of Bonaparte, for ministers had received Lord Whitnorth's despatch, reporting the conversation which he had with Bonaparte on the February, in which the shelter and encouragement given in England to his enemies and libellers, was a principal topic of passionate complaint. Yet so inadequate was this concession, so perfectly fruitless and gratuitous, so overpowering were the other causes of quarrel, or rather so uncontrollable was Bonaparte's rage for conquest, that in fifteen days after the trial, a message was brought to Parliament on the subject of military preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, which was regarded as the immediate prelude to a new war; and another message, on the 16th of May, announced the recall of the English and the departure of the French ambassador. In Mr. Peltier's introduction to the original report of his trial, he says: 'Such was the nature of my affair, that, throughout the week which preceded the trial, it was a general opinion at the Exchange that my acquittal would be considered in France as tantamount to a declaration of war against the First Consul; and that wagers had been laid, as I was informed, that a verdict of *Not Guilty* would lower the funds five per cent. Indeed, I have since known that stock-jobbers had, at Westminster Hall, persons to run with all possible rapidity to the Stock Exchange, with the news of the verdict, if it should be pronounced before the House was shut. It was under these unpropitious omens that I sat in the Court of King's Bench, and my anxiety was naturally increased when the first object which I saw there, were the aid-de-camp, and the secretary of the ambassador of the First Consul, placed, in some sort, *en faction*, beneath the box of the jurymen.'

The passages chiefly relied on were two, which, assuming the lawfulness of tyrannicide, held up Bonaparte as meriting the fate of Romulus or Cæsar. Thus:

Pour moi, loin qu'à son sort je porte quelqu' envie  
Qu' il nomme, j'y consens, son digne successeur;  
Sur le pavois porté qu' on l' élise empereur.  
Enfin, et Romulus nous rappelle la chose,  
Je fais vœu . . . dès demain qu' il ait l' apothéose!

And :—

De la France, ô houte eternelle !  
 Cesar, au bord du Rubicond,  
 A contre lui dans sa querelle  
 Le senat, Pompée, et Caton.  
 Et dans les plaines de Pharsale,  
 Si la fortune est inegale,  
 S'il te faut ceder aux destins,  
 Rome, dans ce revers funeste  
 Pour te venger, au moins, il reste  
 Un poignard aux derniers Romains.

These are, no doubt, instances of what is called 'incitement to assassination,' though no case of assassination ever occurred in which any assignable influence could be ascribed to *such* means of incitement. The feelings of theorists in such cases, even if susceptible of just appreciation, differ both in kind and intensity from those which particular circumstances, gradually conducting or suddenly impelling to deeds of blood, generate in the actors.

The Attorney-General (Mr. Perceval) warned the counsel for the defendant, (Mr., now Sir, James Mackintosh, afterwards Recorder at Bombay,) that if he should make the proceedings of a Court of Justice the vehicle of that mischief they were intended to repress, he would press it to the consideration of the Court as a ground for aggravating the punishment of the defendant. But of any such mischief Mr. Mackintosh's speech was as guiltless as the Attorney-General, or Bonaparte himself, could desire. Many of the graces of eloquence it possessed in the highest degree; but, in attaining the main objects of an orator, conviction and persuasion, it would be difficult to imagine a speech more unsuccessful, or less deserving of success. It was cheerfully and warmly applauded by the Attorney-General and by Lord Ellenborough, to whom it left little to answer, and much to apply in their own favour. It conceded the principles of the law of libel in all their severity and comprehensiveness, and spent its force in inapplicable, and sometimes unfounded, speculation. In the outset he said: 'Perhaps I need scarce say that my defence shall be fearless, *in a place where fear never entered any heart but that of a criminal.*' Yet he soon after found it necessary to make the following large acknowledgement: 'In all other cases, the most severe execution of law can only spread terror among the guilty, *but in political libels it inspires even the innocent with fear.* This striking peculiarity arises from the same circumstances which make it impossible to define the limits of libel and innocent discussion—which make it impossible for a man of the purest and most honourable mind, to be always perfectly certain, whether he be within the territory of fair argument and honest narrative, or whether he may not have unwittingly overstepped the faint and varying line which bounds them.' But, if it is 'impossible for a man of the purest and most honour-

able mind' to distinguish between that degree of vehemence in discussion which a Court of Justice may tolerate as innocent, and that which it will punish as criminal, what superhuman sagacity is to guide the judge and jury to an unerring decision? Can any human tribunal be 'always perfectly certain' that the paper before it contains the genuine *malum prohibitum*, grounded as that avowedly is in this case, and professing to be coincident with the *malum in se*. Yet are judges the less prompt and peremptory in directing juries to consign the defendant to their mercy? Have we not just seen, that, in the judgment of Lord Kenyon, and of a jury, to describe the conduct of Paul Emperor of Russia, as tyrannical and ridiculously inconsistent, was grossly to transgress beyond 'the territory of fair argument and honest narrative?' Nay, the judges declared in the House of Lords, while Mr. Fox's libel bill was under consideration, 'that no case had occurred in which it would have been, in sound discretion, fit for a judge, sitting at *Nisi Prius*, to have directed or recommended to the jury to give a verdict for the defendant.'

In this branch of legislation *jus est vagum et incognitum*, and subjects to miserable servitude all who are caught, or liable to be caught, in its toils; not from want of skill in the framers of the law, but because, as Mr. Mackintosh stated, 'it is a subject which, from its nature, admits neither rules nor definitions.' What then is the remedy? Not definitions, of which the subject is not susceptible,—not securities for impartiality in the selection of the jury, for perfect toleration of dissent in politics and religion is too hard a lesson for humanity, insomuch that intolerance assumes the appearance of a virtuous zeal for right and truth—but the restriction of judicial animadversion to those *acts* which, by fraud or violence, are injurious to person or property.

Notwithstanding this incorrigible uncertainty of the law of libel, which 'inspires even the innocent with fear,' Mr. Mackintosh passed an unqualified eulogium on the latitude of discussion permitted in England, and on the law by which his client was to be tried. 'There is still one spot in Europe,' said he, 'where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society, where he can boldly publish his judgment on the acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the hearts and arms of Englishmen, and I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall, it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire.' Must not Mr. Peltier have wondered to hear his counsel express so much satisfaction at the state of the law of England, and talk so magnificently of what a man might 'freely,' and 'boldly,' and of course safely, publish in the 'inviolate asylum of free discussion,' when the Attorney-General had, but a few minutes before, referred to the cases of Lord George Gordon and John Vint, which proved that those who did

think they might freely and boldly censure the conduct of foreign sovereigns, or their wives, might have their freedom circumscribed and their boldness punished, if not subdued, by the discipline of a prison?

Mr. Mackintosh next attempted to show, *first*, that the ode attributed to Chenier, or Ginguene, was republished by Mr. Peltier merely as historical evidence of the state of political feeling in France, and with as little malice against Bonaparte as the editors of the English newspapers could be supposed to feel towards their own king and countrymen when they republished libels on them, translated from the 'Moniteur:' and, *secondly*, that granting it to be an original production, it was not a libel on Bonaparte, but on Chenier, or Ginguene, and the Jacobins generally, 'with a view to paint their incorrigible turbulence, and to exhibit the fruits of jacobinical revolutions to the detestation of mankind.' Now, an advocate may be permitted to use any degree of artifice or sophistry that is likely to succeed with those whom he addresses; but failure in such hazardous undertakings must always be injurious, as implying the want of solid and just grounds of defence. In this instance, not only was there not the smallest probability that one of the jury would, for a moment, acquiesce in the reasoning employed by Mr. Mackintosh, but it was full of admissions destructive to the cause of his client. It conceded the main question, that the publications were libels, and it represented the stern and severe government of Bonaparte, as compressing the numerous and powerful faction of Jacobins, which still existed in France, with necessary and admirable firmness. Those who suggested the assassination of Bonaparte, were, therefore, desirous of subverting the best government which France was then capable of receiving. This surely was a topic which it belonged rather to the Attorney-General to insist upon, who has contented himself with saying that Bonaparte was *de facto* the chief magistrate of the French Republic. The supposition, moreover, that the publications were libels against the jacobinical enemies of Bonaparte's government, was inconsistent with Mr. Mackintosh's previous assertion, that 'the real prosecutor was the master of the greatest empire the world ever saw;' and with his subsequent declaration, that the trial in which they were engaged, and which the jury were to determine, was 'a battle between reason and power.' 'Believing, as I do, that we are on the eve of a great struggle—that this is only the first battle between reason and power—that you have now in your hands, committed to your trust, the only remains of free discussion in Europe, now confined to this kingdom; addressing you, therefore, as the guardians of the most important interests of mankind; convinced that the unfettered exercise of reason depends more on your present verdict, than on any other that was ever delivered by a jury, I cannot conclude without bringing before you the sentiments and examples of our ancestors, in some of those awful and perilous situations, by which Divine Providence has, in former ages,

tried the virtue of the English nation." He then took an eloquent view of the foreign policy of England, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth downwards. But is it fit 'that the most important interests of mankind,' and 'the unfettered exercise of reason,' should depend upon the wisdom, discrimination, and integrity of twelve men, whether selected by an officer of the crown, or drawn by lot—*seu ratio dederit, seu fors objecerit*—where, too, the twelve may be told by the judge, that if they are satisfied that the passage in question means so and so, they are bound by their oath to find a verdict of guilty?

The Attorney-General had an easy task in his reply: He thrust the whole question, with all the convolutions of Mr. Mackintosh's digressive eloquence, into a nut-shell: 'We are both agreed,' said he, 'as to the illegality of printing, and the illegality of publishing, libels against those with whom we are at peace: the only question then for you to decide is this, whether or not these publications, such as they are—whether these papers were, or were not published, with an intention of vilifying the French Consul?'

Lord Ellenborough repeated the arguments of the Attorney-General, and concluded with these words: 'And in the correct discharge of your duty, I am sure no memory of past or expectation of future injury (from Bonaparte) will warp you from the straight and even course of justice; but your verdict will mark with reprobation all *projects* of assassination and murder. Consider, likewise, how dangerous *projects* of this sort may be; if not discountenanced and discouraged in this country, they may be retaliated on the head of all those whose safety is most dear to us. Gentlemen, I hope your verdict will *strengthen the relations by which the interests of this country are connected with those of France*, and that it will illustrate and justify in every quarter of the world the conviction that has been long and universally entertained, of the unsullied purity of British judicature, and of the impartiality by which their decisions are uniformly governed.' Was Mr. Peltier tried for having *entered into a project* for assassinating Bonaparte? Were the publications set forth as overt acts, manifesting *such* a purpose? No. To retaliate projects of assassination would indeed be dangerous; but to retaliate odes and parodies representing George the Third as a tyrant, whom it was the duty of the leaders of the opposition to murder during the ceremony of his opening or proroguing Parliament, would not have been in the least dangerous.

The jury did not take a moment to reflect on such points, nor to consider how their verdict would affect 'the most important interests of mankind,' and 'the unfettered exercise of reason,' but immediately returned a verdict of *Guilty*. The defendant, however, was never called up to receive judgment, because war was renewed in less than three months after the trial.

The trial of William Cobbett, in May 1804, for libels on the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Redesdale, Mr. Justice Osborne, Mr. Plunkett,



and Mr. Marsden, contained in letters, signed *Juvena*, published in his Register in November and December 1803, is chiefly remarkable for passages in Lord Ellenborough's charge to the jury, (which have been already noticed in a former article,) asserting 'that, by the law of England, there is no impunity to any person publishing *any thing that is injurious to the feelings and happiness of an individual, or prejudicial to the general interests of the State,*'—or that 'renders the person or *abilities* of another ridiculous.' Thus, "he admits this noble person to be celebrated for understanding the modern method of fattening a sheep as well as any man in Cambridgeshire." Now, Gentlemen, what does this mean? Does it not mean to infer that Lord Hardwicke is ill placed in his high situation, and that he is only fit for the common walks of life?

The jury, after a pause of about ten minutes, delivered their verdict—*Guilty!* but Mr. Cobbett was never called up to receive sentence. Considering himself to be ill used by the anonymous author of the letters, who had abstained from all communications with him since the notice of trial, he surrendered the manuscripts into the hands of the Attorney-General, and they were discovered to have been written by the Hon. Robert Johnson, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland.

In July 1804, Stat. 44 Geo. III. c. 92, (which, however, had been prepared *before* the publishing of the libels) was passed, which afforded the means, by its *ex post facto* operation, of apprehending Mr. Justice Johnson in Ireland, and bringing him to trial at Westminster. On the 18th January 1805, he was arrested at his house near Dublin, under a warrant signed 'Ellenborough,' endorsed by J. Bell, a magistrate of the county of Dublin; and a writ of habeas corpus having been immediately sued out, the validity of the return was argued before the Chief Justice, assisted by six of the other judges, and re-argued in the Courts of King's Bench, Exchequer, and Common Pleas. In each court (some judges dissenting) it was decided that the return was good, and that the defendant must *beremande*.

The principal points debated were, whether, from the occurrence of the word *escape* in the preamble, and in the enacting clauses, they were applicable to persons who had never left the country wherein they had committed the alleged offence; and whether, from the use of the words '*felons and other malefactors,*' they could extend to cases of misdemeanour. With respect to the first point, there were words more than sufficient to show that the enacting clause could not be confined to the case of *escape*, for, as the Lord Chief Baron said, the words of the 4th section, divested of their tautology, were nearly these: 'If any person or persons, against whom a warrant shall be issued by a competent authority, for a crime against the laws of England or Scotland, shall escape, go into, or reside, or be in Ireland, the warrant shall be endorsed by a magistrate of the place into which he has escaped or gone, or where he resides or *exists*, and, under the authority of that warrant, he shall be car-

ried to the country from which it is issued, and then dealt with, as if he had been there apprehended.' With respect to the second point, not only did the construction given to the statute *de malefactoribus in parcie*, 21 Edward I., show that malefactors and trespassers are synonymous; and not only were the words 'felons and other malefactors,' used in an *analogous* statute of 13 Geo. III., which clearly extends to misdemeanours, but the enacting words in the statute under consideration were, 'If any person, against whom a warrant shall be issued for any crime or offence against the laws of England &c.' It was also objected that the statute gave no power of bailing the prisoner till he was brought to the nearest county in England, nor of enforcing the attendance of witnesses; but these defects (afterwards amended by Stat. 45 Geo. III. c. 92.) could not abate the clear force of the enacting clauses. In arguing these points, seemingly so simple, the exuberant learning and eloquence of the Irish bar consumed days and weeks, and filled hundreds of the reporters' pages.

The defendant's plea to the jurisdiction of the Court of King's Bench of England, having been argued, on a joinder in demurrer, June 29, 1805, was over-ruled; and the trial came on, November 23, 1805. The imputations against Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Marsden, in the letters signed *Juvena*, may be collected from the following passages: 'When I found, Sir, this portion of the kingdom overwhelmed by such consequences to our property, as the rapacity of Mr. Marsden and his friends, and such consequences to our lives, as the pikes of Mr. Emmet and his friends\* have lately produced; when I could trace all these evils as the inevitable issue from the head and body of such a Government as Lord Hardwicke, and I am told of his *innocuousness* and his *firmness*, I still reply the story of the *wooden horse*, and I shall still, notwithstanding the fate of Laocoon, raise my voice to my countrymen, and cry, *Equo ne credite Teucri*.' 'What! is he one of the tribe of the Hobarts, Westmorelands, and Camdens? Is he one of that tribe who have been sent over to us to be trained up here into politicians, as they train surgeons' apprentices in the hospitals, by setting them first to bleed the pauper patients? Is this the time for a continuation of such experiments?' To Mr. Justice Osborne, was imputed a servile and corrupt flattery of Government. It was said that he, the junior judge of the twelve, had been very anxiously selected and placed in a commission for the trial of rebels in the shires of Antrim and Down, over the heads of a number of his seniors; and that, acting in the spirit of secret instructions from Mr. Secretary Marsden, he had, in his address to the grand jury of the county of Antrim, said, that 'through the *well-timed efforts* and strenuous exertions of a *wise* and *energetic* Government, &c., the progress of such

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\* Alluding to the insurrection in Dublin on the 23d July, 1803.

crimes, as had lately disgraced this country, had been effectually checked.' 'With what amazement (the letter proceeded) the grand jury must have received such a broadside poured upon the truth of the fact, I cannot, as I was not present, know: but I can very well imagine what the feelings of twenty-three well informed gentlemen must have been.' To Lord Redesdale it was imputed that, in advising Government, he was 'known to be influenced by motives very different from general justice;' 'that he was fond of the money of other men; that he protected the rapacity of Mr. Marsden; and that he had made a rule or order, by the effects of which the secretary of the Master of the Rolls would be deprived of all fees, for the purpose of throwing all those fees into the hands of the secretary of the Chancellor, the better to enable that secretary to discharge the pension of some unknown annuitant on his official profits.' To Mr. Plunkett, Solicitor-General, it was imputed, that Mr. Emmet, after his conviction and sentence, had uttered the following apostrophe regarding him: 'That viper, whom my father nourished! He it was from whose lips I first imbibed those principles and doctrines, which now, by their effects, drag me to my grave; and he it is who is now brought forward as my prosecutor, and who, by an unheard-of exercise of the prerogative, has wantonly lashed, by a speech to evidence, the dying son of his former friend, when that dying son had produced no evidence, had made no defence, but, on the contrary, acknowledged the charge, and submitted to his fate.' For this libel Mr. Plunkett had obtained a verdict against Mr. Cobbett, May 26, 1804, with 500*l.* damages.

That a judge should have written libels, ought not to excite much astonishment. The author of the libels of 'Junius,' instead of being promoted to a seat in the Supreme Council at Bengal, and being made a Knight of the Bath, might have risen to be a judge or a chancellor; and these libels have been ascribed to some of our first statesmen, rather with the intention of doing honour to their memory, than of derogating from their characters. It may, however, be said, that a judge contracts an engagement to administer the law, *as it is*, and to set an example of obedience and conformity to all its injunctions; and that, if Mr. Johnson, when a member of the Irish House of Commons, had felt that the law of libel was a yoke, which neither we nor our fathers could bear, it was his duty to attempt its removal, and not to accept an office which might compel him to inflict on others that fate of Laocoen, by strangling them with arid maxims from 'the books,' which at length overtook himself. Still, we are not entitled to infer, from his rash and uncharitable estimate of the characters of men in high office, that he was capable of lending himself to any *act* of meanness or wickedness, either as a judge or as a man.

Very different, however, was the degree of criminality which the Attorney-General attached to the offence with which he charged Mr. Justice Johnson; 'an offence,' he said, 'THE MOST ALIEN, as it seems to me, from every sentiment of a liberal and ingenuous mind, from every habit of liberal impression, from every sentiment of honourable feeling, from every idea of the principle which guides the duty of the defendant's exalted station, and which ought to have so guided him, both as a judge and a gentleman, as to have restrained him from committing that offence which is imputed to him upon this record.'—'We might have expected that his knowledge of the law, a sense of the duty he owed to his own character, the duty he owed to the public, to his situation, as applicable to the interest of that public, that peculiar allegiance, if I may so say, which he owed to the king, and those who, like him, are on the bench of justice, who may be said to be links in the chain of general tranquillity of the country over which it is their duty to administer the law, but who by this libel are rendered, *or rather attempted to be rendered* [how so?—how could the libel render them?] *unfit persons to fill their high stations*; all these considerations ought to have been so many securities for the good conduct of a Judge.'

The course adopted by Mr. Justice Johnson in his defence seemed as injudicious as it was undignified; for by restricting himself to a clumsy and futile attempt to disprove his handwriting, he tacitly acknowledged the propriety, and submitted to the weight, of every imputation and hard word that the Attorney-General had thrown upon him.

The jury retired for about a quarter of an hour, and returned with a verdict of *Guilty*. A *nolle prosequi* was entered upon this indictment, in Trinity Term, 1806, by the Attorney-General, Sir Arthur Pigott; and Mr. Justice Johnson retired from the bench upon a pension for his life. He was then near sixty years of age, and had lost the use of one side from a paralytic stroke.

## EXPORTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO INDIA.

Woollens.		Cotton Goods.	
Annual av. from 1801 to 1810..	£273,860	Aver. years from 1801 to 1810..	£ 55,461
Ditto 1814 to 1822....	376,399	Ditto 1814 to 1822....	568,358
Ditto 1823 and 1824....	962,061	Ditto 1823 to 1824....	115,512

## IMPORTS FROM INDIA TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Indigo. lbs.		Bengal Silk. lbs.	
Av. of years from 1801 to 1820.	3,513,053	Av. of years from 1801 to 1810.	438,792
Ditto 1814 to 1822.	5,022,087	Ditto 1814 to 1822.	899,507
Cotton.		Sugar. Cwt.	
Av. of years from 1801 to 1810.	5,896,300	Av. of years from 1801 to 1810..	77,325
Ditto 1814 to 1822.	23,535,365	Ditto 1814 to 1822..	124,379
		Ditto 1823 and 1824..	244,656

## THE BARD'S REPLY.

You ask me what reward I seek  
 For all this endless toil of rhyme,  
 And why my golden dreams I break  
 Unfinish'd, thus, in morning's prime ;  
 And whether, wrestling so with time,  
 I gather not his gifts too fast,  
 Like fiery youth, that still doth climb  
 At melting joys too crude to last.  
 Perchance my reinless wishes breed  
 A labour barren and unblest,  
 And only prompt to yoke the steed  
 To plough the desert, which 'twere best  
 Leave sleeping in unbroken rest :  
 My thoughts I may brood o'er with pain,  
 As birds in some forsaken nest  
 Waste oft their genial warmth in vain.

Thus it may be—but hope deceives,  
 If so, with flattering dreams my mind ;  
 And, perch'd on loftiest wishes, weaves,  
 To crown the name I leave behind,  
 Wreaths blooming ever ; such as bind  
 Our Milton's awful brows, and shed  
 Diviner perfume than we find  
 In Araby, around his head.

But should my name be quite forgot,  
 Like his who rear'd the pointed pile  
 To heaven, upon that desert spot  
 Where Egypt drinks the flowing Nile ;  
 Yet, let these verses live the while,  
 And be, like that same structure, high,  
 An Alp, whence spirits proud may smile  
 On earth's poor tribes slow wandering by.

And let me gather from my urn  
 The secret suffrage of the heart,  
 And see my kindled spirit burn  
 In breasts touch'd by the flame of art ;  
 With this reward I would not part  
 For care-steep'd crowns and sceptred power ;  
 These go by auction in Death's mart ;  
 That blooms your own eternal flower.

Bron.

## THE ZENANA.\*

ALTHOUGH India has now been for so many years a province of the British Empire, we still know but imperfectly the manners, customs, and opinions which prevail among its inhabitants. Travellers who pass rapidly through the country have no means of learning minute peculiarities; and, generally, the Company's servants, who pass their lives there, and have ample time for observation, grow too familiar with the habits of the Natives to think them worth recording. Besides, a dry enumeration of customs, in themselves trivial, though throwing great light on national character, must always be irksome, both to writers and readers. But when these same customs are put before the reader's eye in a lively narrative, and in conjunction with the characters which they create, we observe their nature without effort. Perhaps, therefore, tales, novels, romances, plays, &c., are the best medium through which a knowledge of the East can be conveyed to Europeans; for into such compositions every peculiarity belonging either to the country or the people may properly be introduced, and that, too, in a manner that shall impress a correct idea of it on the reader's memory. Hajji Baba has thrown more light on Persian manners than a hundred travellers; and the 'Zenana,' the work now before us, may strictly be said to open a clearer view of the habits and customs of the Hindoos and Musulmans of India, than has ever been afforded by any other book, whether true or fictitious. This is high praise; but few readers, competent to form a judgment on the subject, will say that it is undeserved. Perhaps, indeed, a tinge of caricature may, now and then, be discovered in its pictures, which for the most part are of a comic cast; but this, though it heightens the effect, does not detract from their general correctness.

The 'Zenana' is a collection of short novels, of various degrees of excellence, but all turning on Indian manners, and arising from one parent tale, like the stories of the 'Arabian Nights.' How the author was furnished with the rude materials of these narratives, the reader shall learn from his own mouth:

'The author of the following pages, shortly after his arrival in India, had the good fortune to be nominated to a civil appointment at an out-station a considerable distance from the Presidency. Ere he could perform the duties required of him, to the satisfaction of his superiors, he found a thorough knowledge of the Persian and Hindoostanee languages indispensably necessary; and as the service he was employed in rendered it requisite that he

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\* The Zenana; or, a Nuwaub's Leisure Hours. By the Author of 'Pan-durang Hari; or Memoirs of a Hindoo.' 3 vols. London. 1827.

should be able to converse with the Natives of the country with tolerable ease and fluency, he directed his attention more particularly to the colloquial branches of the languages. The first step was to unlearn what he had previously gleaned from books written in the Roman character, and diligently to adhere to the Persian and Nagree, which, together with daily practice in conversation with the Natives, failed not to succeed.

‘Having conquered the first and greatest difficulty, viz. proper pronunciation, the author was naturally led to desire a further intimacy with the languages, as well as manners and customs, of the people amongst whom he was placed. As well, therefore, for amusement as instruction, when evening closed in, he assembled the Natives of his establishment, and those who felt competent to the task, requiring from them the relation of some entertaining tale, which the author’s moonshee (or tutor), who was invariably present on such occasions, committing to writing, was on the following day translated, by his assistance, into English. At first, considerable hesitation was evinced by the people called upon for this purpose; some pleading ignorance, others want of courage to appear before *Master* in his own apartment, to narrate tales; a promise of reward, however, to him who should relate the most amusing story, removed all difficulty. Although but one man in the author’s establishment could claim any pretension to ability, nevertheless the report having gone abroad, in a few days others offering their services, related several popular and traditional tales, with evident willingness and good-humour.’

The scene of the first story, from which all the others arise, is laid in Surat, a city already celebrated both in fiction and in history. Here resided the Nuwaub, Jelal-ed-deen, whose passion for beauty, fomented by his ministers, but checked by a singular fatality, gave rise to all the events and inventions recorded in the ‘*Zenana*.’ It would not be difficult to give the reader a sketch or skeleton of this introductory tale, but it would necessarily be too meagre to afford any proper notion of the narrative itself, which, although long, is not told in a prolix style. We shall, therefore, merely observe, that by the zeal of his chief minister, who, being in disgrace, was anxious to be restored to office, Jelal-de-deen acquires possession of a very beautiful Persian slave, whom he vehemently admires, and wishes to marry. The fair one, however, pretends to be under the influence of the stars, and that the conjunction of certain inhabitants of the sky must take place before she can consent to a union with the Nuwaub. During the interval between his proposal and the time fixed by the constellations for his marriage, the Nuwaub consents to amuse himself with story-tellers, and accordingly commands various inhabitants of Surat to repair with their best inventions to his palace, and there, in the presence of himself and of his favourites, and in the hearing of the ladies of his harem, who sat concealed behind a silken curtain, to relate each a story. His orders are of course obeyed, and in this manner the author’s design is accomplished.

Not one of these engrafted tales is short enough to be here

copied entire ; and portions of any of them would hardly be so proper for extracts as many parts of the introductory story. From this, therefore, we shall select a passage or two, which will give the reader a tolerably correct idea of the writer's general style and class of abilities.

The Nuwaub's prime minister being in disgrace, for reasons not necessary to be here detailed, sought anxiously for an opportunity of regaining Jelal-ed-deen's favour ; and knowing well his master's failing, imagined he could not more certainly effect his purpose than by enriching the royal seraglio with some extraordinary specimen of beauty. His barber, Buxoo-bhae, a man equal to any shaver in Hindoostan in volubility of tongue and passion for news, informing him that an Arab ship in the harbour contained a lady of unspeakable beauty, whom he had seen through a crevice in the cabin partition, while there to operate on the captain's beard, Moye-ed-din, the minister, immediately conceives the hope of procuring this lady, and of making her a peace-offering to his offended master. Desirous, however, of ascertaining the absolute correctness of Buxoo's report, Moye-ed-din himself repairs on board the ship, disguised as a perfumer, and the better to conceal his person, has his beard dyed red by the ministry of Buxoo-bhae. Out of this ingenious contrivance arise two or three very ludicrous scenes. The captain of the Arab ship, upon whom the honest minister thus waits in the disguise of a perfumer, is afterwards invited by Moye-ed-din to visit him at his palace ; when the acute son of Ishmael discovers in the ex-minister the perfumer of whom he had purchased attar the day before. It is true, Moye-ed-din, who had no longer occasion for a red beard, endeavours by a thousand ablutions to cleanse his chin from Buxoo-bhae's infernal dye, but to no purpose ; his beard remains as red as Judas's. But this part of the story being by no means long, we will give it in the author's own words :

‘ Scarcely had he finished dressing, when a servant announced the arrival of the Captain, whom Moye-ed-din desired might be seated in the hall, and that he would soon join him. Suddenly he recollected his stained beard, and proceeded to wash and clean it, in the expectation of once more beholding his own glossy black one. But what was his mortification, on finding that all his attempts to remove the stain were ineffectual ; the more he washed, and soaped, and rubbed, the stronger appeared the abominable carrotty hue of his beard. He cursed the barber from the bottom of his heart, though the poor fellow was as ignorant as himself as to the consequences of the application of the liquid he had provided. What could he do ? Never was he so perplexed before. His guest was waiting his appearance to welcome him to his palace ; longer delay was impossible ; he called for lime-juice and salt, with which he once more commenced rubbing his beard, until both his arms ached with pain, and he himself brought into a profuse perspiration, but all to no purpose ; and he was forced to present himself before the Arab Captain, labouring under the apprehension that, with his carrotty beard, and strongly



scented person and palace, he should certainly be recognized as the perfumer who visited the ship in the morning.

‘These were not anticipations of the most pleasing kind to a man like Moyo-ed-din, who, not being in full powers of his Deewanship, was the more particularly anxious by his external appearance to leave no room in the mind of his guest to imagine the contrary. Having framed no reply if taxed by the Captain with being no minister but a cheating perfumer, he entered the hall, and politely welcomed his guest, who drew back with ambiguous looks, and rather a haughty deportment: he had long had an opportunity of smelling the perfumes, and now verily believed the vender himself stood before him, having the assurance to assume the name and character of Deewan. Again he thought this could not be the case; but the magnificence around him, and the perfumed carroty beard before him, quite confounded him; for, independent of the hair on the face, he could swear the features were those of the attar from whom he had purchased a few bottles of essence in the morning: perhaps the Deewan’s brother was a perfumer, and brothers are often very much alike; yet it was not very likely there should be such a difference in their stations of life. These doubts and conjectures crowding so fast on the brain of the Arab, caused him to receive the repeated welcomes of Moyo-ed-din with an awkwardness easily to be accounted for by his host, though he endeavoured to sustain the character of Deewan as if nothing had happened to discompose him. He threw his shawl in graceful folds around him, twisted his carroty mustachios, and commenced familiarly to discourse with his guest: “I was apprehensive,” said he, “that as a stranger, and a man of rank, you would not find a suitable lodging during your sojourn in this city, and as I make it a rule to pay attention to all strangers, particularly those of your country, I beg you will consider my palace as your home, as long as you remain here.” The Captain thanked him politely, and now became certain he had entertained unjust suspicions, for he remembered the perfumer could not speak a word of Arabic, whereas the man before him expressed himself in that language in the most perfect and easy manner; nevertheless, he could not take his eyes from the carroty beard of poor Moyo-ed-din, who thought himself bound to notice such a breach of good manners.—“Excuse me, my lord,” said the Arab, “but I have this day seen a man, so exactly resembling yourself in every respect, that, but for your politeness, and the magnificence around me, I could have sworn you were the same man.”—“Ah, indeed!” said Moyo-ed-din, “who could the person be? I am not aware of any one in the city so exactly resembling myself.”—“Pardon me, my lord, but as I am by your language and manner fully convinced of my error, it is not necessary to mention the person who has certainly the honour of bearing the exact counterpart of your lordship’s countenance.”’

An incident soon occurs, which entirely convinces the honest Arab that he is really in the dwelling of the Nuwau’s prime minister, and he thus expresses his conviction:

“I really cannot help laughing, my lord,” said the Captain, who was smoking a second chillum, “at my stupidity on having first had the honour of seeing you, to-day, for you may remember I took you for another person, who, now I think of it, and have had leisure to contemplate your noble countenance, was not a bit like you; instead of an aquiline, he had a flat,

broad, ugly nose, and was not near so tall as you are, and unable to speak a word of Arabic. I really ought to make a thousand apologies for having so confounded ugliness and beauty."

"Oh, you flatter me, Captain, but I told you I was not aware of any one so exactly resembling myself being in this city, and felt assured you would, ere we parted, discover your error; but I was about to say that I understand you have on board a female of exquisite beauty."

"An angel, my lord; but how, may I ask, did you gain your information?"

"Why, we who are in power you know, Captain——"

"Ay, true, my lord, I crave your pardon, it is your duty to become acquainted with every particular."

"You say wisely, Captain, it is our duty; but I wish, with your permission, to behold the fair one with mine own eyes."

"Impossible!"

"Impossible, Captain! why is she not for sale?"

"She was; but is disposed of."

"Disposed of, say you; to whom?"

"To the Cotwall."

Here was a blow to the hopes of the Deewan; his hookah-snake fell from his hands, and he sat like one stupefied, whilst the Captain puffed away, with utter unconcern and indifference.

"Captain," said the Deewan, "the Cotwall must not have her."

"But the bargain is made, my lord."

"Then it must be broken. How much has he agreed to pay?"

"Ten thousand rupees."—"You shall have twenty."

"I must not break my word."—"Thirty."

"An Arab's word, my lord."—"Forty."

"She is yours."

"So much for an Arab's word," thought Moyo-ed-din, at the same time extending his hand to the Arab, who gave it a cordial shake. "I tell you the truth," said Moyo-ed-din, "the lady is for the Nuwab, not for myself; therefore you need not fear the consequences of the Cotwall's resentment; rest assured he will not trouble you again with a word on the subject. But as we have an hour to spare, suffer me to accompany you on board your vessel, that I may be able to give a good account to the Nuwab of the lady; and if she answers my expectations, lose no time, but accompany me to the Mahmud-a-baugh palace, where I will introduce you to the Nuwab, to whom I will previously give so glowing an account of the beauties awaiting him, that he will treat you with respect, and close with you for the money."

"Agreed," said the Captain, "let us be off to the vessel."

Then comes the unfortunate red beard upon the carpet again; the Deewan (prime minister) being sent for by the Nuwab, upon whom, having been in disgrace, he had not waited, for more than six months, recollects Buxoo's exploit upon his chin, and is utterly confounded. However, he resolves as follows:

'Palanquins were in readiness, and Moyo-ed-din was about to proceed, when he recollected his strangely metamorphosed beard; how mortifying was it to be compelled to appear thus disfigured in the presence of the Nuwab!

What was to be done? One half hour's delay might be the means of his not seeing his master, and the golden opportunity neglected, might irrevocably ruin all his hopes of re-instatement in his good graces. He determined, therefore, to proceed by the road in which was situated the barber's shop, in the hope that Buxoo, having turned his hair red, might be acquainted with the means of turning it black again.

'Accompanied by the Captain, he set off for the Mahmud-a-baugh palace, directing his bearers to stop at Buxoo's shop. The bearers accordingly halted at the well-known shaving place, and the Deewan, apologizing to the Captain, assured him he would be with him in a few moments, and alighted from his palanquin. The Deewan, in a low voice, informed him of the effects of his cursed dye, and demanded forthwith his own black beard again. The barber was really concerned at the unfortunate consequences, particularly when he understood his master was about to make his first visit to the Nuwab. "If you will spare a moment, my lord, and condescend to enter my shop, I think I may be able to put all right again. The Deewan followed, and submitted to the operations of the barber, who applied a black mixture, which soon reinstated the minister's beard to all its former beauty. Pleased beyond measure, he rewarded the barber, and joined his companion, to whom he made many apologies, taking care to muffle up his head, to prevent his observing the sudden change of beard; intending, however, to explain the whole affair, if necessary, as soon as the Persian lady should be safely lodged in the Nuwab's Zenana.'

With this double-dyed beard, Moyo-ed-din repairs, as we have seen, to the Nuwab's palace, where his chin's accursed metamorphosis again covers him with confusion:

'Though Moyo-ed-din heard not one word by which he could dare to construe any intention of reinstatement in his former office, yet he imagined he perceived a favourable moment to inform the Nuwab of the great beauty lately arrived, and requested permission to mention a circumstance of importance. The Nuwab postponed the hearing, as the sun had set, and it was proper they should recite their prayers, and go through their ablutions. Water being brought, the Nuwab and Moyo-ed-din sitting opposite each other, commenced praying and washing. Moyo-ed-din, with closed eyes, muttered over his prayers with great earnestness, but was aroused from his composed state of mind, by hearing the Nuwab set up a loud and hearty laugh, which greatly amazed him; but casting his eyes on his own beard, all surprise vanished, for there once more appeared his abominable carroty hair, whilst the water in which he had washed was as black as ink. His chagrin was so great as to deprive him of utterance, and he sat, the picture of disappointment and vexation; the Nuwab, nearly bursting his sides with laughter, crying out, "It is true, it is true! Oh Moyo-ed-din, Moyo-ed-din! why have you done this? what could induce you to spoil so grand a beard?"

"Patience, your highness, and I will tell you all; my beard is connected with the circumstance I was about to mention, previous to commencing our ablutions; with permission I will now relate the same." The Nuwab giving a nod of assent, Moyo-ed-din faithfully related all the events of that day, and the Nuwab laughed heartily at the ingenuity of the barber, by the application

of his different dyes. He was particularly pleased with the exertions of the Deewan for his interest, and desired the Captain might be introduced to him.

‘The Arab, being ushered into the presence of the Nuwab, made the usual obeisance, and the business was quickly entered into, and the bargain made. The Deewan recommended the state barge should instantly be dispatched to the ship, for the purpose of bringing the fair captive to the city palace, saying, “For, your highness, notwithstanding my exertions for you, my lord and master, the Cotwall has presumed to thwart me, and attempted to secure the lady for himself.”

‘The Arab captain confirming this assertion, the Nuwab was highly incensed against the Cotwall, and determined to evince his displeasure on the first opportunity.

‘The order on the treasury being drawn out for the price of the Persian lady, the Captain, and his friend, the Deewan, took their departure; and when fairly out of the palace, the former could not help saying, “In the name of wonder, my lord, what sort of beard is yours? it seems to me to change colour every hour of the day: it is first red, then black, then red again.”

‘The Deewan now enjoyed a hearty laugh: the first he had indulged in for six months; and, in a few words, related the adventures of the day.

‘“Then you were the perfumer, after all,” said the Captain; “I thought I could not be mistaken.”

‘“Oh, but you know, Captain, where was the similitude? The height, the broad flat nose, eh, Captain?”

‘“Why, truly, my lord, I really was puzzled how to conduct myself; my sense of duty, and my sense of perception, warred so violently in my bosom. I felt assured the perfumer was you; but could not reconcile it to myself, how you could be the perfumer, being indisputably the Deewan of his highness, the Nuwab.”

‘Moye-ed-din determined on his return, to call at the barber’s, and abuse him for the second trick he had played him, and gave orders accordingly. As soon as the bearers halted before the shaving shop, the obsequious Buxoo made his appearance; when, beholding the red beard of his master, he exclaimed, “Allah be praised! is it possible?”

‘“Yes, it is possible; and it is also probable, that you will get the bastinado to-morrow. How dare you thus impose upon me with your jet black dye? which, the moment it was touched with water—”

‘“With water!” exclaimed the terrified Buxoo; “oh, that is a very different thing: my black dye won’t stand water. How could I imagine you would use water on a visit of ceremony? Water, my lord! no, no, my black dye won’t stand water.”

‘“I heartily wish your red dye would not stand water,—for, by Mahommed I have been at it, with both hot and cold water, soap, salt, and lime juice, for a full hour; and here it is just in the same state. But, hark ye, my friend, you must rectify your mistake; or, by Allah! it would have been better for you never to have touched a hair of my head.”

‘The barber was convinced, from the authoritative tone of his master, he had become reinstated in the Nuwab’s good graces; and, therefore, promised,

Before morning, to find out some drug which would remove the stain, so intolerable to behold. This memorable day closed with bringing the fair Persian to the palace of the Nuwab, and she was duly admitted into the Zenana.'

The fair Persian had not been many months in the Zenana of Jelal-ed-deen before the following events took place :

'About three months after the transactions just related, the Deewan was sitting in his dressing room, awaiting the appearance of Buxoo the barber, somewhat astonished at his want of punctuality, when, at last, in he came, sobbing, and wiping his blood-stained face with the tail of his coat.

' "Why, how now, Buxoo!" cried the Deewan.—"What is the matter? You have been fighting, I perceive: come, let me know the whole history."

' "Oh! my lord," sobbed the barber, "never was a civil man so cruelly treated. I must have justice, my lord; and hope for your protection and support."

' "Well, well! I grant it you, on condition you will be quick in your tale."

' "Why, my lord, as I was coming past the palace of the Nuwab, I perceived a strange looking fellow, a Persian, I think he was, staring and gaping up at the upper apartments of the Zenana. Oh! thought I, this man little knows, were the captain of the Rajpoot-Guard to see him, what a scrape he would get into; and considering he was a stranger, I went up to him with one of my best bows, saying, 'Sir, sir! you must not stand here;' upon which, seizing his sword, he struck me over the face with the hilt of it, and has, I verily believe, knocked half a dozen teeth down my throat! Well, my lord, when I recovered from the surprise, and looked up, the stranger was nowhere to be seen; so I went home, where I have been this half hour, endeavouring to staunch the blood from the wound the fellow gave me on the side of my head."

' "And have you not again seen him, Buxoo?"

' "I have, my lord; for in my way hither, I espied two men walking very fast, and discovered one to be the savage Persian, and the other to be Mhadeo Gûrû, the Brahmin astronomer."

' "Hah! indeed, Buxoo, this is strange; we must investigate this business; in the meantime dress my beard, for the sun is risen, and the Durbar is open."

'The barber did as he was desired, and took his leave, depending on the promises of his master for redress.

'The Deewan penetrated deeper into the circumstance of the Persian's appearance before the palace, than did poor Buxoo, who had leisure only to think of the blow he had received, and the means of obtaining redress. The appearance of the Persian immediately before the roof, which contained his fair country-woman, could not fail creating a suspicion of a connection between them. How, or in what manner, the Brahmin could assist them, was a mystery the Deewan could not fathom; but he entered into a long debate with himself, whether it would not be to his interest to aid the Persian in his attempts, which, doubtless, were the escape of the lady. By aiding him, I may be discovered; but there is an equal chance of not being found out, if I

manage things properly; and if I succeed, shall get rid of a troublesome woman, who has allowed me no peace since her arrival. I procured her for the Nuwab, and it seems am to be answerable for all her whims and caprices. It is clear I shall have no rest, as long as she remains. On the other hand, if I thwart the plans of the Persian, I get the thanks of the Nuwab, and double locks on the door of the Zenana: now the thanks of the Nuwab I do not much value; but the double locks will entail upon me double anxiety, without a chance of the cause being ever moved. After deep consideration on the subject, Moye-ed-din determined on lending his assistance to the Persian. Having laid his plans, his next step was to procure a meeting with the Persian, but not daring to trust a servant, determined, when the shades of night enveloped the city, to proceed in disguise to the Brahmin's house. He accordingly provided himself with a Persian black woollen cap, a dagger, and Persian shoes, concluding the man whom he wished to see, would the more readily be inclined to converse with a person apparently from his own country, than with a native of Hindústan. Not knowing where to find the Brahmin's house, however, he was constrained to defer his visit until the following night, in the expectation of gaining the necessary intelligence from the much-aggrieved Buxoo in the morning.

'The barber appeared at the accustomed hour on the following morning, and failed not to urge his request, that the Persian might be punished for the unwarrantable assault he had committed on him, the most civil of all men.

"Where is he to be found, Buxoo?" inquired the Deewan.

"At the Brahmin's house, my lord."

"And where does he live?"

"A long way off; but not so far, my lord, as to be out of the reach of your power; he lives in an obscure corner, near the river, by the gate leading to the Broach road."

"A small cottage, surrounded by plantain trees?"

"The same, my lord."

"I have often remarked it, when riding that way; but, Buxoo, I fear it will be impossible to punish the Persian."

"Impossible! my lord? Are your subjects to have their teeth forced down their throats for being too civil? are we to——"

"Well, well, Buxoo, I grant that you have been ill used; but circumstances require you should give up all idea of having the Persian punished; so let me hear no more on the subject."

'Poor Buxoo, who had been boasting to all his friends how his proximity to the Deewan would be the means of his obtaining redress, heard the decided determination of Moye-ed-din with a very grave look of mingled anger and disappointment, and finished his business without saying another word.

'The Nuwab daily visited the fair Persian, who now seemed to be more cheerful, and often attended to hear the tales of the other ladies of the Zenana; and actually related one herself. The Nuwab perceived the change with delight, and fancied he was certain of a favourable answer at the end of the year; to the completion of which only two months were now wanting. Every wish of the lady was anticipated by the enamoured Nuwab, whose attentions towards her were redoubled since the blessed change which had

taken place. He cursed the astrologers night and day, saying, "but for those ignorant blockheads, the lady would long ago have been my wife." Whilst entertaining dreams of future bliss, he little imagined that the man who had furnished him with so much beauty, was now actually meditating to wrest her from him; but so it was, for Moya-ed-din's restless spirit, ever planning fresh schemes for his own ease and comfort, foresaw, at the expiration of the year, fresh troubles and vexations.

'At the hour of eleven, when darkness covered the earth, the Deewan, dressed as a Persian, descended his private stair-case, and proceeded by back ways and obscure alleys to the residence of the Brahmin. The night was peculiarly dark and gloomy; a few stars were alone visible in the heavens, and a thick fog was gathering all around. Not a soul did he meet in his way, not a sound did he hear, save the singing of some dancing girls at a distance, and the beating of their monotonous puck-waz.\* He tapped at the Brahmin's door; no answer being given, he repeated the knock; still no notice was taken by the inhabitants of the cottage; at length he ventured to cry out, in an under tone, "Mharaj! Ho, Mharaj! Oh, Brahmin! open the door, brother;" and many other such insinuating expressions, but the door still remained shut. At length he made a discovery, which most satisfactorily accounted for the door not being opened from within; namely, that it was fastened without, having a strong chain and padlock at the bottom of it, against which his foot accidentally struck. So, then, thought the Deewan, I have had all this trouble for nothing; the house is uninhabited, after all. Turning to retrace his steps homewards, he fancied he saw the figure of a man glide through the plantain trees by which the house was surrounded; but as the darkness of the night was such as to warrant doubting his own senses, he was very readily inclined to believe himself mistaken, and continued to walk on at a brisk pace. Passing under a mango tree, to his confusion and astonishment, something fell upon him, which he perceived to be a large fishing net. He had scarcely time to reflect, ere a number of men started from behind some shrubs, and pulling the ends of the net, made him their prisoner, in spite of all his endeavours to extricate himself; a torrent of abuse was heaped upon him by several rough voices, and he was thrown upon the ground, wallowing in the meshes of the fishing net. Presently he found himself raised from the earth, and dangling to a branch of the mango tree, his heels being considerably higher than his head. He was beginning to bellow out, when his face was enveloped in a dirty cloth, which, covering his mouth, effectually prevented his giving vent to his woes. He imagined he was to be left in this predicament the whole night, and that no further violence was intended; but he was soon undeceived in this idea, by feeling the sharp application of a rattan on his posteriors, which made him writhe in agony, and swing himself to and fro, till he was nearly sick. The most abusive expressions followed each stroke of the cane; and he fancied, nay, was convinced, he recognized one of the voices: but were he ever so inclined to declare himself, the cloth around his mouth completely prevented his uttering a word.

' "We will teach you to give yourself airs in this city, my fine fellow,"

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\* A small, oval-shaped drum, the invariable accompaniment of the songs of the dancing girls.

said one of the men ; " fetch another cane here ; nay, stay ; bring me that bundle of leathern straps. Ah, these are the things !". So saying, they were quickly applied to the thorough sore breach of poor Moyer-din, who could only groan inwardly, and curse his unfortunate stars, which had led him into such a scrape.

' The rope by which he was suspended at length broke, or gave way, and down he tumbled on the hard ground, with a violence which almost broke his back. The assailants having contented themselves with kicking and pelting him with clods of earth, nearly as hard as stones, set up a loud laugh, and left him to his fate. Like the lion in the fable, gladly would the truly wretched Moyer-din have availed himself of the teeth of the mouse to extricate him from the folds of the fishing net ; in vain did he attempt to break the meshes, or find a hole through which he might creep ; at last, after hard and continued struggling, he succeeded in releasing his arms, and recollecting his dagger, contrived to draw it, and soon cut through his prison. Removing the cloth from his mouth, he once more breathed freely the air of heaven. Before he recommenced his journey homewards, he wished to rest awhile ; but, alas, on attempting to sit down, he so sensibly experienced the consequences of his flogging, that he was compelled to abandon all idea of obtaining rest in that position. To add to his embarrassment, one of his high-heeled slippers had somehow or other disappeared, and baffled all his attempts at recovering it ; he was therefore compelled to hobble home with only one shoe, suffering, as may be imagined, most severely from the effects of the rattan and leathern straps.

' It was considerably past two ere he regained the portal of his private stair-case, where all was silent as the grave ; having reached his apartment, mortified beyond expression, he threw himself upon his couch, hoping by the morning to be free from the torture he was then suffering.'

We can afford room for no more extracts, but shall endeavour, in a few words, to acquaint the reader with the termination of Jelal-ed-deen's amour with the fair Persian. This lady, it seems, was nearly related to Nadir Shah, the conqueror of Hindoostan. Having early in youth lost both her parents, she was removed from Shiraz, her native city, to the house of her uncle at Ispahan. Here the two sons of her uncle, Shamil Bey, became her lovers—but her heart she bestowed upon the younger, whose nature was gentle, and whose love, delicate and tender, charmed her infinitely more than the haughty attentions of the elder. But her aunt, the mother of these two youths, favoured the pretensions of Zekey Khan, her elder son ; and discovering the passion of Zeefa for Humza, the younger, entered into a plot to remove her niece to some secret spot, where she might be wholly in the power of Zekey Khan. Accordingly, she is forcibly carried away, and secreted in an obscure part of Bussorah. The brothers, returning with Nadir Shah from the conquest of India, and learning the disappearance of Zeefa, proceed in search of her ; the elder knowing well what road to take. He arrives at Bussorah, and dreading lest his younger



brother should discover the place of her concealment, puts her on board an Arab ship, on the point of sailing for Calcutta, intending immediately to follow her thither. The Arab sets sail, but either by stress of weather, or for the sake of traffic, puts into Surat, where, being offered a very large sum by the Nuwab's Deewan for his fair charge, he sells her as a slave. Zekey Khan murders his brother, and then follows Zeefa to India, hoping to find her at Calcutta, in the house of a merchant to whom he had directed the Arab captain to deliver her up. At Calcutta, he, of course, does not find her; but returning towards Persia, chance discovers to him her confinement in the Newab's Zenana. When he and his brother first set out in search of the unfortunate lady, both had been furnished with a firman from Nadir Shah, commanding her to be delivered to the bearer, wherever she might be found. This firman Zekey Khan now showed to the Nuwab; who, but for the discovery fortunately made by his Deewan of the murder of Humza, must, in spite of his heart, have yielded possession of his mistress to the Persian. This discovery, however, determines him not only to refuse to deliver up the lady, but also to seize Zekey Khan as a murderer, and send him in chains to the court of Nadir Shah. After this, he communicates to the lady the fate of Humza, and after great expense of amorous rhetoric, and some decent delay, obtains her hand, and in all probability her heart.

Such is the ground-work of the 'Zenana'—a ground-work which certainly contains a considerable portion of improbability, though it is told in a very lively and entertaining manner. Zeefa, however, is not made extremely interesting. She does not, in fact, make a prominent figure in the story personally, though so much is said *about her*; and her love for Humza, once the *eternal* object of her regard, but whose memory she puts out of mind in six months, though natural enough, and operating quite in the way of the world, scarcely answers to that *beau ideal* of female passion which we look for in romance. That the author, however, is equal to the conception of delicate love, is quite apparent from his portraiture of Amina in the Cotwall's story, and of Noor Mihr in that of the Captain of the Guard.

To conclude, we warmly recommend these volumes to our readers both in England and in India; they are full of extreme interest from beginning to end; and, besides containing very excellent pictures of Hindoo manners, are well managed fictions in other respects, narrated in a style of considerable elegance and vigour.

## ON THE NOBILITY OF THE SKIN.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Prejudice concerning the pre-eminence of the White Colour, in opposition to Reason and Religion.*

To say that the aversion of white persons from those of the African complexion has its origin in a natural antipathy, is to assert what is proved to be false, by the existence of so many persons of mixed blood in all those countries where slavery is still allowed. Absurdity alone could maintain that hate and affection, esteem and contempt, form degrees of proportion applicable to the various shades of the colour of the human skin. The indigenous Americans are of a deep copper colour; but the mixture of nations has diversified their tint. Father Taillandier, a jesuit-missionary, observed more than a century ago, at Mexico, that among a hundred faces exhibiting every possible variety of shade from white to black, it was impossible to find two of exactly the same hue. \*

All the nations spread over the face of the earth differ from each other by their colour. Do we not see among persons born in the south of Europe, many whose complexion is of a darker hue than several of those of mixed parentage who are called mulattoes or half-castes? Where are we to fix the line, which is the form, the precise boundary of shame and of honour? Colonial inhabitants would be as much embarrassed to resolve this problem as are the partisans of absolute power to determine the limits of usurpation and legitimate dominion. Never have they been able to show us that indivisible point where the one ends, and the other begins.

Common-place phrases upon purity of blood can only impose upon un-reflecting men, who take opinions upon trust, and use words without weighing their import.

The blood which circulates in the veins of a mulatto is a mixture of that of an African and a European. By what fatality is that portion of it which is supplied by the former to communicate to the whole person the indelible taint of moral and civil excommunication?

Formerly, the retainers of feudal opinions in Europe had in the same manner their cant concerning purity of blood. How happens it that they have not applied that rule to certain dynasties, to cer-

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\* See *Lettres Edifiantes*. In 12mo., Paris, 1781, vol. xi, p. 380 and 381. The *Lettre* du P. Taillandier, was printed in 1717.

tain monarchs, whose blood (extremely pure, no doubt) has circulated in the lowest depths of debauchery?

The positive rights and respective claims of men, are they founded upon their colour or upon their nature? Ought not the children of the same father to be equally the objects of his tenderness? The unity of the origin of the human race, revealed to us by the Sacred Writings, is generally admitted by naturalists, especially by the celebrated Blumenbach. The very small number of those who, maintaining an opposite opinion, assert the existence of several distinct races of men, have certainly never recommended that, in sharing the advantages and blessings of society among them, an unjust decree should cut off any one from its inheritance, in order to augment the portion of another. Even recently, Mr. Bory de Saint-Vincent advanced some doubts concerning the unity of the human race, as made known to us by the Mosaic records: but at the same time his heart pleads eloquently the cause of injured Africa.

A well organized government ought to secure to every individual living under its laws, the enjoyment of rights, as the recompense for the performance of duties; rights and duties being so far reciprocal in their existence and their action, that it is difficult to imagine them disunited. A modern compiler has blamed the constituent Assembly for not having joined the declaration of the duties to that of the rights of men. This observation, which many persons had already made, is just; but when he expresses his indignation, that the measure has not been proposed, his zeal becomes gratuitous; the newspapers of the day, which doubtless he has not passed over without a scrutiny, must have informed him, that the measure was proposed by the author of this Essay †, who will ever hold it an honour to be distinguished by the outrages of Mr. Charles Lacretelle.

It is dangerous and imprudent to unroll before the eyes of men the charter of their liberties, without, at the same time, pointing out to them the line which they ought not to pass; but is it not equally unjust to impose upon them duties, without recognizing the rights which run in a parallel with those duties? When we contest the existence of such rights, we virtually dispense with the performance of the duties attached to them: we throw men back again into a state of nature and of warfare against their oppressors. The consequences of such a situation would make the colonists shudder, if they had the courage to look into themselves and ask of their own hearts: 'Were I in the place of these unfortunate beings, what would be my feelings, my desires, my projects?' Hold it for certain, that if a white man could suddenly be reduced to slavery, he would curse those who loaded him with irons, and cry

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† See the *Moniteur* for the year 1789, No 33, p. 136 and 139.

out with vehemence for liberty. It would be the same with those haughty Creole ladies, who turn with disdain from the society of coloured women. Were the creative hand suddenly to change the fairness of their complexion to the jetty hue of the Africans, their tone of opinion would undergo as rapid a mutation.

It has been said, and very happily, that 'there is no sex in the soul;' but is there then a *colour* in the soul? Whatever may be the hue of our superficial covering, it sometimes conceals the most sublime virtue, at others, the most shameful disorder. Nevertheless, the planters fail not to deplore, in the most energetic terms, the peculiar depravity of the blacks and coloured persons whether slaves or freemen.

Let us grant first, that to reason thus is to depart from the principal question to attack the moral side of the matter; secondly, that should these accusations be founded upon fact, where are we to attach the blame? When a race has been systematically debased by oppression, how can it be expected to furnish men capable of virtue? Such an expectation, at once absurd and cruel, can only be compared to the conduct of that ministry which tolerates, authorizes, and directs the maintenance of public lotteries, houses for gaming and debauchery, in order to establish an odious tax upon the vices of the citizen, and then affects to deplore, with pious sorrow, the corruption of morals and the neglect of religion.

What is the result of such a system? Criminals who break the laws are punished; but those more guilty who placed in their way the temptations which led them to guilt, pursue their race of iniquity unquestioned. What do I say? They are applauded, honoured, celebrated, rewarded!

The ignorance and immorality of a people attest the badness of its government. The ignorance and immorality of the Africans is the reproach of the negro-dealers, planters, and all their accomplices; since what example do they give to those they consider as so far beneath them? No Creole lady will associate with a negress or woman of colour, were she to be a Lucretia in chastity; nor will they marry or even admit to their tables a man of these proscribed races, were he to be a Socrates in wisdom and virtue. Those among them who are gifted with an innate love of virtue for its own sake, may observe its laws without the stimulus of reputation, and in spite of the evil example of the white population; others, seeing that no respect or consideration is to be gained by forbearance, give way to the impulse of their passions, and become vicious and brutal.

Such their position makes them, and such would be the white population under similar circumstances; but under the present regulations, if the depravity of white persons be equal to that of the other races, the guilt is greater, since the light of the gospel

has illumined them, while their sable brethren remain in the night of Paganism.

In the decrepitude of European society, esteem is a currency which ought to be sparingly employed. In order to bestow it suitably, let us appreciate men, not according to their colour, their power, or their riches. To act thus will be to co-operate with the works of God. A good man, however abject his state in society, however dark his skin or ignoble his form, is doubtless more acceptable to the Almighty than a depraved being, even were his brows bound with a diadem. A dusky complexion hides not the inward man from the scrutiny of the Creator. His mercy is offered alike *for all persons*. Why is that peculiar expression repeated more than twenty-five times in the Bible, but to inculcate more forcibly the important truth which it contains ?

Ancient philosophers and profane moralists have left us some admirable precepts ; but none have ever equalled the sublimity of the evangelical precept, *Love your neighbour as yourself*. This is what Christ came to teach us all, and this is what, as it seems, negro dealers and planters have yet to learn. *As yourselves* ; these sacred words excite a train of retrospective thought. Is such pure and simple benevolence to be reconciled with the practice of those zealots in theory, who, severe to mark what is amiss, carry the warfare of human passion to the very steps of the altar, are pitiless toward the weakness of a back-sliding brother, and make of the practices of religion, not the pious exercise of an humble spirit, but the ostensible means of attaining to worldly power and eminence.

The principles of Christianity, well understood and well put in practice, would level all those barriers of opinion which divide nations, which we are taught to believe will hereafter all be united together, one flock under one shepherd. How adorable is that faith which, adapted to all ages, all ranks, each sex, and every age, is the eternal work of Him who proclaimed from on high, Peace upon earth and good will unto all men !

In the United States of America, the blacks and persons of colour belonging to each religious sect, have their separate places of worship. The antipathy of the whites does not yield to the influence of social prayer ; but the Catholic Church has rejected a prejudice so irreconcilable to the spirit of the Gospel. Her ministers admit no distinctions of spiritual gifts ; all are admitted to the same holy table.

Some Jesuit-missionaries, who, in order to conform themselves to the prejudices of the natives in Asia concerning caste, kept their pariah-converts in the same state of humiliation in which they found them, incurred the censure of the church. The annals of the saints contain the names of many Africans who edified their

white brethren by the example of their virtues, and after a series of judicial and regular investigations, have obtained the honours of canonization. In 1806, Pius the Seventh recognized Saint Benedict of Palermo. Potentates who disturbed the world by their arms are, some forgotten, some hated by posterity, while a poor African, the citizen of Heaven, receives the homage of Catholics of every hue and complexion.

The Papal chair, by means of its pontiffs, and, above all, through the agency of Alexander the Third, has proclaimed, that slavery being contrary to the intention of nature, all men have an equal right to liberty.\*

In 1683, Cardinal Cibo intimated to the African missionaries the command to oppose the sale of negroes.

Although planters are, in general, little acquainted with religion, which ought, nevertheless, to form the chief aim and motive to action of all men during their brief passage through this world of trial; yet a vague presentiment warns them, that to instruct the negroes in Christianity, would be to sap the foundations of the blood-cemented edifice of the slave-trade. When the French government approved the formation of American colonies, it stipulated, at the same time, that the slaves should be prepared for baptism by proper instruction. The negligence of some planters, and the opposition made to this injunction by others, have rendered it unavailing, though frequently repeated.\* The same may be said of the Dutch and English colonies. Thence arose the ill-treatment and cruelty lately practised against the missionary Smith, in Demarara. It must be remembered with horror, that he was condemned to death, and having expired in his cell, his remains were dragged to the gibbet. Thence may be explained the fury of the planters who, in 1823, destroyed a Methodist chapel in Barbadoes, and ill-treated the preacher.

Here we may pause, to make an observation which appears to be new; it is that, in every branch of human knowledge, but chiefly in what concerns religion, the principles laid down are never offensive; the abuse of them only becomes hostile and pernicious. Since the beginning of the French revolution, have we not had occasion to observe this a thousand times, during the struggle between the inflexible courage of a small number of real friends to the negro race, and the obstinate perseverance of the negro traders and colonists?

When reason and religion venture to oppose pride and interest, it is difficult for them to maintain their ground. Can the doctrine of charity amalgamate with these two vices?

\* See the letter of Alexander III. to Lupus, King of Valencia, in the *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores*. In folio, London, 1652, vol. 1, p. 587.

\* See *Moreau Saint-Méry, Recueil de Lois et Ordonnances*, etc., *passim*.

But negro traders colonists, and their accomplices, have contrived for themselves a religion of their own, an accommodating creed, not indeed suitable to our Redeemer, but suitable to the habits of courts, and convenient for the purpose of worldly men. Such listen, willingly, to the law of life as revealed to us, when it does not militate against their projects or their passions; but turn a deaf ear to all by which their practice is condemned. To imbue such minds with the spirit of the Gospel, would be, indeed, to ask a miracle not less manifest than that which overthrew the apostle Paul on his way to Damascus, and made of him a new man.

A prejudice which merely rests upon an erroneous opinion easily gives way to reason; but not so when guilty propensities are interested in its defence, and for the reason that a man is much more tenacious of his affections than of his understanding. Of all the moral maladies of man, pride is the most ancient and the most inveterate: it lurks under a thousand disguises, even the most ignoble. Among savages, it displays itself by an extraordinary length of nails, by perforated ears, by a peculiar mode of tatooing, &c. &c. Among those we term civilized nations, by embroidered habits, by ribbands, by rolls of parchment, &c. &c. Among the planters, to be white is the distinction. All these frivolities arise from the same source.

To root up vanity, when grafted on the stubborn stock of avarice, is an enterprise far exceeding mere human powers; but without aiming to extirpate those vices, may we not endeavour to give them another direction, and succeed in proving to the planter, that his own interest demands a change in his measures, and that his own pleasure and safety depend on some care for the happiness and well-being of others?

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S O N N E T.

*To a Daughter, on the completion of her Fourteenth Year.*

ELIZA! thine the Tyrian's classic name; \*  
 Then, Caesar's yoke the indignant Briton bore:  
 Happier thy natal day than days of yore,  
 The vaunted themes of Grecia's loud acclaim,  
 Or when her muse awak'd on Tyber's shore,  
 As Maro sang the deathless Roman fame.  
 Vanquish'd and victor, lo! their rites the same,  
 Their priests, they mutter the same mystic lore.  
 Heed, then, a mother's counsel, kind and sage,  
 A father's hope, the paths of truth explore;  
 Thy young delight though fancy's forms engage,  
 Knowledge still add to wisdom's priceless store:  
 Still, duteous, listen to the hallow'd page,  
 That guide of youth shall cheer thy latest age.

N. L. T.

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\* Æneid iv. 335

ROSSETTI'S ELUCIDATION OF THE MYSTERIES OF DANTE.\*

NOTWITHSTANDING all the numerous commentaries which have been accumulated on the 'Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri,' beginning with that of Giovanni Boccaccio, one of the earliest, and coming down to the most recent, which is that of Biagioli, this mysterious poem has remained, until now, in a great measure obscure, and often unintelligible. This is not here for the first time asserted, the same confession having been made by almost all the most distinguished literati of Italy, and it is mere presumption in those who have said they entirely understood it. Were I to call for the testimony of all those who have read, or are now reading it, if they spoke sincerely, they would say that they have felt what I have myself experienced, namely, that whilst they have tasted the varied and numerous beauties which shine in the literal sense of the 'Divina Commedia,' they have found intricacies, in which, like nocturnal wanderers, they had lost themselves. And this has occurred to them and to me, from no other cause than

L' error dei cuchi chi si fanno duci,

because those who have undertaken to guide us through the obscure journey, have not possessed the skill and talent which was necessary in order to understand the way themselves, much less to make others understand it. I, who have so often read it, re-read it, and, with contempt for the allegory, understood it, and explained it literally in the best manner I could, making use of conjecture when evidence held back from me her light; nor did I perceive, till I had read the first eleven cantos of this poem, with the explanations of Signor Gabriele Rossetti, that allegory is the *soul* of the 'Divina Commedia,' and that without having recourse to this, it is impossible to understand that poem thoroughly. I must own that that contempt which I felt for the allegorical sense, was produced by the miserable dreams of those who had undertaken to explain it allegorically. But the night and the darkness vanished from before my eyes, and opened to me a vast and luminous field, showing to me a distant horizon at the mere reading of the prologomena of this learned and ingenious interpreter of the Mysteries of Dante.

The pleasure I experienced in seeing this new and vivid light shine before my eyes, was similar to that of a person, who, after having for a long time lost himself in a wilderness, at length ascertains, with certainty, where to direct his steps. Nor are the dis-

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\* 'La Divina Commedia, di Dante Alighieri, con Comento Anattlico, di Gabriele Rossetti, Volume Primo, Londra, 1826. Presso J. Murray, Albemarle-street. 8vo. pp. 468, price 30s.



coveries of this new commentator fantastical and hypothetical; but doctrines which are founded on historical, philosophical, and theological testimonies, to be found in monuments, prior to the time of Dante, and still more in the almost forgotten histories and ceremonies of his contemporaries, as well as in all the works of Dante himself. Thus, those passages which appeared absurd, are found to be perfectly in unison with reason; and those which appeared unintelligible, show an evident sense, from which all the preceding interpretations only appear "*as embers lacking life*." The reader sees set before him the most important remarks, which, whilst they open to him the secrets of this sublime poem, instructs him at the same time in the political and literary history, which form, in fact, the soul of it.

Amongst the lights which shine in Rossetti's work, to elucidate the '*Divina Commedia*,' others also appear, which give evidence that the apparent language of love which is used by Dante in his sonnets, songs, and ballads, as well as the apparent language of devotion which marks his translation of the penitential psalms, and other sacred poetry, is the language of the Ghibellines, and nothing more.

But, as the aim of the new commentator is to explain the '*Divina Commedia*' of Dante, and as our wish is to present an abridged analytical notice of his new mode of investigating its meaning, we will proceed step by step to the examination of the first volume, which is now before the world.

Virgil is, after Alighieri, the most important character in the two first parts of the '*Divina Commedia*,' that is to say, in the '*Inferno*,' and the '*Purgatorio*;' the lord, master, guide, poet, father, and learned instructor. Those who interpret Dante in the literal sense, only consider Virgil as the author of the '*Eclogues*,' the '*Georgics*,' and the '*Æneid*;' and those who follow the allegory say, that he represents philosophy. If we follow him only as a poet, many difficulties present themselves, which it is impossible to explain. The first is that in which he says, that, *i suoi parenti furon Lombardi*, and that he was born *sub Julio*. (Inf. c. 1.) The name of Lombardian was introduced into Italy, as every one knows, several years after the death of Virgil; therefore he could not say that his *parents* were Lombards; and *to be born under Julius*, was a form of speech which could not be used before Julius Cæsar had assumed the perpetual dictatorship. When Virgil says to Dante that he was the first in the circle of Judas, convoked by Thessalian Erichon to bring up a spirit, where it is believed allusion was made to the incantations of that sorceress, described by Lucan in the sixth book of the '*Pharsalia*,' in order that that spirit might reveal to Sesto, the son of Pompey, what would be the end of the war between Cæsar and his Father,—who does not find himself lost in the reflection, that at that time Virgil

was not yet dead? And when the Heresiarch, Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, asks Dante why his son Guido is not with him, what is the meaning of his answer,—that he is not come by his own power, but that he has been brought by him who attends there, (that is, Virgil,) whom Guido might have disdained to follow? (Inf. c. 10.) Guido was a poet, and a poet of the highest excellence, although, in Dante's own words, *avea tolto la gloria della lingua a Guido Guinzelli*. How then could a poet disdain to follow the illustrious Roman bard? If we follow Virgil under the allegorical figure of philosophy, when he says that his parents were Lombardians, and that he was born under Julius, some parts must be explained with manifest incongruity: as when we say, that philosophy was born of Lombard parents, and was not known before the time of Julius Cæsar, and that Guido Cavalcanti, a great philosopher, disdained to follow philosophy represented in the person of Virgil. But here Rossetti makes all these difficulties vanish as clouds before the wind, and explains them in a manner perfectly consonant to reason. He says that Virgil is *Monarchical or Ghibelline philosophy*. Thus it is natural and reasonable to say, that the *Monarchical philosophy* was born under Julius Cæsar, who was the founder of it; that it lived under Augustus, who confirmed it; and that it was afterwards born again in Italy, of Lombard parents; since, in Lombardy, appeared the first Ghibellines; that this philosophy was that which brought up the shades of the Pompeian soldier to reveal to Sesto the fall of his father, and, in consequence, the origin of the Roman Empire; and that Guido Cavalcanti, apparently a Guelph, although secretly a Ghibelline, disdained, for fear of shame, to follow Virgil, the Ghibelline philosophy.

After showing what that Virgil was who accompanies Dante, without the knowledge of which it is impossible to understand many passages of the 'Divina Commedia,' the new commentator goes on to speak of the three wild beasts met by Alighieri at the foot of the mountain, namely, the panther, the lion, and the she-wolf. By the first, he says and proves, must be allegorically understood the Florentine Republic, composed of *bianchi* and *neri* (*white and black*); this ferocious beast being, according to the description which Binnetto Latini, Dante's master, has left us in his *Tesoro*, *speckled with little white and black spots*. And he then says, that the *gay skin* of this wild beast was the foundation of hope for Dante, since he saw the *bianchi* (whites), his adherents and abettors, in its white spots. The lion, he adds, is in the escutcheon of the house of France, and the princes of that house were sometimes compared to it. Charles of Anjou caused to be inscribed on the tomb of Conadino, who was beheaded by his commands, the following distich:

\* *Asturis unque Leo pullum rassicus aquilicium  
Ille deplumavit, acceptalongoque dedit:*

From which it is clear that this animal allegorically signifies nothing more than the Guelphic Court of France ; and he adduces various passages taken from Dante himself in proof of this assertion. Then, that the wolf is the symbol of the Roman Court, which was the centre and head of Guelphism, he proves by superabundant reasonings.

Following the work, which we have undertaken to examine analytically, we come to the explanation of the forest, in which are trees and wild beasts. By the forest, is to be understood the uncultivated age in which Alighieri lived ; the trees are the symbols of the ignorant men, who only vegetate, and the wild beasts are the cruel men who malignantly injure others. This being promised, many passages of the '*Divina Commedia*' become clear, and the explanation of them, according to this new theory, at once proves the truth which results from it. The forest is in a valley, a symbol of the degradation into which man falls through vice ; and it is dark, because vice renders dark and erroneous the course of human life, and the valley is overhung by the hill, whose shoulders are

— Vested with that planet's beam  
Which leads all wanderers safe through every way.

The hill represents self-rising Virtue ; and the sun, which irradiates it, is the symbol of Reason.

It is not my intention to expound the erudite, learned, and ingenious proofs which the author adduces in support of his new system, nor the just observations which he makes in refutation of the absurd systems of those who have preceded him in endeavouring to explain the '*Divina Commedia*;' I shall, therefore, proceed briefly to examine what he says on the '*Inferno*' and its form.

Dante's '*Inferno*' is a hollow gulf, which opens, to an immense extent on the surface of the globe, nine circular and concentric stages, which gradually decline and diminish until they terminate in the centre of the earth. The middle of the surface, which covers this gulf, is supposed to be Jerusalem, and Rome its interval, by which, drawing from every point of this circumference rays to the centre of the earth, the poet describes in his imagination the Infernal Pit. This motive for placing the infernal regions in the bosom of the earth, is thus revealed in the most evident manner.

All those who have undertaken to explain the '*Divina Commedia*' beginning from Boccaccio, have supposed this to be a moral poem, and they have opened to us the secret caskets, when their key has enabled them to do so ; but when they have not been able to turn the lock, they confuse themselves by launching forth into long and tedious prosings, which, after annoying us greatly, leave our minds more involved in obscurity than they were when we first read them.

All those who have commented on the '*Divina Commedia*' have

seen in it no other allegory than that of morality ; but going in this erroneous path, they have lost themselves in a labyrinth. Rossetti is the first who has discovered that the poem of Dante is a continual *Political Allegory* ; and it is certainly wonderful to think that among so many commentators no one has been found before him to make this discovery, while Dante himself clearly discovers it in these two first verses of his epitaph :

‘ *Jura monarchiæ, superos, phlegatonta lacusque,  
Lustrando cecini voluerunt Fata quousque.*’

The ‘ *Divina Commedia* ’ may be said to be an essence of the political history of the times of its author, and is frequently allusive to his own life, to his misfortunes, and both to private and public affairs. Some difficulties, which it is impossible to explain in the moral sense, become clear and evident by explaining them according to the new system. Boccaccio and Laudino, who have taken the she-wolf for Avarice, and the greyhound, who comes to kill it with pain, for Jesus Christ, go on making

‘ *Sogni d’informi e folle di romanzo.*’

And when they ought to explain what is the signification of *tra Feltro e Feltro*, they convert that city and that mountain into clouds, in which they say that Christ will come to judge the living and the dead ! Venturi, who, like Vellutello, has taken the greyhound for *Can Grande della Scala*, complains that Dante wished to signify *Verona, con termini troppe lontani, e con stile geografico pochissimo scrupoloso*, Verona being too distant from the city of Feltre, and from Mount Feltro. If, however, the reader adopt the interpretation of Rossetti, it will be clearly shown that this is not the right interpretation. Dante says, speaking of the wolf :

‘ *Molte son gli animali a cui si ammoglia,  
E piu saranno ancora in fin che il Veltro,  
Verrà che la farà morir de doglia.  
Questi non ciberà terra ne peltro,  
Ma sapienza e amore e vertute,  
E sua Nazione sarà tra Feltro e Feltro.*’

And here is the true sense of these words.

The first verse mentions the allegorical marriage of the she-wolf with other animals ; that is, of the Court of Rome with other courts, whose coat-of-arms, in general, consist of certain animals, such as the eagle, the horse, the lion, and with the lion was then married the she-wolf ; and in the first half of the second, the author alludes to the secret practices of Boniface to join with other potentates against Philip the Fair. We shall find that the greyhound is *Can Grande della Scala*, then master of Verona, a declared Ghibelline, and, consequently, an enemy to the Roman Court, which was

the centre of the Guelph faction, whence he is here represented under the figure of a greyhound, who is to cause the she-wolf to die of pain. Fine dreams of the hopes of Dante! But his hopes were not unfounded. A prophecy was then repeated of Michael Scott, the most famous diviner of those times; and who, according to Dante himself, *seppe veramente il gioco delle magiche frodi*, which prophecy promised to the infant, 'Can Grande,' the future sovereignty of the Marca Trivigiana, and all the Padovian territory, which is clearly attested by Giovanni Villani: '*Fu adempta la profexia di Michele Scotto, che disse che il Cane di Verona sarebbe Signore di Padova e di tutta la Marca di Trevisi.*' And, perhaps, from that prophesy it arose afterwards that the superstitious Ghibellines elected 'Can Grande' at the head of their coalition, and that he exerted himself to acquire that which he thought, according to the prophesy, he had a right to. Signor Rosetti then proceeding to explain the verse,

'E sua Nazione sarà tra Feltro e Feltro,'

says, that in this line is contained the prophecy of Scott; Feltro being a city of the Marca Trivigiana, and Feltro a mountain in the *Legazione* of Urbino, a space which includes a vast territory. Thus it is proved that Dante is a good geographer, and Venturi a bad interpreter.\*

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#### TO MY OWN VERSES.

Would I could give you life and soul,  
And send you forth—  
Then call you back by strong control  
Of magic or enchanted bowl,

To know your worth,  
By questioning what praise or sneers  
Had filled your unsuspected ears!

How should I joy to hear you tell,  
That beauty's eye  
Had glistened at your artless spell,  
And turned away with moist farewell,

And that a sigh  
Rose too, unbidden, as you fled  
With the light muses' airy tread.

But go, nor you nor I can know  
Whether you charm,  
And cause the blissful tear to flow  
Adown the warm cheek's smiling glow;

Or only arm  
The frowning critic's wrathful pen,  
To gore you in his darksome den!

BROW.

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\* This analytical review will be continued in the succeeding Number.

## ON THE CONQUEST OF PERU AND MEXICO BY THE MONGOLS.

IN a brief sketch of some of the leading theories of the geologists, given in our pages several months since, especial attention was bestowed on that maintained by Mr. Ranking, by whose 'Wars and Sports of the Monguls and Romans' our remarks were principally elicited. The object of that work was to prove that no bones of any fossil animal had yet been found, except in situations in which it was probable that they had been placed by the hands of man. Against this view of the subject we advanced numerous objections, which appeared to us conclusive; and the view we then took has since received additional confirmation, from the discovery of a test by which antediluvian bones may be at once distinguished from those of more recent deposition. The forthcoming part of the 'Transactions of the Geological Society' will contain an account of it, by Professor Buckland, and as it would be obviously unfair to anticipate the publication for which it is designed by its distinguished discoverer, we content ourselves with stating that it is most simple and easy of application, and that its certainty is such, that, with scarcely an exception, it will discriminate between bones from Roman tombs and those usually attributed to a diluvian origin.

But it is not our intention again to wander through the intricacies of geology. To that subject we adverted only for the purpose of introducing to our readers a recent work by Mr. Ranking, which has sprung up out of the inquiries which formerly occupied his attention.

Aware that bones of the Asiatic elephant had been discovered in America, a new world, unknown to, and apparently unconquered either by Romans or Monguls, Mr. Ranking felt that a powerful argument against the theory he supported might be thence deduced. He, however, requested that judgment against him might be deferred until he should produce evidence that a connexion had existed between the Monguls and America sufficient to account for the appearance in that continent of the animals which formed so important a portion of the pomp and power of those mighty conquerors of the East. In his 'Historical Researches on the Conquest of Peru, Mexico, Bogota, Natchez, and Talomeco, in the thirteenth century, by the Monguls,' he has endeavoured to redeem his pledge. He considers it highly probable that a portion of the Asiatic troops, despatched by the Mongul emperor of China, Shi-tsu, for the subjugation of Japan, had been carried across the Pacific Ocean by the tremendous storm which scattered and destroyed that vast armament; and that the few who were spared from the fury of the tempest had arrived in Peru, having at their

head the commander of the expedition, Mooko, whom Mr. Ranking recognises in the first Inca, Mango. The earliest traditions of the Peruvians, as related by the uncle of Garcilasso de la Vega, himself of the royal blood, refer to an invasion of their country by giants, of whose cruelty the most dreadful tales were handed down from father to son. In the description of this terrible race, Mr. Ranking finds an exaggerated account of the elephants which accompanied the Asiatic expedition. The giants were at length destroyed by the vengeful wrath of the gods, their bones alone being left unconsumed as a perpetual memorial of punishment for pride and rapine. After their destruction, there appeared on the banks of the Lake Titiaca a man and woman of majestic form, Manco, on whom the additional name of Capac was afterwards conferred by his subjects, and Coya Mama. These extraordinary visitors represented themselves as children of the Sun and Moon, sent in pity for the miserable condition of mankind to reclaim them from their savage lives, and impart to them the comforts of civilization. Their reception was cordial: they were immediately recognised as legislators and sole governors; and, after building the city of Cuzco, laid the foundation of an empire, which was extended by succeeding Incas over the whole of Peru.

In confirmation of the Mongul origin of the Incas, Mr. Ranking quotes abundantly from the works of many of the visitors of America, laying equally under contribution the productions of the immediate successors of the Spanish conquerors, and those of more recent travellers, including the scientific Humboldt and his unfortunate companion, Bonpland. With the majority of these writers, it has been a favourite object to show that the aborigines of America were derived from the Asiatic continent; and they have consequently insisted on numerous points of coincidence which may be traced between the inhabitants of both, in their religious observances, in their government, in their modes of computation, especially of time, in many of their customs, and in various other particulars. Some of these are remarkably striking; and are, moreover, such as could scarcely have originated in the southern hemisphere. But as resemblances occur in other parts of America to an extent equally remarkable as in Peru, it was necessary to attempt to prove that Asiatics had penetrated into those countries also. Hence it is insisted on, that Mexico was invaded by Monguls, who had quitted their original habitations in the sixth, and had reached the table-land in the thirteenth century, by successive migrations, and by the displacement of preceding tribes. Evidences of these migrations is drawn from the traditions of the Mexicans, and from their emblematic writings, as given by Purchas, which have been generally allowed to convey a faithful sketch of their wanderings, previously to their final settlement, and of their government, until the arrival of their Spanish conquerors. The proofs

of the subjugation of Bogota, Natchez, and Talomeco, advanced by Mr. Ranking, rest solely on the similarity of the customs observed among the native tribes to those of the nations of Eastern Asia, and on the occurrence of bones of elephants in various situations. If to these leading features it be added, that histories are given of the Incas of Peru, and of the Emperors of Mexico, until the Spanish invasion, a correct idea will be furnished of the contents of the 'Historical Researches.'

Now, although we are inclined to agree with the generally received opinion, that the aborigines of America were derived almost entirely from the continent of Asia, an opinion supported long since by Grotius and Hornius, and advocated in later days by the able historian, Robertson, we can by no means believe that any connexion has occurred at so recent a date as that assigned by Mr. Ranking. The peculiar physiognomy, and especially the copper-coloured complexion which distinguish the native tribes of the northern and elevated portions of the New, from every race inhabiting the Old World, could only have been produced so extensively by a continued application of causes during ages almost beyond conception. So strikingly distinct, indeed, is the genuine American, that the earlier invaders were prevailed on only by the infallible authority of a Papal bull to regard him as a man. In modern times, the edict of Rome has ceased to receive implicit veneration; and many of the continental naturalists have ventured to consider him as constituting a different species from the rest of mankind. He is enumerated as one of the ten species of man described by Desmoulins, and as one of the fifteen species into which the acumen of Bory de Saint Vincent has divided the human race. Virey, Blumenbach, De Lacepède, and others, have also advanced similar opinions. It would be interfering too deeply with our established modes of belief, to place full confidence in these new views; but they are of importance in the investigation, as tending to show that the copper-coloured American, if not, as they would almost assume, a distinct race from the commencement, had at least been so long set apart from other men, as to have become endowed with characters eminently distinguishing him from his original brethren.

With the evidence of a long isolation, deduced from the physical properties of the American, that which is supplied to us by the state of his civilization at the period of the Spanish conquest, perfectly coincides. The very first advance of man emerging from an absolutely savage state, would probably be the attempt to secure a permanent supply of nourishment, and thus to render himself in a great measure independent of seasons and of chance. To cultivate the ground, and to domesticate animals, would therefore be his employments in the earliest ages of society. Yet in both these points the Americans were deficient; the former was only partially



resorted to, while the latter was utterly unknown except among the Peruvians. In lieu of the flocks and herds which throughout all known time have supplied to the inhabitants of the Old World his food and clothing, and of the beasts of burden by which his labours have ever been alleviated, only one animal reclaimed from savage life was found in the vast extent of America, and this was met with in Peru alone. The lama, a quadruped resembling the camel, but inferior in size and activity, was employed in the transportation of goods, its fleece was manufactured into clothing, and its hide was used as leather. Beyond this single acquisition from the animal kingdom, the American native had not advanced. He appears not to have possessed the dog, the familiar follower of man in every other portion of the globe, and the companion of even the degraded and unintelligent inhabitant of New Holland, to whom, in this respect, he must be regarded as inferior. If his departure from the Old World had not been antecedent to the first dawnings of civilization, he would have carried with him into the land of his future residence some of the animals to whose services he had been accustomed, or at least he would have endeavoured to supply the deficiency his comforts would have experienced from their absence by the taming of such others, the bison, for instance, as were to be met with in America.

Without insisting on other points of minor importance, which would swell this notice to an extent far beyond its value, we shall rest the question upon these prominent facts alone, and conclude with a single remark in relation to the supposed means of the introduction of elephants into America. Of a Mongul armament, horses formed a part certainly not inferior to those immense animals in moment and in number. The bones of horses, however, are not stated by Cuvier to have been found fossil in the New World. They may indeed yet be discovered, and this objection would then fall; but it would still require to be explained by what means the race of that generous beast became extinct in climes so well adapted to its wants, and in which it has multiplied since its introduction by Europeans, to the immense extent described by all travellers; and how, moreover, tradition should have failed to commemorate the existence of so valuable an animal during the short period which elapsed prior to the Spanish invasion, at which time the Peruvians were so utterly ignorant of it as to doubt whether the horse and its rider did not in reality constitute one compound being.

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THE JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT, AND THE GRAND JURY  
AT BOMBAY.

*(Communicated by a Correspondent.)*

At the last July sessions, in Bombay, the 'Calendar' contained a case of libel; his Lordship, the Chief Justice, in his charge to the Grand Jury, delivered his opinion upon the subject of this case, that the words charged to have been published by the defendant amounted to a libel. The bill was thrown out by the Grand Jury in its original form, and also in a slightly altered shape. The prosecutor, having ascertained that all the witnesses on the part of the prosecution had not been examined by the Grand Jury, moved for another Grand Jury\* to inquire into the concealments of the first Grand Jury. The motion, however, after his counsel had been heard in its support, was thrown out; and the prosecutor subsequently moved for a criminal information against the alleged libeller. During the sessions, the Grand Jury twice presented the conduct of those concerned in the prosecution, as constituting attempts upon the independence of the Grand Jury. The motion for the criminal information was, in the mean time, argued, but was, in the end, refused, chiefly upon the ground, that the words charged to have been published by the defendant were not sufficiently definite to warrant the case being further proceeded in; but while these motions, for the second Grand Jury, and for the criminal information, were before the Court, his Lordship, the Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Chambers, took occasion to express their doubts of the propriety of the Grand Jury's conduct in throwing out the bills without examining all the witnesses; and when the last motion was rejected, the defendant was adjudged to pay his own costs.

On the 14th of this month, (October 1826,) at the opening of the third sessions, Mr. Justice Chambers, in the absence of Mr. Justice Rice, whose province it would otherwise have been, charged the Grand Jury, consisting (with one exception, the result probably of accident,) of different persons from those who composed the Grand Jury in July. He commenced with saying, that he was not sorry that the absence of Mr. Justice Rice had imposed upon him this duty, as he was anxious to deliver his sentiments on points, which the occurrences of the last sessions rendered it important for him to discuss; that as his reflections extended to some length, he had embodied them in a written note, which he would read to the Grand

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\* This was done upon a statute of the 3d of Henry VII., the substance of which is given in Tyndale and Tyrwhitt's Digest, (1822.) vol. i. p. 121, pl. 16, 17. and 18

**Jury.** The note occupied, in the reading, probably an hour and a half. It gave an interesting account of the origin and history of the Jury institution; the functions of jurors, and the mode in which they discharged them; and here, by the way, the practice of ancient and modern times seemed sometimes diametrically opposite to each other. It treated of the private or personal knowledge of jurors on matters brought before them, and the weight which should be given to it in producing the verdict; of the field occupied, respectively, by the Court and the Jury; and the extent to which the latter should be ruled by the opinion of the former. A certain space of debateable ground it stated to exist, but the charge did not attempt, strictly, to define its limits. Arbitrary judges and licentious juries had both, it stated, been known. For the excesses of the former, the Jury, by not following the direction of the Bench, had an effectual remedy. The charge concluded with a just eulogy on the Jury institution, as being the best practical institution that was ever invented.

The Grand Jury subsequently requested that it might be favoured with a copy of the charge. The learned Judge declined acceding to this request, as he did not wish to sanction the precedent; the charge, however, was, he said, in the press, and he would take care that every individual jurymen, who wished it, should receive a copy.

At the close of the sessions, the Grand Jury made its presentment. Having been handed to the Clerk of the Crown, it was delivered by him to the learned Judge presiding in the Court at the time, (Mr. Justice Chambers,) who, having read it, said, on redelivering it to the Clerk of the Crown: 'I have no objection to receive that presentment; let it be read;' or words to that effect. The presentment was then read as follows:

*To the Honourable Sir E. West, Kt., Chief Justice, and Sir C. H. Chambers, Kt., Puisne Judge, of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Bombay.*

MY LORDS,

A deputation from the Grand Jury has visited the jail, and found it in the usual state of cleanliness, comfort, and security. The Grand Jury understands, that alterations of considerable extent in the building are in contemplation; any suggestions, therefore, on this subject, appear to be superfluous; and the Grand Jury are persuaded, that those alterations will, when effected, be found to answer all the purposes designed.

On the subject of police, the only recommendation which the Grand Jury beg to offer is in support of the suggestion made by the Grand Jury last July, that the former system of conducting prosecutions, by means of a public prosecutor, should be resorted to, as one more suited to the feelings and sentiments of the Native community, and better calculated to bring offenders to justice.

On the subject of the charge delivered by Mr. Justice Chambers, the Grand Jury, from hearing it only once, and most of them entertaining an impression that they would afterwards have the means of consulting it more particularly,

feel themselves unable to make any detailed observations; but they beg leave to remark, that the impression on their minds is, that the general exposition of the principles which should regulate the conduct of Grand Jurymen, as contained in the charge of the learned Judge, is in unison with the ideas on that subject entertained by the Grand Jury; and that it is the Grand Jury's conviction, that the Grand Juries of Bombay, so far as their experience reaches, have always acted in conformity with those principles, and will always continue to do so.

Grand Jury Room, Bombay, Oct. 18, 1826.

(Signed)

C. NORRIS, Foreman.

Mr. Justice Chambers then said, that, 'if that presentment had not been so moderate, he certainly would not have received it: as it was, he had few remarks to make upon it. Sitting, as he did, in that situation, it was his duty jealously to guard the rights of the Bench, and he would take special care to preserve his own independence. The charge was simply on a point of law, which, as a Judge, it was his duty to lay down. He had particularly mentioned that Grand Juries were free from any penal consequences, and the Bench was equally so, as there was no power that could take cognizance of a Judge overstepping the line of his duty but the Crown. He would not suffer any Grand Jury, however respectable it might be, to comment on his charge, when confined to points of law.' The learned Judge then said, 'You are discharged.' The discharged Grand Jury then left the box.

The learned Judge has since abandoned his intention of publishing his charge, having intimated to the members of the late Grand Jury a wish to be relieved from his promise on that subject, in which they have accordingly acquiesced.

That a Grand Jury should imagine that it was entitled to discuss, in the Court, points of law with the Judge, would be sufficiently extraordinary: and the fact, therefore, ought hardly, one would think, to be credited, unless it were established on strong grounds. On looking at the presentment, we find that it states, that 'the impression on their' (the Grand Jurymen's) 'minds is, that the general exposition of the principles which should regulate the conduct of Grand Jurymen, as contained in the charge of the learned Judge, is in unison with the ideas on that subject entertained by the Grand Jury,' and that, in consequence of the imperfect opportunity afforded them of becoming acquainted with the charge, 'they' (the Grand Jurymen) 'felt themselves unable to make any detailed observations on the subject.' Now, allowing, in the first place, for the sake of argument, that the charge consisted of nothing but pure law, considering that the topic discussed was the duty of jurymen, it does seem to be rather unreasonable to debar Grand Jurymen from stating that their sentiments concurred with those delivered from the bench; that is to say, that the ideas, which they have of their duty, drawn, probably, from other sources than those which had led to the conclusions of the learned Judge,

happened still to coincide with these conclusions. And if such a communication were not improper, surely it was not unsuitable. There could not possibly be a stronger pledge afforded to the Court, that the Grand Jury would do its duty cheerfully and well, than this explicit declaration, that it understood and felt its duty to be as described by the learned Judge. Had the Grand Jury had the opportunity of making the more 'detailed observations' alluded to, it might have been enabled to thank the learned Judge for the light thrown on particular parts of the subject by the aid of historical research and legal knowledge; it might have observed, that on some points its previous information had been imperfect; on others, its previous impressions had been unformed; but that the charge dissipated all doubts and obscurities, and substituted satisfactory proof and full conviction: all this might probably have been done, allowing the subject treated to have been one of pure law, and it would be hard to say that the jury could apprehend rebuke. But from the short sketch, above attempted, of the learned Judge's charge, it will appear very doubtful that the address could properly be said to be confined to pure law. One portion of it consisted of historical information; in another part, *debateable ground*, to the occupation of which, it appeared, both the Court and jury had claims, was distinctly mentioned; and a third part bore allusion to cases beyond regular law, when the jury, in support of justice and equity, should disregard the unjust directions of the Judge, though on points left to his direction by the law, and act according to its own conscience and judgment. Is there nothing in all this, that a Grand Jury may say one word about, even in concurring with the Judge? Surely, this and more may be done. Historical notices may, without doubt, be questioned if necessary; and if, on the subjects of *debateable ground*, and cases beyond the law, one of the parties, sharing the doubtful jurisdiction, were to offer an opinion, such occurrence could hardly be deemed very extraordinary or irregular.

It may seem therefore very questionable, whether the Grand Jury would not have been fully justified, if it had thought it advisable, in offering observations, not in strict accordance with parts of this particular charge; but nothing whatever of this kind, be it remarked, was done; it expressed its concurrence in 'the general exposition,' which the charge contained, 'of the principles which should regulate the conduct of Grand Jurymen;' and the presentment was 'moderate' (the term used by the learned Judge, though applicable, it would seem, rather to imagined disagreement than actual occurrence.) Under such circumstances, a hope might reasonably have been entertained, that if the Grand Jury had appeared, by its presentment, to claim the singular privilege of expounding points of law in Court, explanation might have been asked, in order to ascertain whether such were really its meaning. This was the

more necessary, since that meaning being assumed, seemed held at once to establish the fact of highly culpable invasion of the province of the Court ; for surely it must have been a strong impression of this nature that produced the discharging speech of the learned Judge, or he would hardly have failed to infuse into it more of that spirit, the prevalence of which in the presentment was so marked as to elicit favourable notice even in the midst of censure

## STANZAS,

*Written on board the Asia, off Madeira, June 28, 1826.*

GLIDE, gallant bark ! thy destined course along  
The bosom of the wide and shoreless ocean,  
And speed thy wat'ry flight still swifter on,  
With outspread white wings, and majestic motion !  
Pass we Madeira's isle, while o'er the deep  
In sombre shade, the dark Desertas frown—  
As now behind their rude and slaggy steep,  
The sun's last rays are seen descending down.

Speed, gallant bark ! speed on thy destined track,  
To distant climes beyond earth's central line—  
To any country bear me so not back  
Again, it be to that which birth made mine ;  
For little have I left in Albion's land  
That others prize, and justly count as dear ;  
To grace my parting waved no female hand,  
Or Beauty gave the tribute of a tear.

The summer of my days is spent and past,  
The aspirations of my youth are o'er ;  
In solitude my lonely lot is cast—  
A wanderer on earth, from shore to shore ;  
With love of fame my dawn of life awoke,  
And hopes of honours, that ambition fired ;—  
Too soon, howe'er, the blight of passion broke  
Upon the day-dreams which those hopes inspired.

Too soon her fairy form had fann'd a flame  
Far fiercer than the first which fired my breast ;  
Too soon the demon Disappointment came,  
And hopeless Passion raved itself to rest.  
The dreams of love—of fame—of hope, once fled,  
Then what of sweet, or noble, now remains ?—  
'T were better sure to slumber with the dead,  
Than thus to live, and wear of life the chains !

## LETTERS FROM A CONTINENTAL TRAVELLER.

*Milan, April 9, 1827.*

AFTER the doleful accounts I heard at Venice of Velluti's health, my surprise was not small at hearing, on my arrival at Florence, that he was there before me, and singing at the Grand Duke's concert, and also at those of Lord Burghersh. I did not hear him at either, not having been presented at Court, and not having been introduced to Lord Burghersh; but his singing has given rise to a warm strife amongst the critics—one party asserting that he has altogether lost his voice, and sings intolerably out of tune, whilst the other maintain that his singing is more excellent than ever. Amidst such uncompromising asseverations, it is difficult to get at the truth; but if it be true that his powers are so decayed, I am glad that I had no opportunity of witnessing the alteration, and that the recollection of his exquisite modulations may remain undisturbed. It was reported that he had re-engaged himself to sing in London; others said he was to be at Paris, and others at Vienna.

Florence is one of the few cities in Italy which has a Grand Opera during Lent. Whether it be some lurking qualms of conscience at thus diverting themselves during a season of fasting and mortification, or the vicinity of the Pope and excommunication, that influences the people of Florence, I know not, but the Opera generally puts on its Sunday clothes, and is termed an oratorio, whilst the ballet is suppressed as a sin too enormous to be suffered in a pious and orderly community.

In the present instance, the oratorio was 'Jefte.' The subject is the vow of Jeptha, and affords situations and incidents sufficiently dramatic. The music was expressly composed for the occasion by Generali, whose name stands deservedly very high amongst modern composers. He was the master of Rossini, and may fairly be considered the model on which the popular school of that great maestro is founded. Indeed, if all Rossini's obligations to Generali were known, the claim of the former to originality would be greatly weakened. 'Jefte' in no way differs from any other serious opera, but in the story being taken from sacred writings, and the music is of the same character as that usually applied to heathen and profane dramas; not like the solemn productions of Handel and Beethoven, but, like Rossini's 'Mose,' mixing grace and melody largely with the more serene beauties which the subject naturally inspires. Generali's music was extremely well received by the Florentines, though he laboured under great disadvantages, being limited in time, and having his genius cramped by the weakness of the company for whom he was to compose; but the audience made a sufficiently marked distinction between the composer and his executive,

loading the former with applause, and receiving the latter coolly enough. The music in fact abounds in beautiful and original ideas, and had it been sung by people who entered into the spirit of the author, it would have produced great effect. Our old friend, Bonini, was *prima donna*, but she is in bad health, and did not shine at all. Reina, the *tenor*, was the best of the set, and all that depended upon him was well done, but the rest were 'leather and prunella.'

Here, the *Scala* is dumb, a circumstance which occurs but during three weeks in the year; so that I am unfortunate. They begin in a few days, but I shall most likely be then on my way to Paris. Your remarks on the inutility of regrets at leaving Italy, and the vanity of attempting to procrastinate, are too true; but how is it possible to leave such a country and such enjoyments without bitter regrets? and then, when I think of the horrors of India, I am in perplexity how to direct my course homeward. My great desire is to go by Nice and the South of France; but conveyance thither is difficult. There are no diligences, and I must either trust myself to the deceitful ocean at Genoa, or coast leisurely along on mule-back; for either of which plans a surplus of time is necessary, which I have not. Probably I shall be so long deliberating, that a hurried and direct retreat will be the result.

The weather here is delightfully serene, and, as yet, by no means too warm,—probably owing to the vicinity of the Alps, which pour down a current of cool air. A certain Signor Orlandi went up here in a balloon a few days ago; but our Greens and Sadlers would have laughed at the little enterprize he displayed; for he merely ascended a few thousand feet, remained in the air about a quarter of an hour, and then alighted within a short distance of the place from which he went up. The best of the spectacle was the multitude of people assembled in the arena, an immense amphitheatre, which Napoleon constructed in the form of ancient buildings of that description, and which it is said can hold sixty thousand spectators. The sight of this vast place, crowded as it was on this occasion, was really fine. Madame Garnerin, *prima aëroportista*, as she styles herself, is to make a similar experiment shortly, with the additional display of a descent in a *parashute*. This letter is but a poor payment of my debts, but I have less to say than usual; for in Lent there is little to see, consequently little to talk of.

Miss Fanny Ayton I have heard repeatedly; but whoever described her as a fine singer, was but a poor judge of what is good in music. She is an agreeable singer, but nothing above mediocrity; and she was well received at Venice and elsewhere as an exotic. Zuchelli I have always considered as a very excellent singer; but his acting in the '*Gazza Ladra*,' which I have repeatedly seen, never struck me as any thing very remarkable. I believe most singers, when they go to England, knowing that the English are not judges of music, though they have discrimination in acting; turn



their attention chiefly to the latter, and in an opera more unimportant, branch of their profession.

*Milan, April 20, 1827.*

You will, no doubt, be surprised to see by the date of this, that I am still at Milan, where, probably, you expected to hear of me from Paris. The truth is, the delightful weather we have had here, has tempted me to make various rambles to the lakes and other places in the vicinity, which I had not previously seen. God knows when (if ever) I may again have an opportunity of visiting this country, and the weakness of lingering in it a few days longer than perhaps I ought, is not unpardonable. Now, however, my courage is 'screwed,' and on the 23d my journey towards Paris commences. I have been compelled to abandon my Nice scheme, owing to the difficulty of getting there with reasonable dispatch, so that my route lies over the Simplon and by Geneva. I have no desire to stop a moment in the way; and should no impediment occur to my proceeding immediately from Geneva, I shall be at Paris on the 30th. Three or four days will, in all probability, suffice for any thing to be done there, so that I may safely promise to be in London by the 7th of May. Milan is not now very full; but the ceremonies at Rome being over, the influx will soon be very great. The mortifications of Lent being terminated, (they are not very rigorous here, the theatres being shut up only for a week,) revelry has recommenced. There are two operas at present, one at the Scala, and the other at the little Teatro Re. The first is new, and is the composition of Mercadante, who is a great favourite here; but it met with but a cool reception. The music is, in truth, ordinary, and no great vocal strength is employed in it. Even Lorenzani, whose singing is, in general, so unrivalled, is here quite lost. Her style is heroic and majestic; and here they have made a whining love-sick peasant of her, and in an opera buffo too! for which Mercadante deserves to be whipped. The other opera is one of Vaccaj's, also buffo—'La Vilanella Feudataria'; and both the music and the singing are better than those of the Scala.

Madame Garnerin, a most intrepid aeronaut, filled the arena last Monday. She was to ascend in a balloon, and come down in a parachute. In the midst of the preparations, however, the sky suddenly became overcast, and a tremendous thunder-shower came on, which speedily emptied the amphitheatre. Very few were provided with umbrellas, and all were dressed in their best. The torrents of rain soaked all to the skin in a twinkling, and the destruction was immense. I heard it estimated at half a million of lire, or nearly 20,000*l.*—a glorious day for milliners and hatters. I never saw a scene of more universal distress; and, spite of the serious mishaps above mentioned, it was really highly amusing. The spectacle was, of course, prorogued, and took place on Wednesday, which happily proved a beautiful day, and it was amusing enough

to see how universal umbrellas were, and to observe the various arts which had been employed to resuscitate drooping feathers, to reduce the fractures of battered hats, and to coax into their original folds and dimples, the garments which had been so mercilessly drenched. All, however, went on smoothly this time. Madame Garnerin ascended, and, when at a great height, separated herself from the balloon, and descended in a fearful rapidity in the parachute. She arrived, however, safely, and returned immediately to the arena to receive the congratulations of the spectators.

She must be a woman of astonishing nerve, as she lately performed the same exploit at Venice, with the certain necessity of descending in the sea.

*Paris, May 7, 1827.*

Here I am at last, out of the way of all temptation to prolong my absence from sweet home; for though Paris is a pleasant enough place to spend some time in, yet after Italy it has very few attractions for me, and you may believe me perfectly sincere, when I say that my wish is to stay as short a time as possible here, and to hasten to rejoin you all, which I shall do with unfeigned satisfaction. My journey was somewhat protracted by the quantity of snow which was on the Simplon; though it may appear strange to you that such an impediment should be found so late as the end of April, yet I assure you it was not trifling. The snow was, in some places, four feet deep, and was impassable for wheeled carriages; but a track was cut through it for sledges, and in this way I was obliged to perform a considerable part of the passage. This track, which was none of the best, passed along the edges of the precipices in a manner that was really sometimes appalling, the more so as an occasional upset which we got, forced on us the conviction that our conveyance was not the most steady. But this was not the worst, for as we passed late in the day, about two o'clock, when the sun was extremely powerful, we had avalanches tumbling around us in all directions, and, in one or two instances, were obliged to remain in rather a perilous situation, whilst the coachmen were engaged in cutting through the huge mountains of snow which obstructed our progress. Now, though this was a sight really fine and greatly to be enjoyed, when the observer is placed out of the reach of harm, yet, under the particular circumstances of the case, I could have dispensed with it. This, and the loss of a day at Dijon, where I could not get a place for Paris immediately, detained me so, that I did not get here till yesterday, though I left Milan on the 23d. The journey was the most fatiguing and disagreeable I have ever performed.

## INJURIOUS CHANGES IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,—When first I entered the Indian army, twenty-five years ago, it was a consolatory saying with my brother officers, when any of them happened to meet with injustice from either Government or the Commander-in-chief, and, on representation, were refused redress, to say, ‘*I will memorialize the Court of Directors, where I know I shall have justice done me.*’ How diametrically opposite is now the fact? since, of late years, the Court of Directors have assumed to themselves the province of internal management, by sending out orders on every subject, even the most minute, connected with the army. The Governments and Commanders-in-chief have consequently become mere machines, or *cloaks*, to conceal the manœuvres practised in Leadenhall Street. The Indian army have now no redress: the inutility of appeal is admitted. The Company have placed themselves with the army, as they have allowed the collector to place himself with their unfortunate ryot subjects, who may have occasion to complain of him or his satellites; the whole being nothing more or less than a mere mockery of justice.

Out of the numerous memorials and representations that have reached the India House, complaining of the new organization of 1824, not one of the complaints have met with redress, though many of them had to complain of great injustice from the system adopted on that occasion. I have seen some of these memorials myself, and I understand the general reply of the Court to such apparent wrong to have been, ‘*That the system complained of was adopted by the Court on mature consideration, and that it could not now sanction any departure therefrom.*’ On the justice and impartiality of this reply, I shall not now dwell, but proceed to give you a statement of the injury done by this *mature consideration of the Honourable Court* to many of their old officers: I mean the senior regimental captains on the old establishment. Previous to the new arrangements, those senior captains were regimentally entitled to, and had the chance of promotion, by the death, retirement, &c., of two majors. To form the new establishment, one of those majors were removed, and the second captain removed with him as first captain, gaining thereby one step, and an equal chance of promotion, by death, retirement, &c., with his senior captain. But to make it more plain, and to enable all classes of your readers, who may feel an interest in the welfare of the Indian army, to see at a glance the injustice I complain of, I shall, with your permission, furnish them with comparative statements of a regiment as it stood on the *old* establishment, previous to the 1st of May 1824, and as it stood by the *new* organization of that day, when split and formed

into two regiments; and again as it stood on the 1st of May 1826. And as the doubling system adopted on the Bombay establishment will best suit my purpose in making myself understood, I shall, with that intent, select the First Native Regiment, under that Presidency, as an example:

*Comparative Lists of the First Native Regiment of the Bombay Army, as the Officers stood for Promotion regimentally, first, on the Old Establishment; secondly, on the New Organization of the 1st of May 1824; and thirdly, on the 1st of May 1826; showing the injustice done to the Senior Regimental Captains by these changes.*

First Native Regiment on the Old Establishment.	First Native Regiment, forming First and Second Regiments on the New Establishment, 1st May 1824.		First Native Regiment, forming First and Second Regiments on the New Establishment, 1st May 1826.	
	First Regiment.	Second Regiment.	First Regiment.	Second Regiment.
<b>Majors.</b>	<b>Major.</b>	<b>Major.</b>	<b>Major.</b>	<b>Major.</b>
Joseph Brown	Joseph Brown	John Morin	Joseph Brown	R. Robertson
John Morin				
<b>Captains.</b>	<b>Captains.</b>	<b>Captains.</b>	<b>Captains.</b>	<b>Captains.</b>
J. Dunsterville	J. Dunsterville	Ro. Robertson	J. Dunsterville	W. Inglis
Ro. Robertson	J. Grant Duff	W. Inglis	J. Grant Duff	D. Capon
J. Grant Duff	J. W. Falconar	D. Capon	J. W. Falconar	A. N. Riddell
William Inglis	Anthony Morse	A. N. Riddell	Anthony Morse	D. Forbes
J. W. Falconar	J. Reynolds	D. Forbes	John Reynolds	W. Rollings
David Capon				
Anthony Morse				
A. N. Riddell				
<b>Lieutenants.</b>	<b>Lieutenants.</b>	<b>Lieutenants.</b>	<b>Lieutenants.</b>	<b>Lieutenants.</b>
John Reynolds	T. R. Billamore	W. Rollings	T. R. Billamore	T. Graham
David Forbes	Thos. Clibborn	T. Graham	Thos. Clibborn	J. Hardy
T. R. Billamore	A. J. E. Stenton	J. Hardy	A. J. E. Stenton	G. Boyd
Wm. Rollings	J. G. Lascelles	H. C. Teasdale	W. C. Teasdale	J. Campbell
Thos. Clibborn	G. R. Fenwick	G. Boyd	J. E. Down	W. C. Freeman
J. Graham	J. S. Down	J. Campbell	J. Donnelly	A. Hand
A. J. E. Stenton	T. Donnelly	W. C. Freeman	E. Hunt	J. K. Gloag
James Hardy	E. Hunt	A. Hand	J. Phillips	G. Le G. Jacob
J. G. Lascelles	J. Phillips	J. K. Gloag	James Harvey	E. Neville
H. C. Teasdale	R. Harvey	G. Le G. Jacob	H. B. Campbell	J. C. Bowater
G. R. Fenwick				
George Boyd				
J. S. Down				
John Campbell				
T. Donnelly				
W. C. Freeman				
Edward Hunt				
A. Hand				
J. Phillips				
J. K. Gloag				
J. Harvey				
G. Le G. Jacob				
<b>Ensigns.</b>	<b>Ensigns.</b>	<b>Ensigns.</b>	<b>Ensigns.</b>	<b>Ensigns.</b>
H. B. Campbell	H. B. Campbell	E. Neville	R. Stark	David Manos
E. Neville	G. H. Gordon	J. G. Mudie	A. Heighington	William Geddes
G. H. Gordon	R. Stark	J. C. Bowater	T. Foulerton	
J. G. Mudie	A. Heighington		C. B. Raiff	
R. Stark				
J. C. Bowater				
A. Heighington				
Three Vacant.	One Vacant.	Two Vacant.	One Vacant.	Three Vacant.

By a reference to the 'East India Register' of the dates alluded to, the above comparative lists will, in every respect, be found correct. Captain Dunsterville will there be seen to remain senior captain under Major Brown; while Captain Robertson, the second captain on the old establishment, has obtained a majority by the death of Major Morin. That this step, in right, belonged to Captain Dunsterville, no one can deny. The conditions on which he entered the service insure it to him, viz. promotion by seniority; yet, in the face of this agreement between the cadet and the Hon. Company, has Captain Dunsterville, and others similarly situated, been refused redress. I shall not dwell on the supercession which Lieut. Billamore and Ensign Campbell have experienced, because the former officer got two steps by the new organization, and the latter may in time retrieve what he has lost. On the contrary, this cannot be the case with Captain Dunsterville, because the promotion to a majority precludes such chance. Captain Dunsterville must therefore, unfortunately, always remain junior to Major Robertson, unless the Honourable Court can be made to feel the injustice of what I have endeavoured, through the medium of the 'Oriental Herald,' to bring to the notice of the Directors individually, many of whom, I am persuaded, remain to this moment in ignorance of the complaints of those officers in whose behalf I have ventured to appeal.

So entirely were the rights of the senior regimental captains overlooked by the Court of Directors in their instructions for the new arrangements, and so well had they established the equality of promotion between the senior and second regimental captains, that I have only in confirmation to refer your readers to the General Order issued on the new organization, dated Fort William, May 6, 1824, and to be found in the 'Oriental Herald,' p. 597, vol. 3.; but as many of your friends may not be in possession of that volume, the following is an extract:

'The several regiments of European and Native infantry will be divided into *two regiments* each, by the final separation of battalions, and the officers posted alternately, *i. e.*; all the odd or uneven numbers of each rank to the first, and the even numbers to the *second* battalions of their present regiments.'

Here was no choice; the senior captain was ordered to the first battalion, although he might have served in the second battalion from the period of his first entrance into the service: but I shall proceed with the extract:

'It is not intended that, in carrying the present orders into effect, officers should be permanently removed from the particular battalion in which they may long have served, and wish to remain; provided, that by an interchange between officers standing the same number of removes from promotion, each could be retained in his particular battalion, and both are willing to make the exchange, and shall prefer an application for that purpose within four months from the date at which the present arrangement shall take effect, or within twelve months where either of the parties shall be absent on furlough.'

'The above extract requires no comment ; it is a complete acknowledgment, and proves, beyond all I can urge, the injustice done to the senior regimental captain. He is here permitted, as a favour, to change places with his junior officer, or, in other words, to retrograde one step, and this only conditionally. Such are the advantages he has derived from the new organization of 1824.

I have already given what may be considered as the general reply of the Court of Directors to the representations of the senior regimental captains. What will your readers think, when I assert on authority, that in opposition to the Court's declaration that 'no departure from the system adopted could be sanctioned,' that not only a departure, but an entire repeal of their orders, as respected the senior lists, had taken place. These lists were no longer, after the 1st of May 1824, to give promotion: the senior lieutenant-colonel-commandants were in a manner left hopeless, had the Honourable Court not conceded to the representations of these officers what they continue to deny to their senior regimental captains. Are we to take this as a specimen of the impartiality of the Honourable the Court of Directors? or do the Honourable Court mete out justice as they do their wares, and grant to weight and influence that which they can unblushingly refuse when unaccompanied by such powerful agents? In charity, I should hope not; but facts are stubborn things. I shall now take my leave, and have only to regret that some more able pen had not volunteered in behalf of an injured class of officers.

A SUBSCRIBER.

13th May 1827.

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ILLUSTRATIONS OF EASTERN MANNERS.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

May 10, 1827.

THOSE of us, to whom age or infirmity allows only short excursions beyond the elbow chair, are peculiarly indebted to travellers, who bring within the scope of our observation, by the assistance of the press, the result of their own toilsome and often perilous adventures. It was with such a grateful feeling that I read the '*Travels in Mesopotamia.*'

My attention was soon arrested by the account (1, 37) of a remarkable custom among the Turcomans, whose method, it seems, 'of curing a fever, is to sew the patient tightly up in the hot skin of an ox, freshly flayed for the occasion.' A coincidence between the medical practice among the dwellers about 'Mount Taurus' in 1818, and the literati of Cambridge, early in the 17th century, immediately occurred to me as sufficiently exact to be worthy of

notice, though the malady was of an opposite description, and the process somewhat different.

Mr. Granger, in his 'Biographical History of England,' mentions 'William Butler of Clare Hall, Cambridge,' who died in 1618, aged 82, as 'one of the greatest physicians and most capricious humorists of his time.' Of his 'extraordinary methods of cure,' the biographer gives the following instance from 'Aubrey's MSS. in Ashmole's Museum,' which Dr. Aikin also quoted in his 'Biographical Memoirs of Medicine.'

'A clergyman, in Cambridgeshire, by excessive application in composing a learned sermon, which he was to preach before the king at Newmarket, had brought himself into such a way, that he could not sleep. His friends were advised to give him opium, which he took in so large a quantity, that it threw him into a profound lethargy. Dr. Butler, who was sent for from Cambridge, upon seeing and hearing his case, flew into a passion, and told his wife, that she was in danger of being hanged for killing her husband, and very abruptly left the room. As he was going through the yard, in his return home, he saw several cows, and asked her to whom they belonged, she said, to her husband. "Will you," says the doctor, "give me one of these cows, if I can restore him to life?" She replied, "with all my heart." He presently ordered a cow to be killed, and the patient to be put into the warm carcase, which presently recovered him.'

I hasten to a more agreeable subject: the 'pure hospitality' at Shahaboor, (p. 21.) 'for which no payment was either asked or offered.' Sandys, that learned and justly credited traveller, witnessed also this eastern hospitality. About April 1611, he 'came to a village seated on a little hill, in the midst of a plain,' which he conjectures to have been 'formerly called *Palætyrus*, or old Tyrus.' He thus proceeds:

'Forget, I must not, the custom observed by the inhabitants hereabout, who retain the old world's hospitality. Be the passenger Christian, or whatsoever, they will house him, prepare him extraordinary fare, and look to his mule, without taking of one asper. But these precise Mahometans will neither eat nor drink with a Christian, only minister to his wants; and when he hath done, break the earthen dishes wherein he was fed, as defiled.'—(Ed. vii. p. 166.)

To quote a title-page of the last century, this is a striking instance of 'orthodoxy and charity united' among Mahometans. I regret, as a Christian, that among us, they have been so often disjoined. I trust, however, that on this, as on other great subjects of human interest, it may be justly said that 'the night is far spent; the day is at hand.'

## WAR SONG OF MAKANNA, THE CAFFER PROPHET,

*Before the Attack on Graham's Town in 1819.\**

WAKE! Amakosè, † wake!  
 And arm yourselves for war!  
 As coming winds the forest shake,  
 I hear a sound from far.—  
 It is not thunder in the sky,  
 Nor lion's roar upon the hill,  
 But the voice of HIM who sits on high,  
 And bids me speak his will!

He bids me call you forth,  
 Bold sons of Cahabi, ‡  
 To sweep the white men from the earth,  
 And drive them to the sea:  
 The sea, which heaved them up at first,  
 For Amakosè's curse and bane,  
 Howls for the progeny she nursed  
 To swallow them again.

Hark! 'Tis Uhlangha's voice §  
 From high Lukèri's caves, ||  
 That calls you now to make your choice—  
 To conquer or be slaves:  
 To meet proud England's flashing guns,  
 And fight like warriors nobly born,  
 Or crouch with base Umlilo's sons, ¶  
 Whom freemen hold in scorn.

Breathes there a dastard here  
 Who shrinks from Europe's fire?  
 Let him in darkness shroud his face,  
 And from our ranks retire,

\* Vide 'Oriental Herald,' for January 1827, Vol. XII. p. 13.

† The national appellation of the Frontier Caffers.

‡ A Caffer Chief and hero, father of the Chiefs S'Lhambi and Jaluhka, and grandfather of Gaika.

§ The Supreme Being or Great Spirit.

|| A mountain near the Frontier.

¶ Caffer appellation of the Hottentots.



*War Song of Makanna.*

(As skulks the hound, or sneaking fox,  
Or villain Boshman to his hold)—  
Fit slave to tend the Christain flocks  
With wretches bought and sold !

But come, ye chieftans bold,  
With war-plumes waving high ; \*  
Come, every warrior young and old,  
With club and assagai. †  
Remember how the Spoiler's host,  
Like wolves, did through your hamlets range ;  
Your herds, your wives, your children lost—  
Remember !—and revenge !

Fling your broad shields ‡ away—  
They aid not 'gainst such foes ;  
But hand to hand we 'll fight to-day,  
And with their bayonets close.  
Break each man short his strongest spear,  
And when to battle's edge we come,  
Rush on the foe in full career,  
And to their hearts strike home ! §

Wake ! Amakosæ, wake !  
And muster for the war :  
The gaunt hyænas from the brake,  
The vultures from afar.  
Are gathering at my spirit's call,  
And follow fast our westward way—  
For well they know, ere evening fall,  
They shall have glorious prey !

*Caffer Frontier, 1825.*

P.

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\* The Caffer warriors, on going to battle, ornament their heads with lofty plumes formed of the wings of the Balearic Crane, which abounds in their country, and is esteemed by them a sacred bird.

† The *Assagai* or Caffer javelin, is a weapon with a double-edged iron head affixed to a slender tapering shaft of from five to six feet in length. Every warrior carries a sheaf of six or eight of these weapons, and can strike with considerable accuracy and great force an enemy at the distance of eighty paces. The club (or *kirri*) is used both as a missile and in close combat.

‡ Their shields are formed of bullock's or buffalo's hide, of an oval shape, and about four feet in length, so as to cover the entire trunk of the body.

§ Before the attack on Graham's Town, Makanna directed the warriors to break each short the shaft of his strongest assagai, and rush upon the troops with them to close combat : had this bold but judicious advice been followed, the result would in all probability have been very different and much more disastrous to the Colony.

## CAPTAIN GRINDLAY'S VIEWS.

THE third part of the 'Scenery, Costumes, and Architecture, chiefly on the Western side of India,' has just appeared, and does ample justice to the hopes held out of its excellence.

The first engraving in the Series represents the 'Immolation of a Hindoo Widow at Baroda, in Guzerat,' the account of which has, we believe, been furnished from the excellent authority of Major Carnac, himself long a Political Resident in that city, and recently become an East India Director. The account is brief, but impressive, and breathes throughout a humane solicitude on the subject. The pictorial representation of the revolting sacrifice is judiciously (we speak merely as with reference to a work of art) confined to the preparatory scene, in which is combined all the beautiful grouping of temples, groves, and sacred streams, with a multitude of eager and busy assistants in the impressive rites, while the enthusiastic and devoted widow occupies a prominent place in the picture, and in conference with the yellow-robed Brahmin who attends her, awakens the most lively yet painful interest in her approaching fate.

The second plate represents the 'Tombs of the Kings of Golconda.' The account of these in the text has been furnished, we understand, by Mr. Russell, the late Resident at Hyderabad, than whom no better authority, on such a subject, could be named. It gives a sketch of the territory in which these monuments are found; a description of their architectural character and details; and a short account of the famed 'diamond mines of Golconda,' which will undeceive many as to the associations which these terms generally convey. The picture is extremely beautiful, as well as accurate, and reminds us forcibly of the Tombs of the Mameluke Beys at Cairo.

The 'Fortress of Bowrie, in Rajpootana,' is the next in order: and we confess that we never before saw any coloured engraving which gave us the same vivid and accurate idea of the bright sunny light which plays in full blaze upon the burnt up yellow grass of the Indian hills. It is, in truth, a sweet scene; and the union of rugged hill and gentle slope—of stern overhanging fortresses and calm and limpid lakes—enriched as these are by groups of horse and characteristic foliage, produces a most agreeable and impressive effect.

For richness of colouring, and for romantic wildness of aspect, the 'Hermitage at Kurrungalee, in Ceylon,' however, still surpasses

it. The great Bouddhist dome seen through a cavernous opening in the cliff, the stupendous masses of superincumbent rock, the solitude of the pointed mountain, called Adam's Peak, rising in the distance, and the untrodden thickets which clothe its sides, all present a character of primeval wildness so complete, that but for the two pilgrims introduced at the entrance of the cave, the spectator might believe that this region had never yet borne the tread of human footsteps. Both of these pictures are from the pencil of the late Captain Charles Auber, of the Quarter-Master-General's Department of the King's forces in Ceylon, and brother to Mr. Auber, one of the present Secretaries to the East India Company; and these admirable productions do honour to his memory.

The 'North-West View of the Bombay Fort,' though inferior in interest to all the preceding subjects, has the merit of strict accuracy in its details; and we entirely agree with the writer of the text in his description of the varied and picturesque views of its magnificent harbour, the surrounding objects of which he conceives to be superior in imposing grandeur and beauty even to the Bay of Naples.

As a whole, however, the last picture of the series, a 'Morning View from Calliann, near Bombay,' is certainly the most complete. The artist has given, in the text, the most satisfactory reasons for his attempt to catch the evanescent beauties of this peculiar portion of the day; and whether this depended on his choice of objects for illustration, or in his manner of treating them, his success could not have been more complete. This picture alone, for the singularity, the sublimity, the richness, and yet complete fidelity of its representation, is worth the price of the whole Series; and we think that Captain Grindlay's richly-coloured 'Views of Western India,' and Mr. Landseer's masterly engravings of the 'Ruins of Dacca,' on the eastern frontier of that great Empire, ought to be possessed by every lover of the arts, who has the least sympathy with the people or the country, as being each the most perfect productions of their kind that relate to the Oriental world.

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VERSES BY MR. CHARLES LAMB, ON A PICTURE BY MEYER,  
NOW EXHIBITING.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

May 15, 1827.

AMONG the pictures now exhibiting by the Society of British Artists, there is one, with its accompaniment, peculiarly worthy of notice. I have indeed never observed 'the sister arts of paint and verse' to have been introduced in a more agreeable connection.

I refer to 'The Young Catechist,' by Meyer, which describes a little girl, a white, teaching a negro to repeat the Lord's Prayer. Annexed to the picture, are the following lines by Mr. Charles Lamb. They will, I am persuaded, be interesting, but will not surprise those who know the talent of the writer, and especially those who have also the greater advantage of an acquaintance with the kind and benevolent temperament of the man :

Q. While this tawny Ethiop prayeth,  
Painter, who is she that stayeth  
By, with skin of whitest lustre,  
Sunny locks, a shining cluster,  
Saint-like, seeming to direct him ?  
Is she of the Heaven-born three,  
Meek Hope, strong Faith, sweet Charity ?  
Or some cherub ?

A.                   They you mention  
Far transcend my weak invention.  
'Tis a simple Christian child,  
Missionary young and mild,  
From her stock of Scriptural knowledge,  
Bible-taught, without a college,  
Which by reading she could gather,  
Teaches him to say, 'Our Father,'  
To the common Parent, who  
Colour not respects, nor hue,  
White and Black in Him have part,  
Who looks not to the skin, but heart.

These lines may suitably accompany the able and ingenious Essays 'On the Nobility of the Skin.' It was in the same spirit that the excellent Gregoire published at Paris, in 1818, his '*Manuel de Piété, à l'usage des hommes de couleur et des Noirs*,' now before me, to which is annexed this appropriate motto from *Ecclesi-*

*asticus* (xxxiii. 10.) 'Tous les hommes sont pris de la même boue, et de la même terre dont Adam a été formé.' The benevolent author, who has laboured through a long life to 'let the oppressed go free,' and to 'break every yoke,' annexed to this manual an engraving, in which the artist has portrayed the Saviour, surrounded by a Negro, a European, and an Asiatic, bending together in adoration at the Cross, as if recollecting the declaration of his highly-gifted apostle to the sages of Athens, whose vaunted freedom was only a license of the few to enslave the many: 'God has made of one blood all the nations of men' The following is Gregoire's representation of the common rights justly claimed by the whole human brotherhood, and especially sanctioned by the opening passage of the Christian's prayer:

'La plus sublime l'Oraison dominicale, que nous tenons de la bouche même de Jésus Christ; O combien est admirable ce début: *Notre père qui êtes aux cieux!* Ce peu de mots suffisent pour détruire toutes les prétentions de l'orgueil qui voudroit établir une différence entre les enfans de la même famille. Celui qui est la vérité même proclame que nous sommes tous enfans du même père. La nature et la religion ne reconnoissent pas la noblesse de la couleur, pas plus que celle de la naissance.'

I am here reminded of a benevolent churchman, of the younger establishment, who also laboured for many years in the cause of justice and humanity, both so grossly violated by the toleration of Negro Slavery; this was the Rev. James Ramsay, who published, in 1784, 'An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves, in the Sugar Colonies,' the result of 'about 20 years experience in the West Indies, and about 14 years particular application to the subject.'

This exemplary clergyman, after relating his attempts for the private instruction of slaves, and their failure from the unconquerable counteractions of the slave system, adds, that 'on his first settlement as a minister in the West Indies, he made also some public attempts. It was quickly suggested, that he wanted to interrupt the work of slaves to give them time, forsooth, to say their prayers, that he aimed at the making of them Christians, to render them incapable of being good slaves. In the bidding prayer, he had inserted a petition for the conversion of slaves. It was deemed so disagreeable a memento, that several white people, on account of it, left off attending divine service.' (pp. 178, 180.)

Thus, Christian whites considered the christianizing of Negro slaves as an offence, according to Mr. Ramsay, against the 'interest and majesty of planter ship,' as not long since did the slaveholders of Jamaica, claiming, no doubt, for themselves the rights of British freemen, though 'license' they mean, when they cry

'liberty.' Well might Montesquieu remark on the *Christian* treatment of this brutalized race: 'Il est impossible que nous supposions que ces gens là soient des hommes; parce que si nous les supposons des hommes, on commenceroit à croire que nous ne sommes pas nous mêmes Chrétiens.' (L. xv. ch. 5.)

These Christian planters were anticipated by that Christian statesman and accomplished scholar, Carteret, Earl of Granville, whose papers, in possession of Lord Egmont, (as described in 'Biog. Brit.' vol. iv.) discover his last thoughts on a variety of subjects. 'This nobleman hoped never to see our Negroes in America become Christians, because he believed that this would render them less laborious slaves.'

How much more consistent with genuine nobility were the views entertained by that eminent English emigrant to America in the 17th century, John Elliot. According to his biographer, Cotton Mather, when 'near to the age of 90,' he attempted the instruction of that forlorn race, whom his inconsistent countrymen were dooming to ignorance and laborious bondage. 'He had long lamented it with a bleeding and burning passion, that the English used their Negroes but as for horses or oxen. He looked upon it as a prodigy, that any wearing the name of Christian should so much have the heart of devils in them, as to prevent and hinder the instructions of the poor blackamoors, and confine the souls of their miserable slaves to a destroying ignorance, merely for fear of thereby losing the benefit of their vassalage.' (Life, 1694, p. 151.)

The Earl of Granville was, however, more consistent than West India proprietors, who appear at Bible Societies, and meetings to advance general education, and receive, perhaps, praise in no scanty measure, for their Christian benevolence. 'At home, he was not for having the vulgar taught to read, that they might think of nothing but the plough, and their other low avocations.'

This statesman and accomplished scholar, who would thus 'meanly seek the blessing to confine,' died in 1763, with a verse of Homer almost on his expiring lips. Since his time, the nobility have judged it expedient, some of them, I trust, have been most willing, to take a part with the untitled, in promoting the moral and intellectual education of the people.

N. L. T.

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RECENT LETTER TO DR. GILCHRIST FROM ONE OF HIS PUPILS  
IN INDIA. •

MY DEAR SIR,

November 30, 1826.

In neglecting to write to you long before this, I feel that I have widely diverged from the line of my duty ; and were my gratitude towards you to be measured by this circumstance, I should tremble for the result. I hope, however, that the kindness which I experienced from you in London will be extended to me here, and that I shall be pardoned for my inattention.

We left England in June 1825, and arrived in Calcutta by the end of November. As you are well acquainted with sea life, I shall pass it over, and proceed to give you a few remarks, which peculiar circumstances during our passage occasioned.

Nothing can be more disheartening than the sneers and contumely to which a Hindoostanee student is subjected by the old Indians. What can be their motives in repressing the ambition of a young man to attain useful knowledge, I am perfectly unable to say ; but, conversely, they are not motives of benevolence.

There were five or six youngsters on board the ship, all of us anxious to know as much of the language as possible before landing. We formed a class ; and I, being considered the best linguist, though, as you well know, no proficient, was made the head. We met daily in my cabin, and for about a month were perfectly satisfied and pleased with the useful way in which we passed the tedious time, compared with the miserable resources of the non-conformists to *kill the enemy*. Our unambitious and peaceable school was not, however, destined long to subsist in this flourishing condition ; it gradually sunk under the accumulated weight which the envy and malevolence of the adverse party had heaped upon it. In a short time, all its members but one forsook it. This one was a quondam school-fellow of mine ; he had passed the ordained time at college, and had his head tolerably well stuffed with Greek and Latin. He had passed his regular examinations in Hindoostanee also ; but that was no reason that he should know any thing about it. In fact, he could neither pronounce nor translate ; far less was he able to put the members of a simple sentence together. He studied, however, with me upon your plan, renouncing the incompetent works which he had used at Hertford ; and forgetting the preposterous pronunciation which he had contracted there. By the end of the passage, he was able to speak with a likelihood of being understood ; and he had acquired a relish for the elegant Hindoostanee, and a knowledge of your works, which would enable him speedily to overcome those trifling difficulties which are the insurmountable barriers of envious jargonists. During all the way out,

I was tormented, whenever occasion offered, by the malignant ridicule of the old Indians. I say *tormented*, because their ridicule was the effect of ignorance, which would listen to no argument. Upon these occasions I always urged, are we to seek for *English* in the works of Addison, Swift, and Johnson, or in the stews and brothels of St. Giles's? Are we to seek for *Hindoostanee* in the pages of Yergeen, Wulee, and Suoda, or amongst the scavengers and rabble of Calcutta? The answer is as plain as the sun at noon-day; but it was always evaded by saying, if you desire to be understood, you must speak the language of the rabble. Well, I speak Dr. Gilchrist's *Hindoostanee* almost always to the Native servants, and am never misunderstood; and in London, I have spoken it to a score of the lowest Natives, the lascars, with equal success. Even this reasoning was insufficient to ward off their malicious contumely.

The subject of *Hindoostanee* has been discussed lately in the Calcutta newspapers. It is needless to say that we (for I must array myself under your banner) have gained the day. For my own part, I speak now as I was taught in your lecture-room, and I keep your works always beside me, to refresh my memory from time to time as occasion requires.

My brother has, I believe, commenced his studies with you. We are, I am sure, deeply indebted to you: for myself I can say, that while I live I shall retain a grateful sense of what I owe to you. I shall never hear your labours depreciated without burning with indignation towards the ignorant being from whom such detraction shall emanate. Excuse this imperfect expression of my sentiments; and believe me, my dear Doctor, your's very faithfully.

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#### THE BRAZEN STEEDS OF ST. MARKS, AT VENICE.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

May 6, 1827.

I AM aware that subjects of great public interest, whatever degree of amusement they may be calculated to afford, must largely engage your primary attention. Yet I promise myself that your courtesy will allow an antiquarian reader to occupy a page on that comparatively important subject, the history 'of the four brazen Steeds of St. Marks,' which your '*Continental Traveller*' (p. 226 of your present volume) found to be the only horses in Venice.

Lord Byron, as you will recollect, has devoted to the various fortunes of those far-famed steeds, a line accompanied by a note, in the Fourth Canto of '*Childe Harold*.' On St. xi. l. 5, he says, under the advantage of actual observation:



\* The horses are returned to the ill-chosen spot, whence they set out, and are, as before, half-hidden under the porch window of St. Mark's church. Their history, after a desperate struggle, has been satisfactorily explained. The horses are irrevocably Chian, and were transferred to Constantinople by Theodosius. The injustice of the Venetians in transporting the horses from Constantinople, was at least equal to that of the French in carrying them to Paris.'

In 1689, these ornaments of St. Mark's portico came under the observation of that learned Benedictine, Bernard de Montfaucon. In his '*Diarium Italicum*' (Ch. iv.), as translated in 1712, he says (p. 67),

'We frequently went to St. Marks. On the front are four beautiful brazen horses, which, as is reported, were formerly sent to Rome, to the Emperor Nero, by a king of the Parthians. It is believed that Constantine the Great carried them from thence to Constantinople; and that when that city was taken by the Franks and Venetians, Henry Dandolo took care to have them brought to Venice. But the anonymous author, *De Mirabilibus Romæ*, who writ about the 13th century, mentions four horses like these in Nero's Circus, or place for the people to hold their public sports; whence there is cause to suspect these are the same; and that they were brought to Venice from Rome, and not from Constantinople. To say the truth, I met with some that questioned the bringing of those horses from Constantinople, before I met with that author.'

Father Mountfaucon found 'the Dominican's library of St. John and St. Paul,' at Venice, 'adorned with wooden statues of famous Catholics on the one side, and of heretics on the other. Among the heretics, were Erasmus, loaded with chains, and William de St. Amour, bound in like manner, with invectives, defaming them as bad as Luther and Calvin.'

William de St. Amour was a Doctor of the Sorbonne of the 13th century, who became obnoxious to the mendicant orders, and especially to the Dominicans, by his work, '*De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*.' Alexander IV. espoused their quarrel, and deprived him of all his benefices. On the death of the Pope, by the favor of his successor, he resumed his clerical functions, till his decease at Paris, in 1272. His biographer ('*Nouv. Dict. Hist.*, 1789.) says, '*Les moines mendiants l'ont mis au nombre des hérétiques; mais cet anathème n'est d'aucune autorité.*'

Father Mountfaucon visited at Venice a 'Greek church, small, and built after the Grecian manner,' to which he was 'invited by the archbishop.' Thus, the anti-papal, though truly Catholic spirit of Paul Sarpi, appears to have survived him, in this undisguised toleration of an heretical community, which had impiously rejected the *filioque*.

R. L. C.

## STATE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE IN 1825.

BY A COLONIST.

I HAVE now to offer a few remarks on the character and condition of some other classes of the inhabitants,\* who have in my opinion been ill treated by the Colonial Government, and generally misrepresented by English travellers.

**CAPE DUTCH INHABITANTS.**—No class of persons has been more variously represented by authors, than the Boors or farmers of the Cape of Good Hope. Barrow makes them worse than savages; Lichtenstein praises them to excess.

If we consider the system of Government which the Dutch established, and the English initiated, and the little pains that were (till now) taken by either Government to improve the morals and understanding of this class of people by education, we cannot wonder if they are uncouth in their manner, and careless of the opinion formed of them by strangers.

The Boors, who are the progeny of refugees from half the nations of Europe, are a people by no means deficient in natural intellect, though wanting that polish and acquired information which can alone make the most splendid natural abilities useful to society. The only education which the generality of the Boors have received, has been such as an itinerant worthless schoolmaster (himself usually an ignorant disbanded soldier) could impart. With much difficulty, the father of a family was enabled to procure even a man of this description, to instruct his children for one or two years, at a salary of two or three hundred rix-dollars per annum. During this time children learnt to write a miserable scrawl, to deprave the Dutch orthography, and a few were, perhaps, fortunate enough to get a very slight smattering in arithmetic, which completed their education.

There can be no doubt that considerable improvement has taken place in the manners and customs of the Boors since Mr. Barrow wrote his book. I was at first inclined to doubt the veracity of his statements, but, upon inquiry, I have found many of his assertions corroborated by the accounts which the Boors have themselves given of the state in which they formerly lived. The Boors are at present a sober, industrious, honest, simple, and hospitable race of men; they are much attached to their old customs, but by

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\* An article on the treatment of the British Settlers in Albany, was intended by the Author to have preceded the present chapter; but having been promised some important additions on this subject, from another quarter, which will add considerably to its length and interest, it has been postponed till next month.—ED.

no means, generally, unwilling to listen to suggestions of improvement, and can give substantial reasons for the nonreception of many innovations of English experimentists. They understand the proper mode of cultivation in the colony, and when theoretical farmers have endeavoured to compete with them, they have in the long run generally been put to the blush. The African Boor is by no means more self-opinionated than other ill-informed men, but where an alteration of the system pursued by his ancestors, is attempted to be introduced, he wishes for ocular demonstration of its superiority, before he abandons those customs which his forefathers established. However unrefined the manners of the Boor may be, he is not wanting in natural civility, and when he receives a guest of superior rank, he can treat him with the respect due to his station, without descending to servility.

We find Barrow, and several other writers, descanting severely on the laziness of the Boors, but this accusation, in my opinion, they do not merit. No doubt, there are lazy people in South Africa, as well as in all other parts of the world, but it is by no means a national characteristic. There are farmers in South Africa who need not blush to compare their days' work with those of the English farmer. There are many people who are obliged to lead a lazy life, though contrary to their inclination. Immense tracts of country are only fit for grazing, without having a single acre of arable land. Such drought, indeed, prevails in those parts, that the proprietor is frequently obliged to quit his residence during the summer season. The inhabitants of these parts of the colony cannot be supposed to have imbibed very strong habits of industry, as their whole occupations must be confined to watching and counting their cattle and sheep. It has frequently been remarked by travellers, that the possessors of places which admit of agriculture being carried on in an extensive scale, do not sow to the extent their land permits; but these travellers have not taken the trouble to inquire where the reapers were to come from. The want of labourers prevents the farmer from availing himself of a good season to sow three or four times as much as he does. I know of a few farmers who do not sow quite as much as they are able to reap.

The houses of the farmers whose circumstances are good, are in general spacious and substantial, and if we do not find that snug comfort which surrounds the English farmer, we must recollect that the difference of the climate is such, that what would add to comfort in England, would breed infection at the Cape of Good Hope.

There is not a more hospitable man in the world than the South African Boor; but this is a good quality for which he claims little merit, as, from the nature of the country, he himself daily stands in need of the shelter and refreshment which he in his turn freely

gives to others; thus a man travelling, takes care to stop at a house at the usual meal time, lest he should give unnecessary trouble; he then takes his seat at the table as freely, and with as little ceremony, as if he was at home.

The Cape Dutch farmers have very good notions of justice; and are remarkably obedient to the laws in force; though, like John Bull, they grumble at their severity; and not without reason. As they become more civilized, they begin to consider the hardship of living under an arbitrary government, which deprives them of the few free institutions which they possessed under their former masters.

**HOTTENTOTS.**—These original proprietors of the soil, are a people of mild and inoffensive manners, and of a sharp natural intellect; and those who have been admitted into the missionary institutions, are not deficient in morality and religious principles. On the other hand, they are naturally of a roving disposition, improvident and careless of futurity; and where they have not had an opportunity of receiving instruction, like all other savages, ignorant and superstitious. Their want of bodily strength renders them rather unfit for laborious employment; and as their wants are few and easily satisfied, their faculties are with difficulty called into action; but as they approach to civilization, their artificial wants increase, and their exertions become proportionate to those wants. Having once tasted the sweets of a home and independence obtained by labour, they throw off their national propensity for change, become good members of society, and do credit to those who have instructed them. Very considerable amelioration has taken place in their habits even within these last ten years; particularly with those at the missionary institutions, where cleanliness and comfort, produced by industry and morality, has superseded filth, indolence, and squalid wretchedness. The Colonial Government, whilst openly pretending to render every assistance to these meritorious institutions, has, in an under-hand manner, been the means of preventing greater progress being made by the missionaries in their praiseworthy exertions. The most improper places have been selected for the situation of the institutions; and additional grants, in proportion to the increase of population, have been refused. The landdrosts have also been secretly allowed to prevent Hottentots from resorting to the schools.

A most arbitrary law, obliges such Hottentots as are not enrolled at a missionary institution, to become servants, whether they like it or not;\* and if they are out of service for three days, they are apprehended and assigned to a master, at a salary fixed by the Veld Cornet. These people, like all other human beings, dislike

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\* This regulation does not extend to free blacks of any other description, but to Hottentots only.

every thing that has the appearance of making them slaves; thus, this proclamation deters them from entering into service willingly; and, when forced to hire themselves, they become bad servants, whereas, under opposite circumstances, they might have been good ones. If a man is told he shall serve another, he either obstinately refuses the task, or if compelled to perform it, does his work in that negligent manner, that it would be better not done at all; hence the repeated complaints of the Boors against the negligence and indolence of their Hottentot servants. If, on the contrary, a man finds by experience, that it is to his advantage to enter into service, and to serve his master faithfully,—leave it to his own choice, and self-interest will teach him the line of conduct to adopt. The advocates for these compulsory contract laws say: ‘if the Hottentots are not forced to contract themselves, they will not enter into service.’ Allow this. What right have we to make free people serve, if they are not inclined to do it? There is another law in force, which renders the Hottentots unwilling to remain long in the service of the same person. If a Hottentot child is born on an estate where the mother is in service, the master goes to the landdrost and has the name of the child enrolled; this entitles him to its service, from its eighth to its eighteenth year.\* If, then, the mother does not chuse to serve the master on his own terms, she is separated from her child. Is this not slavery in the strictest sense of the word? Upon the whole, the system of forcing Hottentots into service is most arbitrary and unjustifiable. The country was originally possessed by their forefathers; from them it was partly purchased, and partly taken by force; but when they lost their country, they neither sold nor resigned their personal liberty, nor that of their offspring. If, therefore, they prefer residing at a missionary institution, or earning their livelihood in any other lawful way, they ought to be allowed to follow their own choice. The argument, that if the Hottentots were allowed to follow their own inclinations, they would lead an indolent and predatory life, will not hold good. Under the present regulation, those whose names are actually enrolled at the missionary institutions, are not liable to be forced to labour, except in the public service: there are, however, seldom less than three-fourths of their number hired to the farmers, and these are the best servants they have, though they naturally demand higher wages than those who are forced into their service; the former obtaining from six to ten rix-dollars per month, the latter receiving from six to forty rix-dollars per annum.

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\* This regulation was made under the pretext of remunerating the masters for the expense they would be at in feeding and clothing these children till their eighth year; but any body who has been on a farm where a number of these children are, will easily be able to calculate the expense the master is at; they are generally naked, and a little pumpkin is their food.

Another great advantage possessed by a Hottentot belonging to a missionary institution, over him who is not so fortunate as to enjoy this privilege, is, that whilst he is earning a subsistence, or a provision for the future, his family are receiving instruction; whilst that of the latter is brought up in the same paths of ignorance as himself. We all know how the prospect of a comfortable home and decent independence encourages us to industry and morality; whereas, if we are convinced that no exertions of our own can amend our circumstances in life, we become indolent, and perhaps vicious. This must be the natural consequence of the advantages and disadvantages between the two classes of Hottentots.

I will venture to predict, that if the Hottentots are put on the footing of a free peasantry, they will rapidly rise to civilization, their moral character will improve, and they will become a most useful and respectable class of people.

**MISSIONARY INSTITUTIONS.**—Of these establishments, so intimately connected with the history and welfare of the Hottentots, I may here add a few words. Betheledorp, the oldest, may serve as a specimen of the rest. It would have been impossible to have selected a worse spot for an establishment intended to inculcate habits of industry. The soil is unproductive, and their water scanty. Since the Rev. Dr. Philip has been at the head of the missions in this colony, much has been done for Betheledorp; and it is at present in as thriving a state as the disadvantages under which it labours will admit of. Little of the soil can be cultivated, but by grazing cattle, tapping aloes, hiring waggons, and mechanical labour, the Hottentots have, in spite of circumstances, been enabled to erect good and substantial houses, and to give their little village an appearance of cleanliness and comfort. They have, exclusive of their own, and the missionaries' residences, a church, school, and hospital, where the old and infirm are supported by the contributions of the younger and more healthy part of the community. The whole colony does not possess so fine a blacksmith's shop as Betheledorp, and many of the Hottentots have, under the tuition of Mr. Arnott, become clever smiths. The school is conducted after the Lancasterian system, and the children are making rapid progress, many of them, not more than eight years old, can read English fluently. The head of the institution (the Rev. Mr. Hitchingman) attends exclusively to the religious and moral instruction of the people; and his exertions are already well repaid. Several of the Hottentots are well acquainted with the contents of the Scriptures, and any person who has witnessed their attention during divine service, and particularly at the delivery of the sermon, will have been convinced that they feel an interest in every word that is spoken for their edification.

If a convincing proof of the rapid improvement of the Hottentots were wanting, a greater could not be given than the superior

knowledge of the younger people of this institution compared with that of the elder. After divine service every Sunday, the whole of the missionaries, assisted by their wives, assemble for the purpose of instructing the elder Hottentots of both sexes, whose avocations do not permit of their attending on week days; and there the young Hottentots are to be seen acting as monitors, and assisting the instruction of those, who, in their younger days, had not the same opportunity of improvement as their more fortunate progeny.

Mr. Read attends to the temporal welfare of the Hottentots, and they have actually established an agricultural society; which is more than any other class of persons in the colony have hitherto done.

It will be unnecessary to give any description of the other institutions, as the system upon which they are governed is the same, and they only vary from this parent institution by the superiority of local situation.

There is a Moravian institution at White Water, in the Uitenhage district, but the number of Hottentots enrolled are very few. Notwithstanding the praiseworthy exertions of the Missionaries, and the peculiar protection and favour they have always received from the Colonial Government, this class of missionary establishments does not seem to keep pace with the London Missionary Society. The very precise and peculiar system in which they are conducted, and the community of property established amongst them, do not seem calculated to attract the Hottentots. The few people who belong to this institution, do not, however, by any means fall short, in religious principle, morality, or industry, of those at the other missionary institutions.

#### ON A GATHERED ROSE-BUD.

Thou fair-faded Flow'r! that so lately wert blooming  
The pride of the garden where careless I stray'd,  
Thou still might'st have blossom'd, the morning perfuming,  
Hadst thou rested content with thy peers in the shade.

But fond to be noticed, and ripe for thy ruin,  
Thy gadding young stem caught my eye on its way.  
I sought not thy beauties, nor will'd thy undoing,  
But needlessly pluckt thee, then cast thee away.

Yet mourning I view thee thus thanklessly blighted,  
A verse and a tear thy brief moral shall share;  
For oh! thoughtless beauty, thou thus art requited,  
While the spoiler speeds on and forgets thou wert fair.

*Bandah.*

R——.

## KARMATH; AN ARABIAN TALE.\*

Among the multitude of fictitious narratives which now pour like a deluge from the press, and the reading of which defies the industry both of reviewers and of the public, a few volumes only attract our attention. And these, of course, are generally such as have relation actually or nominally with the East; as, 'Hadjj Baba,' 'The New Arabian Nights,' 'The Zenann,' &c. It, however, sometimes happens that writers ignorant of Oriental manners and modes of thinking, no less than of Oriental history and religious rites, attempt to carry their fancy into Eastern scenes, and create characters which they imagine suited to the land of enchanters, magicians, talismans, and spells. They, consequently, produce monsters, prematurely virtuous or vicious; who, having but little human in their composition, fail to interest us at all in their achievements, whether praiseworthy or otherwise.

The author of 'Karmath' is certainly not of this class. He is familiar with Oriental opinions and ideas: and has evidently dived, with the perseverance of an antiquary, into that chaos of creeds and systems of thinking which prevailed during the early periods of Islamism. One of the results of his peculiar studies is the present volume, a wild and singular fiction, full of extraordinary scenes admirably described, and sparkling with the hues of an imagination highly poetical.

Unfortunately, the writer has chosen to publish his work in an unfinished state; it has a beginning, and a middle, but no end. On this account, we can judge of it only as a fragment, displaying, indeed, great powers of description and narration, but breaking off too abruptly to allow of our conjecturing, with any tolerable degree of security, what merit the final winding up and closing of the series of events is likely to exhibit.

However, the tale, as far as it goes, has extraordinary interest, in spite, or perhaps in consequence, of the strange and fearful magical delusions, which, for a moment, like the illusions of the theatre, obtain the reader's belief, and almost stifle his fancy with horror. It was judicious in the writer to place his wizards on the banks of the ancient Euphrates, among the stupendous ruins of Babylon, the city whose name is associated with ideas of the most unbounded splendour, wickedness, and desolation. On that spot travellers from the West have always lingered with enchaining curiosity, piercing the vast substructions of temples and palaces,

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\* Karmath; an Arabian Tale. By the author of 'Ramceses,' an Egyptian Tale, &c. &c. London. 1837.



borer the enormous mounds that lie like scattered mountains on the immense site of the city, or gazing in wonder at those innumerable bricks abounding there, and inscribed with what were once the signs of thought, the characters of a living language, but now mute and meaningless.

The master sorcerer, Hassun Suba, who is the hero of the tale, was the founder of that tremendous sect, from whose name the nations of Europe have derived one of the most odious appellations in their dialects—*Assassin*. He flourished towards the close of Haroun al Raschid's reign, and exerted, in creating his incredible power, a more extraordinary genius than Arabia, or indeed the whole East, ever witnessed, except, perhaps, in the person of Mohammed. The means by which he acquired his unbounded ascendancy and influence over the minds and hearts of his followers, remain in a great measure unknown; but the extent of his power, and the eager readiness with which his fanatical disciples performed his bidding, even when the most fearful deaths inevitably ensued, are circumstances well known to the readers of the history of the Crusades; enterprises scarcely less atrocious, and infinitely more absurd, than the murderous expeditions of the subjects of the 'Old Man of the Mountain.' This detestable sect, which founded ten castles, and amounted to 40,000 persons, in the hills above Tortosa, in Syria, and was probably still more numerous in the mountains of Persia, was exterminated by the Moguls, under Holagou Khan, after they had continued for one hundred and sixty years to keep alive alarm and apprehension throughout the whole of Western Asia. They added to the fanaticism of the Koran the Indian tenet of transmigration, and perhaps other Brahminical superstitions, calculated to dissipate the fear of death.

The author of 'Karmath' has imagined some of the arts by which Hassun Suba might have gained his singular influence over his sectaries. He dealt in those magical arts, of which the original seeds appear to have sprung up in Irak, where the belief in them is still perpetuated; and descended into the bowels of the earth through those bituminous caverns supposed to exist beneath the mighty ruins of Babylon. That he was also tainted with the Gheber superstition in other respects, is not improbable; but, perhaps, in judging of such men, writers are too apt to represent them under the sway of delusions, which these daring spirits only conjure up to mislead the minds of others. Our judgment would rather incline us to consider those heroic impostors, Hassun Suba, Mohammed, &c., as 'Parci deorum cultores,' and mimicking belief in magic, or any thing whatever supernatural, only to impress real credulity on their followers. Nothing but stern unbelief in an after-reckoning, or perhaps in any being capable of calling man to account for his deeds, could possibly so totally free the mind from scruples, as to enable it to conceive and perpetrate those splendid

schemes of villany which clothe certain mighty names with immortality. There is an insanity in ambition which incites men to regard themselves as the highest link in the chain of being; and when their creed is thus simplified, every action of life appears to them worthy of reprobation or election, only in as far as it thwarts or furthers their views. Thenceforward, they consider vice and virtue as terms invented by cunning men to awe the vulgar, and, in the secrecy of their hearts, smile at the effeminate minds that suffer themselves to be checked by these inventions in the career of self-aggrandisement. The attribute, they suppose, of consummate genius, is to enjoy all the sweets of vice with the reputation of virtue, by always wearing a shrouded heart, and keeping a bit in the mouth of passion. But this is a base fiction, invented by sordid minds, incapable of conceiving real greatness. Genius, undoubtedly, has a kind of magnetic power, to attract and bind inferior natures to itself: but this magnetism is virtue. The ancients feigned that mortals knew when they were in the presence of some god, by a sense of awful delight creeping through their mind and frame. The same kind of delight is experienced in the presence of genius. It is an uneasy pleasure, a mingled feeling of inferiority and exaltation. Genuine greatness of soul, the first of human virtues, displays, therefore, its nature, not in fox-like concealment and eternal simulation, as half-thoughted speculators persuade themselves, but in emitting, wherever it moves, a glory and a radiance that dazzle and irresistibly attract the beholders, unless, indeed, they happen to be under the spell of impenetrable dullness.

From this digression we now return to 'Karmath.' The dwelling of this magician, when the story commences, is in the renowned city of Hillah, whither he had come from the caves or mountains of Mazanderan. The author, full of the mysterious spirit which such scenes and actions as he describes infuse, thus opens his account of the original country of the Assassins, and the habitation of their secret leader:

'Amid the deep forests and caves of Mazanderan, amid mountains rocked by earthquakes, and the mysterious fires of the burning plain of Baku, they resided as in their native element; from the eagle fortresses of Rodbear and All-hamout they issued forth to wither and to destroy; as the vulture snuffs his banquet, and hastes to his prey, so did the associates of the power and revengeful feelings of Karmath pursue their career of blood.'

'It was at the most flourishing period of the rule of the renowned Harun al Raschid that the celebrated city of Hillah arose to the zenith of her prosperity and grandeur. Situated on the course of the Euphrates, adjoining to the mounds and ruins of imperial Babylon, Hillah might be said to inherit a large portion of nature's bounties, and to revel in a profusion of luxurious enjoyments. Cultivating the arts, and mistress of a lucrative commerce from her happy position, her stately buildings embellished on all sides, the banks

of the stream, while her gardens spread in exquisite beauty and sweet luxuriance around. The inhabitants of this favoured city were protected against any wandering Arabs, or any hostile force, by lofty and strong walls, flanked with towers, and its ample circuit afforded room for various stately mansions and gardens, with the abode of the governor, and some families descended from the princes of this rich and ancient land; a chain of boats formed a bridge across the Euphrates, preserving the communications betwixt the opposite banks; the suburbs on each quarter were encircled with groves which stretched to the edge of the river. The position of Hillah, independently of its riches or power, conferred a consequence and interest upon her; the site on which she stood, about the centre of the great Chaldean plain, brought necessarily within her walls the constant flux and reflux of visitors to and from the vast regions of Irak, or Mesopotamia, in their way up or down the Euphrates, the oldest and finest and most revered river of the East. Descending from the snow-capped summits of Ararat, the waters of this famous stream, converging in its course with the rapid Tigris, flows by the renowned cities of Nineveh, Ctesiphon, and the fallen Babylon; their united waves at length, confined in one channel, impetuously sweep along until the river disembogues itself into the Persian Gulf. Thus was the city of Hillah distinguished by the most important advantages. Seated amid gardens which supplied the most exquisite fruits, its roses and flowers breathed a richer perfume than those of any other city of the East; they wafted a gale of fragrance far and wide around, penetrating with delight the senses of those, who, viewing its beauties from the river, rapidly passed by its walls; but none of these advantages, neither its luxuries, nor its fertility, its position amid the highly favoured scenes, where history and tradition establish the paradisaical site of Eden—none of these privileges conferred greater celebrity on Hillah than her immediate proximity to the ruins of the once mighty Babylon, spreading around, abandoned and desolate, and frowning in gloomy and sombre majesty.

‘About four miles to the north-eastward of Hillah, amid these wide spreading plains of Irak, the lightning-blasted piles of Babylon appear, and close to the ruins sweeps by with powerful stream the renowned Euphrates, oldest of rivers! which lingers near these mysterious piles, and bathes with its waters fragments graven with the magic characters, lying conspicuous amidst hills of sun-dried bricks. Here desolation reigns supreme over the impressive scene, which is marked by a solemnity and silence affecting and terrible! The vestiges of overthrown fragments, of cleft ravines, of shattered palaces blackened by the trace of sulphureous flames, speak a tale of wickedness, and display evidences of divine judgment and vengeance truly appalling. The silence of this spot has no affinity to that of the soothing repose of nature, but seems only the awful pause preceding the demonstration of some great act of supernatural power—some signal vengeance—such as appears in the wondrous scene around. So vast are their crumbled masses, that the ruins appear to the eye to be mountains of nature’s work, scathed and shattered in her anger. History points to them as the relics of a mighty and a glorious empire. One eminent pile, rent from top to bottom, is furrowed around with vast clefts and ravines, gloomy and unsightly recesses, wherein the beams of day never penetrated, and the eye withdraws its gaze in silent horror; for there crawl in safety, bloated unsightly reptiles and poisonous

serpents, hissing forth their fierce defiance. Owls, also, and satyrs of the wilderness, keep their undisturbed resort amid these awful courts. On the south of these wild ruins, pre-eminently horrible, towers a mountain of sun-burnt mystic brick, the Majelebè, whose square sides are ploughed by the scars of the elements, and riven by the thunder's rage. Although as great as a mountain of Caucasus, it is soon discovered also to be a sad memorial of man's pride, and itself to have perished by the storms which overthrew all the adjoining monuments of the plain; its sides erect themselves as the frowning relics of some impregnable fortress, especially to the north-east, where, as if to declare its original magnificence, one upright line of wall, constructed of the finest brickwork, rears still its undemolished front, towering over a cleft so deep, that the eye shrinks back from its horrid gloom and yawning sides, whence issue forth murmurs and sounds unearthly and dreadful. A blast, cool and chill, oftentimes whistles forth from the interior of the cavity, as if the earth opened and suffered through her frame, while the terrified beholder hastens to fly from the dreadful spot. Dying away, as with a deep sigh, the keen icy blast will cease, and instantly will steam upward fumes of glowing heat and scorching flame, pouring forth a withering blight and mildew on all around; no grass, no budding flower, no fragrant blossom lives within the sphere of this doleful ruin, but one solitary wonderful majestic object, rearing its leafy head near the mysterious walls of the adjoining gigantic mound, which still retain their name of Al Kasr, the palace. The whole circumference of the pile (composed of relics of millions of highly finished bricks) is fallen, destroyed, and ruined; and in the centre of their desolation blows and flourishes one majestic tree, not a palm, neither a cedar, but a tree partaking the sweets of one, and the imperishable verdure of the other. All Arabia hails it as a blessed tree of Paradise, watched by good spirits, and sustained amid these tower-clad solitudes of magic power and uncleanness, these haunts of evil spirits, and terrible scenes of evil men and wicked demons, to support the unwary or unconscious visitant allured or betrayed hither; to show, even in the chosen haunts of their power, that demon malice cannot destroy what providence will save, and that hope and trust have a bright beam on them mightier than the terrible forms which apparently haunt these spots.

The arid sterile plain sweeps onward from the broad Euphrates to the horizon, a uniform waste of sands, save where it is loaded with these widely-spreading ruins, which diverge and spread around for miles, and are occasionally intersected by deep trenches and lines of communication; these were formerly cauals of limpid waters, carrying health, plenty, and riches through the abodes of myriads of rejoicing mortals. Now, as if labouring under the curse of the plain, they are filled with sluggish ooziugs from the Euphrates, or as stagnant reservoirs of its inundations loading the air with pestilence within these marshes. The cormorant makes the solitary desert echo his sullen cry—the birds of the wilderness flap their wings and scream undisturbed amid the splashing pools—for the daunted Arabian leads far hence his flocks into the distant skirts of the desert, and hastens onward if his keen eye discerns but from afar the shade of these darkling ruins on the distant horizon. The whole space appears by some invisible but pervading influence to be interdicted to man, while the frame and shapes of the frowning masses, marked as they incontestible are, and graven by his handy work, still pos-

ness, in contradistinction to their repellant character, a powerful attraction and invitation to his researches and insatiable curiosity. Demon malice has made their resort wear the impress of their influence, and scattered about the touches of power, of greatness, and bold defiance, which, as if breathing tones of accordance to man's impious wishes, has, in all ages, attracted to these unhallowed caverns and abysses the daring and presumptuous. Far off in the western deserts, the extreme boundary of the ruined site of Babylon, frowns the largest and grandest of her ruins—the brickwork foundation of the Tower of Belus, wherein still appears a fragment of the brick tower. Wildness and savage horror mark the ruins; in these gloomy caves the lion makes his den, and its sides are haunted by serpents and birds of darkness; it stands a solitary and imposing monument of the pride of man, and its signal punishment. It appears a grand mass of ruin from the waters of the Euphrates, which, as if to bring under the gaze of vain mortals, a spot of such terror and potent influence, winds its fine stream by a bold curvature around a part of the ruins, and washes the base of what appears a stately cliff. As the traveller approaches, instead of the river's banks, he now only perceives rows and piles of massive bricks, and curiously graven arrow-headed characters and mystic cylinders, so that he is involuntarily impelled to gaze with horror around, as he surveys such a sweeping and wide spreading destruction, and exclaims—'This is Babylon!'

Karmath (or Hassun Suba) was often accustomed to remain a considerable time from home, either engaged in his necromantic mysteries, or in visiting the distant habitations of his tribe. He had an only son, who, young, and deprived by magic or by destiny of his understanding, was left, during these long absences, under the care of Jamī, a faithful Arab of Karmath's household, and of Hassarac, a malignant gigantic Ethiopian slave. Heman, the son of Karmath, had a favourite youth, named Adalia, for his play-fellow; and between them they frequently gave their keepers no little trouble. One of their frolics, which was highly dangerous, and nearly proved fatal, is thus admirably described:

'Thus these interesting beings had employed themselves, during a more than unusually protracted absence (of Karmath), when one morning, as Jamī, encircled by some Arabs of the Ghuzzall tribe, was entertaining them with the hospitalities always enjoined towards them by his patron, and after receiving their pledges of respectful attachment towards himself, was proceeding to direct the safe deposit of some valuable drugs, which their tribes greatly needed, upon the camels of their escort, safely stationed within the rectangular court, when a confused noise and uproar pervaded the whole of the mansion, and Jamī despatched his confidential slave to ascertain the cause; his guests became exasperated by the news that their camels, alarmed and frightened at some sudden appearance, had become altogether ungovernable, and, after bruising and trampling their conductors, who were taken unawares, that they were dispersing in every direction. Stepping hastily to the open arcades encircling the courts, Jamī beheld with bitter vexation and anger the fact confirmed, and the scene confused beyond description, camels plunging to and fro, rushing forth from the court, and flying towards the deserts. To supply his enraged and agitated friends with the means of pursuit, and add all

the necessary auxiliary aid, was his first consideration, which done, he hastened towards the inner courts of Heman, whence the noises and tumult proceeded; passing swiftly forward among a confused jargon of the surrounding slaves, he started, for at the moment he thought that he saw a panther by its wily crouch making forward to seize a fierce and aged camel, which evidently at bay, highly frightened, and making most hideous noises, prepared to stun his antagonist on his approach with his fore feet. In a moment, ere he could cross the court, peals of laughter came from the mock beast, which, in its unbounded career of joy and amusement at the poor camel's fright and stiffened attitudes, rolled in giddy delight on the marble pavement; but the thrilling tones of Jami's angry voice operated as powerfully on the scottish panther, as his disguise had become to the herd he had so mischievously frightened; hastily rising upright in the closely fitted envelop of a panther's skin, the paws spread adroitly over his slender arms, and the whole disguise most skilfully arranged, stood the now ashamed and terrified Adalia, his visage glowing with the violent exertions and gambolings of his sport, his eyes bright and sparkling, and his features still unable to subdue the full flow of laughter which the dangerous sport had called forth. Seeing by Jami's settled severity, that his displeasure was probably indicative of punishment to the offender, Hassarac appeared ready to receive his commands, when Heman, whom he had vainly sought for through the court, rendered the alarm real and highly alarming. Transported at the project of Adalia's, of enacting the wild beasts among the camels (a feat suggested to his vivid fancy by a present Heman had received of a fine panther), they had prepared two beautiful skins used as a couch, against such a favourable opportunity as the arrival of the Arab guests; bounding hastily forward, they had so well performed their parts as to throw the poor beasts into the most distressing panic and terror, dispersing them on all sides; but while Adalia, with a character of manliness, selected for the continuance of his sport the animal who seemed to furnish a semblance of resistance, Heman, in ecstasies of delight at the success of their stratagem, with the malice and imbecility usually commixed with his purposes, hastened privately to the court, and freed the panther from his den to add to their sport: with rapture he saw the active animal with a bound rush into the court, where stood the conscious Adalia and Jami, with a confused circle of slaves. Startled at such a concourse, the animal by a spring cleared some of the foremost, striking to the ground a slave which impeded his progress towards the camel; the throng flying in all directions deprived Jami of every opportunity of acting, he was also unarmed, save the dagger of his belt, having laid his scimitar on the cushions of the couch in the hall; in one moment, uttering a tremendous roar, the panther rushed on the camel, which stately and fierce, never moved her eye from his form, and so successfully watched the spring, that starting aside she avoided the attack, inflicting a severe blow with her feet; fiercely growling, the panther was about renewing his plunge, when seeing the similar skin and figure of Adalia, mute and trembling before Jami, and far more sensitive of his tones of displeasure, than of the animal's fury, he leaped on the unguarded and unhappy youth, and bore him to the earth. Grasped in the powerful claws of the savage monster, and overthrown, his death seemed inevitable; the slaves dispersed were flying with shrieks and entreaties in every direction, when Jami, darting forward, buried his poniard in the throat

of the animal, a stream of blood poured from his jaws over the prostrate Adalia, as the animal left him to turn on Jami; at that moment the torn and wounded youth hastily lifting himself, his features became agonized with horror as he perceived the imminent danger of Jami. On the pavement near him were the equipments of the camel, strewn on the ground in its violent struggles to escape the panther; amid the housings lay a pistol, presenting itself to his frantic eye; summoning his remaining strength, nearly exhausted by the cruel gripe and loss of blood, he aimed at the furious animal, which roaring in agony, and rearing on its hind legs, was in the very act of overwhelming Jami; the high strung nerve kept firm to its purpose, the ball passed through the panther's heart, and with a deep growl he fell backward by the side of the lacerated Adalia, who, seeing his friend preserved, uttered a cry of joy, and fainted from loss of blood and excess of emotion.

The dwelling of Karmath, like the castles of ancient romance, had one *forbidden* wing, which none of the domestics, except the Ethiopian, were ever allowed to visit. By chance, however, Adalia obtains a glance of these mysterious apartments, which fires his whole soul with curiosity to penetrate further into their secrets. To put all the attendants of Heman off their guard, he one day requested of his young patron permission to pass the evening alone, while the rest of the household are entertaining themselves with some pastime he had invented for them. Obtaining his desire, he thus puts his design in execution:

'Adalia, elate of purpose, shone pre-eminently gay, directing all the details, and amusing every one by the most inexhaustible store of expedients. Little could the giddy throng have surmised on what desperate resolves he was meditating, while, as if eager to ward off reflection, or to nerve his somewhat recoiling purpose, he plunged headlong into the noise and distraction of the sports. Often his mind sunk into deep abstraction as he put the appalling interrogatory—"Why may not the whole be a test, a trial of my discretion, and consign me to the merciless cruelty of my enemies? But then, the horror of going on day by day with a mind like Heman's, and follies as now rolled around him, seemed to Adalia far worse than death. He smiled (and could he have ventured it, the smile would have been of bitter scorn), as he seemed just awakened to the frivolities which hitherto he had played with. Such was the change wrought by the horrors which had broken on him, and the thoughts crowding on his soul in one short moon, that he wondered at himself; he remembered with a degree of solemn terror, as his mind ran rapidly backward, that it was precisely a month, one revolving epoch of the planet most genial to midnight scenes of preternatural sway, since he had run the imminent peril of most cruel tortures, and now he was about taking the far more dangerous step of entering the horrid abdeo. "Why decide that Karmath ruled its guilty scenes? his eye had not seen him;" he shuddered at the retrospect, but nerved more and more even by the wildering surmises of his troubled thoughts, he eagerly gazed at the beaming glories of the sun, and wished them set behind the everlasting hills, as he sighed forth—"Opportunity is swift of flight and slow of return." The sun at length did set, joy and revelry resounded throughout the gardens, and all its inhabitants absorbed in

eager pastime, from the grave steward to the humblest slave, regaled in Heman's presence, regardless of the youth who, stretched on his couch in a far distant chamber, watched with intense anxiety the bright suffusion of the gilded sky fade and melt away, and the face of the heavens gradually become darker and gemmed with sparkling stars. The depth of his revolving thoughts and daring purpose communicated an elevation of look and air, as the moon, rising from behind the frowning mass of the Birn Nemroude, which intercepted her rays, streamed in a bright line of radiance on his varying countenance. His clear brown eyes, his mouth and lips of fearless ease, now wore a hue of settled determinate purpose, deep and resolved, which ill assimilated with the slender delicacy of his youthful form, and as he girded his flowing vesture tightly around his waist, and inserted a crooked knife which he had secreted in his girdle, the pale lustre of the moon, shining on his colourless cheeks, gave an unearthly hue to his figure; as a marble form of Grecian art, Cupid or Fawn, motionless on its base, shines in beauty in the moonlight hour. Thus determined, he stepped on tiptoe to the window, which had its shaded blinds wide open; he leant forward in the garden; not a leaf moved, but, on the right, the flashes of radiance showed the exhibition begun, and the constant laughter and noises loading the air, gave assurance to his heart that all was safe, and he need fear no interruption. "What do I seek?" he questioned inward, as he gazed instinctively on the bright planet shining above him; instantly his unquenchable spirit suggested—"My fate, my deliverance, or death! The hour is come, vain fears and doubts farewell!" Although slender and unformed, his stature was nearly its full height, and turning quickly to leave the apartment, he drew back, as he saw opposite to him a preternatural figure leaning toward him; a second glance convinced him it was but his lengthened shadow reflected in the moonbeam, and resolving to think no more, but dare the dreaded scene, he calmly descended to the garden, and passed without hurry or precipitation (if perchance he should encounter any wandering slave) through the court and outer portico which led into the hall he sought.

\* There, in an alcove adjoining the entrance, stood the imitation yew, and seven red torches; seizing the centre one, and prepared for the sight, he eagerly saw it flash into a bright flame; his eye involuntarily gazed around the hall, which was of dimensions ample enough to supply the range for the full scope and action of three swings, hung for Heman and his favourites' sport. The roof was so lofty as to be invisible in the uncertain beams of the solitary light he bore, and the walls on either side were marked in skilful compartments, zigzags, and Arabic scrolls of tracery, entwining groups of delicate flowers; the whole apartment, formed of stone and domed, was divided into vast compartments of cedar frame-work, and grouped with hangings of silks and muslin drapery flowing downward to the marble pavement, deep cornices empanelled along the wall, softening its unusual elevation, and the whole structure displaying a richness of fancy and decoration. The upper end of the vast apartment showed an alcove similar to that of the entrance, but without any branch of torches, or obstruction whatever.

' Looking at the whole outline around, the youth paused a moment only, as if gathering resolution from the respite, and then slowly glided along the pavement toward the upper end; as he passed the centre he looked eagerly on the large dome, from which its light was in the daytime received; he now



looked for the moonbeams which should play in its circle, but none appeared therein, and all was dark and gloomy; he vouchsafed not a moment's delay, but stepping eagerly to the alcove, and entering its shadow, he crumbled part of the wax which he grasped, and beheld, with a deep tone of settled purpose (as he had seen in his vision), that it gradually decomposed and became a crimson liquid in his palm; dipping his finger therein, by a violent effort he traced "Karmath," and the moment that he had ceased marking the last character, spontaneously and noiseless an empanelled doorway opened inward, and the wreathing rolls of cloudy mists and vapour showed to Adalia the fatal chamber of mysteries! Casting a look into the dark obscure, and rapidly shaking his torch to arouse it into a brighter flame, he daringly entered the passage; but as he stepped forward, and the blaze of the torch reached the wreathing vapour, an instantaneous burst of flames enveloped the whole passage, rushing forth in vast volumes into the hall itself, and overwhelming the wretched Adalia by their fury.

'While Adalia thus adventured upon misery and woe, the household around Heman quaffed the bowls of enjoyment, and were delighted in the sports which had thus propitiously flowed onward, without check or alloy. Hassan eagerly seized the opportunity of recommending his services and exertions to Heman's notice, and spread around a variety of luxuries, which added highly to their rapturous enjoyments. Heman, seated upon a rustic seat of state, reposed on crimson cushions, two fair slaves fanned him with ostrich plumes as the heated air flushed his cheeks; at the moment of their fullest delight, as two rockets ascended high in the horizon, and threw forth their stars and globular balls, and every face unlifted, followed their spangled shower of fire—"God of my fathers!" Hassan exclaimed, "whence are those flames?" and he pointed to a torrent of fire, which soared upward majestically, streaming on the dark vault of night. At this alarming appearance the festive spot became the scene of confusion and wild alarm, they poured impetuously toward the apartments whence the flames issued, and long ere they approached the lofty hall, bright, clear, and unmoved by a breath of air, the fiery torrent was seen pouring forth through the dome, in the centre of its roof, as from a furnace. Hassan, agonized and frantic, rushed into the hall, followed by the most daring of the slaves, and to their horror beheld the flames crackling with fury amid the wood-work, which was in one entire conflagration; the materials of the hangings and decorations were already consumed, and the fire spreading upward around the dome, fragments of burning timber fell at times on the pavement, rendering all approach highly dangerous, while, amid the ruins, lay the lifeless body of Adalia, at the further extremity of the alcove, grasping a half-consumed torch, the apparent cause of all the desolation; in the centre also stood a gloomy form, looking on the scorched and inanimate body of the hapless youth, then turning to the terrified and shrinking slaves, pale and affrighted at the tremendous scene, he hoarsely murmured forth in tones of thunder—"Take that rash and treacherous boy! take him, I say, from the fate he so well merits, and bear him to the black hall of the haram!" Though death stared them in the face, as the eager flames threw forth their forked flashes and ran along the walls, yet three black slaves made a desperate plunge, and seizing on the scarcely to be recognised figure of Adalia, (of him so lately the blooming and animated planner of their joys—so brilliant in life and pleasure,) they rushed from the burning hall in the

moment previously to the dome falling with a tremendous crash ; while volumes of smouldering smoke now buried all around in impenetrable darkness.

"Alas !" said the heart-stricken Hassan, as he saw the poor Adalia borne along ; (his head drooping and reclined, his frame scorched and powerless ;) "alas ! poor floweret !" he murmured, "truly the remembrance of youth is a sigh ;" but the settled gaze of the figure who had directed the removal of the senseless boy sealed the lips of Hassan. With trembling terror he beheld him fiercely motion them to leave the hall. The fall of the roof, which followed the dome, had, in fact, confined the flames within barriers which they could not surmount, and a second warning bade Hassan withdraw every slave from the spot. The beautiful building continued to burn while any wood-work remained, parts of the walls crumbling away at times fell inward with a crashing sound, the heavy vapours loading the clear sky, showed that the destructive element had also consumed the apartments beyond ; but surrounded by high brick walls, and interdicted to their steps, the ruinous spectacle was only gazed on from afar with pallid and affrighted looks ; soon it ceased altogether to burn, and nothing gave notice of the horrid scene which had passed but an occasional flash of light issuing forth from some half-consumed fragment.

In the above extract, the reader has a fair specimen of this writer's powers of description, which, undoubtedly, are of a high order. We shall, however, present him with two more, which, for vigorous rapidity and effect, are hardly excelled by any parallel passages in Scott's novels. These extracts we shall introduce by a passage which precedes them in the story, and may be considered as an example of the writer's manner of narrating. Jamī, who by this time has a mistress, and is suspected by her of being, like Hassan Suba, a sorcerer, to clear himself of this horrible taint, resolves to discover and expose his master and oppressor. He is anxious to have an interview with the grand judge of Hillah, then searching for the magicians among the ruins of Babylon, and follows him to the plain :

'It was already dark, for the sun had set ere he entered Hillah, and his courser pursued with danger the route, as he rapidly approached the outskirts of the village of Jumjuna, and entered the swelling mound which reaches to the Euphrates ; he cautiously passed the openings of the high encircling mound, and paced the damp and nitrous valley which skirted the sombre and widely diverging ruins of the hill of Amram ; the way was dark, the ground rough and rugged, being strewn around with loose heaps and fragments of shattered bricks ; the route soon became altogether hidden, as the moon veiled the imperfect light she had hitherto thrown around behind a deep dense cloud. Jamī, who had hitherto hastened onwards under the excitement of an impatient and almost irresistible impulse, soon was awakened to his danger by his horse nearly stumbling over a small hillock, and the animal stopping short, evidenced great reluctance to advance a step further. Recalled to the solitary horror of all around him, Jamī eagerly looked abroad, and around him, for some show of the tents or retinue of the grand judge—not a being appeared in sight, nor any trace of their resort ; he listened, as he cautiously bent forward to aid his impatient gaze—not a sound could he hear, but the low moanings

from the Euphrates, which crept solemnly upward from the high banks of mystic bricks and ruins, checking the river's mighty course; at length he impatiently called aloud, at the utmost stretch of his voice, on "Kazim," but the sounds of Kazim came back from the ruinous heaps, dead and heavily, as if the very air was impenetrable, and refused their admission into its element, repelling them on his startled senses. Impending over him hung the frowning mass of Amram—all was dark—he questioned his own dauntless heart, and judging that, if he could clear this overshadowing hill, he might get the aid of some beaming star to light his path, he plunged his spurs into his fiery courser's sides, who springing impetuously forward a few paces, fell with a violent shock from a mount of considerable height, and by the effort precipitated her rider forward on the ground.

'Jamīlay long insensible on the spot where he fell, but when consciousness returned, he perceived with horror that he was entangled amid these dangerous and ill-omened ruins, without the least clue or guiding beam; he closed his eyes overcome, when, again as he gazed, a small glimmer, as a glowworm's lustre, seemed to play before him, and desperate of purpose, he resolved to follow whither it would lead him. Although much bruised by his recent catastrophe, he mustered strength to seek the end of his bold attempt, and through hollows and deep ravines, overstrewn ruins of what once were glorious palaces, he proceeded gradually onward, when a sharp growl, loud and menacing, which issued from an impenetrable cavity of darkness, bespoke the lair of some savage beast. Jamī's heart beat high as he grasped his scimeter, and with difficulty dragging onward his steps, the pain of his fall obliged him to pause. The whistlings of the wind sounded mournfully, as he lifted his eyes, and gazed intently on the wild rack scudding swiftly over the sky, obscuring the moon, usually so bright and free from cloud; he had proceeded a length of way, enough he deemed to carry his sight upward to the verge of the most elevated of these piles, the lofty Mujelebeh, whence he hoped to have seen those whom he sought; he was soon mournfully satisfied that they all had left these dreaded scenes of terror, long ere he had entered them, by some other approach; and panting and sickening with pain, and the insuperable difficulties around, he in vain endeavoured, amid the uneasy thoughts which assailed him, to regain some self-collectedness; at this moment the terrible beast, whose harsh growl had so lately startled him, appeared advancing, its eyes flaming as a bright torch amid the darkness; he was aware, from its hoarse breathing, that it was a lion, and drawing his scimeter, he held it extended toward the glaring eyeballs. The beast (as if awed by his intrepidity) stopped, and became stationary, while Jamī, still approaching a rising eminence of ruined bricks immediately behind him, slowly ascended an elevation of such importance to his safety, and following upward another, and another billowy slope, skirting the brink of a deep yawning chasm, he surmounted the towering sweep of ruins, when his exhausted frame (worn down with the hurts and bruises he had received, and suffering under the singular horrors and dangers surrounding him) sunk to the earth, under a tree, whose boughs of feathery texture hung over him, just visible in the darkness.

'Long he lay motionless and defenceless; he at length aroused himself, under the dread of becoming the inevitable prey of the wild beasts of these dreadful haunts. Revolving in his thoughts the situation wherein he was

placed, a solitude of horrors, amid ruins so gigantic that every step might precipitate him into some horrible cleft to instant destruction, he felt compelled, both by his present weakness, as well as by prudence, to rest the remainder of the night, and await the return of day; but he involuntarily shuddered as he saw the dark shadows surrounding him, and remembered the fears entertained at these ruins, and the evil spirits who were believed to make these caverns and recesses their favourite resort; distressed with these various sensations, he also felt acutely the doubtful stain which his absence might attach on him in the affections of Lillah. While thus perturbed and agitated, he was seized by sleep, which, quickly banishing all traces of sorrow, sunk on him with refreshing sweetness.

‘He beheld the Kasr in his dreams, but shining in mid-day brightness, and a tree of pensile foliage bending to the earth, underneath whose boughs he reposed; and as he lay rejoicing in the glad exchange from midnight gloom, looking on the Euphrates sparkling in the sunbeams, his senses were ravished by strains of soft melody, so sweet, as stole over him with an ineffable charm, chasing far away every thought of anguish and pain—celestial sounds bearing within their sphere that thrilling efficacy, which lifts the soul above its fleshy prison—renews its sense of heavenly origin—fresh plumes its wings of thought, and radiates it with delight ineffable, such as were its own, ere sin and weakness marred its powers, and dimmed its visual ray divine—sweet joys, such as will be the soul’s, when Azrael’s dart shall open Paradise.’

In searching the ruins, Kazim, the grand judge, apprehends a black sorcerer in the practice of his nefarious arts, and conveys him to Hillah; but, while they are preparing to carry him forth to execution, he entreats for mercy until he shall have disclosed the names of his accomplices, and offers to lead the grand judge to the spot where even then they were performing their horrible rites. Kazim consents, and they proceed towards the ruins:

‘The evening (as Jamī had found it) was stormy, and the frowning hill was concealed by heavy clouds; but, surrounded by his followers, and also accompanied by Ebn Thaher and his officers, Kazim pursued his way, eager to arrive thither ere the daylight failed. Zamor, of tall colossal figure, his arms fast bound, fitly indeed resembled the demon of darkness stalking towards this guilty dreary pile, rent on every side, torn and defaced by the elements, and lightning shattered; on every lengthened front, its dark and gloomy mass, perforated by holes and riven clefts, displayed a terrible devastation, and on the north, an indenting chasm opened the gigantic mound from top to bottom; the impending fragments jutting outward, appeared ready to fall, and consummate the ruin of all within their shade. Over heaps of vitrified bricks and misshapen mounds, a guard, holding over his head bare and exposed, a gleaming scimitar, precoded and followed by guards, and in view of the grand judge, Zamor slowly approached onward to this frightful gorge; they entered its shadow, and turning to the left, a dark passage appeared, its extremity concealed in profound gloom; on each side of a low arched vault a passage or crevice branched off, leading onward, but shrouded in darkness; ~~near them~~ appeared an abyss, involved in perfect obscurity, but by its sounds terrifying and affrighting the guards from all approach. Kazim perceiving their irresolution, stepped onward to ascertain the cause, and himself alarmed at the

dismal prospect. Immediately retired, filled with indignation at the culprit who had dared to lead them to the brink of such a dangerous spot. He was on the point of ordering his instant death, and the uplifted sword was stretched out, when whispering sounds distinctly issued from the crevice within a few paces of their station, and Zamor, with an air of confident assurance, looked forward, as if there abode the vile practisers he had engaged to deliver to their justice. Still holding the sword uplifted over his head, they went forward a step, guided by the glare of torches, which the moment's pause allowed them to light; breathless with the sensations excited by the awful scene, and their contiguity to the tremendous agents of supernatural rites, they proceeded cautiously, skirting the deep and faithless pit or well, whence issued sulphureous smells and sounds of woe. The foremost slave shrieked out—"the will of the evil angels, Haroot and Maroot!" At a beckon from Kazim, the bright sword struck at the culprit; but ere the words were uttered, the giant Ethiopian had sprung into the abyss, and its boiling vapours shrouded him from their view. Terrified and alarmed at the frightful horror of all surrounding them, Kazim stood irresolute and thunderstruck, when the pit rolled forth such a dense mass of poisonous vapour, as admonished them to fly instantly from its pestilential influence. Happily their boats having accompanied them, they embarked in precipitate haste on the Euphrates, and mounting the stream, far beyond the frowning ruins, they passed the night in recounting the extraordinary scene.

To complete his power over the spirits of darkness, and to attain empire in the hearts and over the lives of men, Hassun Suba, who every year sacrificed some victim to the god of fire, now prepares to offer up Adalia. But, since the sacrifice must be made with a voluntary victim, he is compelled to drug the youth's cup with some potent juice to bewilder his reason, and incline him to rush willingly into the consuming flames. To infuse this poison into Adalia's cup, he employs one of his slaves, who, having received from Karmath's son some unpardonable insult, every day changes the cups, presenting the harmless wine to Adalia, and the magical potion to Heman. On the day before the sacrifice a banquet is given by Hassun, and the events which precede and take place at it, are thus described. It must be observed that Jami assists at this banquet, transformed by magic into the shape and colour of Hassarac, the Ethiopian, to deceive the eye of Hassun:

'Such were the events of the morning hours, rolling onward in the absence of Hassun, marked by those trivial incidents, which gave no indication of the awful storm so soon approaching. The being most tried was Jami, who might wear the visage and terrific lineaments of Hassarac, but whose mind displayed such traits of gentle kindness, and emanations of amiable feeling, as surprised while it delighted the poor slaves, usually tormented by his tyranny. Yet Jami, cautious of the mighty consequences hanging on his disguise, strove to assume a sterner character than his own, one suited to the form he wore. Long he eyed with deepest feeling the unconscious Adalia on the very brink of death, ensnared by the sorcerer, and transported to his infernal den; from him his eyes wandered to the imbecile vicious Heman, and

he was stung by the distressing thought, that to him even he must be the unwilling instrument of evil. Amid these cogitations, as they floated on the waters, Lillah's voice sounded from the groves, and his heart beat as though it would burst his bosom, as he thought of flying to her side, until the conviction of his Ethiop form came on his soul; but Heman, leaning toward him, fanned him into fury, as, his eyes shooting deadly malice, he exultingly whispered "the certainty of betraying her into his possession on the ensuing day, by the will and concurrence of his father." As he poured forth the guilty conceptions of his polluted mind into his ears, Jamī, who now indeed, in the excess of his boiling rage, fitly personated Hassarac, gave the reins to his fury, and dismissed all lurking regrets at the path of duty before him. The simple tones of Lillah's voice amid the groves in the garden inflamed him almost to madness, and Heman, accustomed to the fierce passions of Hassarac, kept officiously whispering in eager tones his guilty hopes and viciously concerted schemes, demanding his concurring aid.

"Hence, ye weak and foolish scruples," Jamī inwardly exclaimed. "the sorcerer and his brood are well cleared from the earth even at the risk of my own blood," and he hastened to prepare the deceitful blossoms of the sun-plant to blind the quick-eyed Hassun. Scarcely had he effected it, and rejoined the group, ere the declining sun pointed at the awful hour, and Adalia, little aware how probable the fiction might become reality, suggested their going in procession to the hall, where himself and Heman were to meet with Hassun, to give a character to the exhibition before them. He had taken a garland from one of the female dancers and placed it on his own head, which, with the dress he wore of Nourmahal's lover (discovered, and sentenced to die), rendered his appearance strikingly in unison with the awful scene he unconsciously stood in peril of; for Hassun, impatient lest the hour of destiny should strike, and he become defrauded of his revengeful hopes, himself dismissed the usual retinue of Heman, and, exulting in his wiles, led Adalia, dressed and crowned as a victim, to the fatal spot. Overwhelmed with surprise at the appearance of Hassun, already there, Jamī hastened onward, and one moment only remained for him to shake the poisonous subtle drug into Heman's goblet ere the entrance of Hassun, followed by the slaves, would have made it impracticable for ever. Resuming by a strong effort his self-command, Jamī looked keenly around, and his quick eye, ranging over the apartment, detected that, by Hassun's seat, a reflecting mirror was so placed that it presented to his watchful glance every action in the hall. Here then, never more to separate, until the powerful spell rendered his victim a heap of ashes, were grouped the obdurate, revengeful enchanter, the victim ready crowned (whose fine and attractive countenance shaded by uneasy thought, not only failed to excite one germ of sorrow or remorse in his ruthless heart, but was eyed with sparkling looks of eager malice), and Heman relapsed into unmeaning apathy. Bibars, deeply agitated and restless, only thought how to exchange the cups, little aware that in so doing he would present the drug of death to Adalia. This blow Jamī had not foreseen, nor could he now avert the fatal and blind interference which annihilated all his precautions, and frustrated the unparalleled effort of his self-devoted sacrifice of himself; still Zephon's words sustained his sickening heart, as he thought of the impending perils. Numerous slaves brought every delicacy, with fruits of the highest flavour, and the rich wines of Persia;

when, as if relaxing into the tender parent, and pleased and cheerful master, Hassun quaffed the gay goblet of pleasure, and encouraged it in all around him, until he alone witnessed the powder shaken into Adalia's goblet, as he thought, by the hands of Hassarac—that powder which consummated the sacrifice, and prepared the victim. At this instant his eyes flashed fire, and eager to seize his prey, he pointed through the opening arches to the distant Birs; the mighty mound now frowned a dark and threatening mass, and on its edge, as on a throne, rested the fiery sun. Tossing furiously his arms towards the glorious luminary, he exclaimed—"Bring forth the goblets; Adalia, I pledge thee to the God of day—hasten thee to drink ere he sinks beneath the hill!" Adalia rose—a solemn pause ran through the hall—and Jamī quivered with agony, for he saw that Bibars had changed the cups, and was bearing to Adalia the fatal mixture. He gasped with horror, when Hassun (who was more and more watchful and suspicious as the hour came on, and who had beheld the transaction in the mirror), rushing from his seat under the influence of uncontrollable rage, himself seized the fatal goblet borne by Bibars, and gave it to Heman, and snatching the exchanged and harmless cup lifted to Heman's lips, he presented it to Adalia. The exchange, so impetuously made, was accepted instantly by the terrified youths, who (as his eyes darted lightnings on them) in a moment of time drank their contents, and the awful spell was irrevocably sealed. A sound as of thunder rolled under their feet, as the sun sunk beneath the hill—"It is done," he exclaimed, in tones of appalling triumph, while he drew his scimitar, inflicting death on the frightened Bibars, who sunk beneath his remorseless arm. All the slaves, in horror and surprise, fled from the hall. "It is done," again re-echoed from the lofty roofs in Hassun's tones—"I await thee, faithful Hassarac, in the cave;" and, as he spoke, brandishing his flickering charmed blade, with a glance of fire which rivalled the lightning's blaze, he disappeared.

The gates self-closed their bronze valves, the locks and bars spontaneously and imperviously fastened every avenue, and the crimson flowing curtains, descending in lurid pomp, covered the apartment, as a sanctuary, from every human eye—their stately folds were stiffened with embroideries of stars and of signs, susceptible of a solemn character, and awful import. Jamī gazed around in speechless horror. The apartment wore a crimsoned hue as if flooded in human blood—there lay Heman overpowered by the potent drug, a prey for the flames—there lay the faithful Bibars, death's victim from the sword of his master, and himself bound in the spell, wearing an Ethiop's form; whilst Adalia, wringing his hands in anguish, suspecting his destruction at hand, unknowing where to fly, was conjuring Jamī by name to fly to his succour. Touched to the soul at his moving exclamations and anguish, he did fly to him; but, alas! he was warned again, by Adalia's agony, whose form he bore. "Adalia! Adalia!" he solemnly uttered, after a moment's pause, "fly not from me! the moments are most precious. Believe me; it is Jamī's voice, although Hassarac's form. I have offered myself for thee; and to overthrow the dread magician's power." He then developed rapidly the steps whereby Hassun was deceived, and the dread penalty awaiting himself, pointing to the senseless Heman; then taking the fated coronet from Adalia's brow, he placed it on Heman's. Adalia now shrieked more loudly than before, as he dashed himself on the pavement, declaring wildly, that he never would accept of his deliverance on the terms. "Awake!

"Heman, awake!" he desperately exclaimed, as he strove to shake him from his slumbers. At this moment the loud thunder sounded again, and Jami, hastily pressing Adalia to his heart, the agonized youth dropped from his arms senseless on the pavement. Casting a look of tender pity on his convulsed form, Jami was secretly imploring the aid of Zephon, as a light fleecy cloud filled the room. The cloud rested on Adalia's form; it was but a moment ere it dissolved into air, and Jami beheld himself and Heman alone in the hall. Resigned to his fate, as he saw Adalia had been preserved—"Now, destiny, accomplish thy decrees!" Jami exclaimed; and clapping his hands, the chamber slowly descended, amid the strains of soft and mournful music. The pause was felt by Jami's inmost soul, as the dreadful moment passed of bidding farewell to the realms of day. Soon he summoned fortitude to look upon the scene around; Bibars, unhappy being, lay bathed in blood; on a golden couch or bed, Heman, the crowned victim, awaiting the summons to the rites; on every side he beheld arcades opening into lengthened avenues, which spread far and deep into the caverns of the earth, the haunts of evil and rebellious spirits—wild rang their songs and sounds of joy, while the bands of wicked powers swarmed forth around. At the rolling peals of their dread charms the caverns shook, and appeared to rock in trembling terror of their potent spells. "Hassun they praised—him they extolled—the powerful, the chief of magic Araby; henceforth subjected to his sway—him, wise and greatest of her race, who had won the gift of wisdom for his son, henceforth renowned on earth." Thus they sung, while Jami, motionless, stood by the insensible form, lifting up his heart in eager aspirations for support.

Hassun appeared in the midst of the awful scene, and now before him arose the altar which Jami had seen in the caverns of the Kasr. With loud acclaim it rose, and the teraph, flashing from its ghastly eyes a dismal light, glared pale and deadly from the ribbed rock. Fronting the altar, the flame, as if eager for its prey, and never propitiated but with blood, streamed upward on the altar, majestically bright and clear. The moment arrived, the jarring discord ceased, and silence deep and solemn succeeded, while Hassun, wearing the mystical magi robes, advanced first to the golden couch; placing his hand upon the veiled sacrifice, he then turned toward the altar, and devoted him to the God of Fire! Songs of triumph again arose, extolling Hassun's faith—"He was worthy to wear and to wield the talismans of the preadamitic kings! the greatest of the mysterious sovereigns resembled him in fate! Thus must all his enemies fall before him!" The cup of charmed potency, their pledge, then passed around, from which Hassun no sooner withdrew his lips, than sprinkling a few drops upon the altar's flame, it spread in wavy brilliancy, rolling around its bickering flashes. The sounds and songs of triumph died away, the mysterious thunders paused, and silence, death-like and solemn, fell around on all. The pause lasted—and Jami scarcely sustained its pressure on his heart, when Hassun slowly approached, and thus muttered forth the spell, which his deep-toned voice echoed amid the arched caverns around:

"Great God of Fire, receive a noble victim, the youth Adalia—bear him to thy flames! intoxicate with spells of potency, he reels under thy charmed draught, and voluntarily bends to thy influence! Seize him, ye flames, mix his form with thy primeval elements! receive him as the homage of my heart! Sacrifice! awake! arise!"



‘Hassun, standing before the altar, with impassioned gestures, waving his wand, at length gently touched the shrouded form ; it stirred—it moved—and shaking off the enchanter’s sleep and covering veil, a universal shriek rent the cave, of “Heman ! Heman !” as Heman stood before them ; and while, in speechless surprise and agony, the wretched Hassun gazed on his son, Heman exclaimed—“Victim of the spell, I come to fulfil thy rites ! O fire ! I come to adore thy power !”’

When Hassun discovers the victim to be his son, he and his sorcerers endeavour to consume Jamī, who now stands revealed to them, on the brazen altar, but the flames refuse to touch him, and extinguish of themselves. Then comes the closing of this scene of horror :

‘All gazed upon it in mute wonder ; meanwhile a sullen smoky vapour wreathed around, amid which was seen the terrible brightness of the teraph’s eyes ; silence held the whole assembly in suspense, as, in tones of appalling shrillness, were heard these words :

“Master, yet slave of the spell, it must be obeyed ; Jamī’s life, by fate’s decree, ye cannot touch—he has not drunk the dark tartareous draught—he devotes no offering—is not prepared nor crowned. A victim stands before me, and the fire, relentless, claims the willing Heman from his father’s hands.”

“Say not so, say not so ;” the shrinking Hassun exclaimed ; “consult the spirit : spare Jamī if it be his will, but take this victim, he breathed his last amid these walls,” pointing to the senseless Bibars, whom, at his bidding, they rose from the earth, while Jamī, freed from his bands, shrunk back in sickening horror, watching the event. By Hassun’s trembling hands the corpse was placed upon the golden bed prepared for sacrifice, as the altar lighted up its flames, and again glowed with heat intense ; singing a propitiatory charm, they bore him onward, and Heman, his hands leaning over Bibars, moved as they moved towards the sacred flame ; his eyes shot a meaning glance as they reached the spot. Hassun grasped him in parental agony, and loosed the hold for one moment only to seize his flowery coronet, and place it on the substituted form of Bibars, when at that instant of fate, quicker than lightning, a gleam of the teraph’s eyes glanced on Heman, and he, *filled with the fury of the spell*, leaped on the molten altar ; it was done—instantly his mortal frame, in such intense and glowing flames, perished away. With a wild shriek of agony the parent, the sorcerer Hassun, leaped also on the flames ; they sank, and the cold bronze altar was his resting-place, and his eager hands grasped—Heman’s ashes ! Thick volumes of dusky smoke flowed forth, and impenetrable gloom covered the horrible scene.’

Escaping by some supernatural means from these abominations, Jamī wanders towards Bagdad, to elude the vengeance of Hassun Suba, now in the zenith of power, and able to cope even with the caliph himself. His adventures and wanderings fill the remainder of the volume, except what is taken up with the story of Malok and Zelica, which, though melancholy in its termination, is a tale of great interest and beauty. The author conducts Jamī into Kash-

meer, where he discovers a brother in the person of the vizier, and learns that Adalia stood also in the same relation to him. Here, after Ashref, the vizier, relates to him the story of his brother Malek, whom Haroun-al-Raschid murdered in his fury, Jami disappears from us in a mist, for the volume closes abruptly, without concluding the interesting adventures begun in it. We shall receive with pleasure the remainder of the story, when the author chooses to publish it; and if the public be as much entertained with it as we have been, we trust he will not long defer the completion of his work.

One striking defect in this volume is the absence of notes, which, in all works of the kind, are absolutely necessary to the proper enjoyment of the fiction. The author, we observe, is a reader of *Æschylus*, and has twice introduced a splendid passage from that tragedian, omitting to acknowledge it; first, in p. 97; and, second, in p. 207; in both places with very slight alteration. ‘So transient,’ says he, ‘is the state of man, that in his most prosperous fortune, a shadow, passing light, throws to the *earth* joy’s baseless fabric’—And, again ‘A shadow, passing light, throws to the *ground power’s* baseless fabric; and adversity, as a sponge moistened in gall, soon wipes each flattering trait away.’

These sentiments occur in Potter’s translation:

‘This is the state of man: in prosperous fortune  
A shadow, passing light, throws to the ground  
Joy’s baseless fabric: in adversity,  
Comes malice in a sponge moistened in gall,  
And wipes each beauteous character away.’

No doubt, had the writer given notes to his tales, he would have pointed out the source whence he derived these lines; as well as two or three quotations from Arabic poets, which are introduced, but without any reference that might assist the reader in discovering where he should look for the original.

LETTER OF A RETIRED SURGEON—MEDICAL SERVICE OF  
INDIA.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

London, 15th April, 1897.

THE maxim, that there is something in the misfortunes, even of our best friends, that does not displease us, is well exemplified by the extreme indifference, not to say complacency, with which the unjust and degrading treatment of the medical branch of the military service in India is contemplated both by those who benefit by its aid, and by those from whom assistance and the redress of this evil might reasonably have been expected.

That the medical establishment in India is upon a very unequal footing to the civil, military, and clerical branches of the service, every one at all acquainted with the subject will readily admit: and that there neither is, or can be, any reason why this should be the case, is equally plain.

It has been asked, why the medical profession in India have not stated their case to the Court of Directors, and petitioned an equal share of their favour and patronage, with that enjoyed by their more fortunate countrymen in India. They have done so, both officially, and through the medium of a FREE PRESS. About five years ago, a Memorial on behalf of the Medical Service in India was forwarded from Madras to the Executive Government in this country. It was unsuccessful. The Service asked for bread, and received—a stone. It would be most desirable that some one of your readers, who may have this paper, and the Court's reply to it, should publish both for general information, that the merits of the address may be appreciated, its deficiencies supplied, its errors corrected in future applications, and the feeling of the Court to this part of the Service be understood. It would be hard, indeed, that a deserving and neglected branch of the Service should suffer from the defects of individual exertion, however well or generously meant. It is likewise to be desired that medical men, thinking of proceeding to India, should be enabled to form a correct estimate of the value of the service in which they are to embark; to decide whether, after twenty to forty years' service, it be worth, to the small remnant of survivors, the time and expense bestowed on their education, and the devotion of their best, and only, days of exertion to the service of the Company.

At present, to belong to the Medical Service in India, although only a misfortune, is absolutely considered as a matter of reproach; and in common parlance, the appointment of assistant-surgeon to India is reckoned, in estimating the patronage of the Directors, as

of no value. Take one amongst the many examples of this: 'It was said that last year the patronage of each Director consisted of three writerships and fourteen cadetships, *exclusive of the appointment of assistant-surgeons*. Taking the value of writerships at 3000*l.* each, and that of cadetships at 800*l.* each, the whole amount of the patronage (of each Director) will be, *without assistant-surgeons*, 20,000*l.*'—*Letter to Sir Charles Forbes on the Administration of Indian Affairs.*

Comparisons may not have been approved by the Company's Executive at home; but there is no other way by which the relative, ultimate, and, it may truly be said, only, compensation of services—the retiring pay of their different officers, can be estimated.

Medical men are eligible to proceed to India at the age of twenty-three; and many go out at a later period. After a residence of about six months at a garrison hospital, or with one of his Majesty's regiments, by way of probation, a Company's assistant-surgeon is posted to a Native regiment, of which he is to have sole charge. His pay is that of lieutenant; and he has a contract for supplying the sick of the regiment with certain medical supplies. If any advantage be derivable from this contract, it must, from the nature of it, be exceedingly trifling: at all events, it cannot place the assistant-surgeon, in point of emolument, on more than a level with the other regimental staff, the adjutant and quartermaster. Upon this income the assistant-surgeon is to continue twelve or fourteen years, until he attain the next, and, it would appear, now the only other rank, that of full surgeon.

In the Company's army, very few surgeons actually serve with regiments; they are of necessity otherwise employed; and, with very few exceptions indeed, with little or nothing more than a bare subsistence. After, however, the three members of the Medical Board in India, all the other surgeons have their names printed in the General Orders and Army Lists as attached to regiments, which gives an opportunity of putting favourite assistants in actual charge of the very few superior regimental appointments that still remain, in preference to their seniors, perfectly qualified to fill the charges in question in every respect, excepting the want of interest. This deceptive practice of posting surgeons to regiments, who are absent from India, or otherwise permanently employed in it, is not copied into the Register of Leadenhall Street.

That great, good, amiable, and liberal Governor, Sir George Barlow, soon after his accession to the government of Fort St. George, finding that the pay of the medical branch of the Service would not bear clipping, after noting the great want of surgeons, to remedy the evil, declared a sufficient number of full surgeons at the bottom of the list to be supernumerary, whereby a stop was put to promotion in the list of assistants for seven years. On a

late augmentation of the Indian army, when the number of regiments were doubled, the battalions being made regiments, with additional officers, and proportion of other staff, not one surgeon was added to the lists of the several Presidencies. A name, it is true, cannot constitute any difference; but, by this rule, might not a lieutenant do all military duties, and might not a chaplain, not to say any thing of a schoolmaster, who might be no bad substitute, render deacons and bishops wholly superfluous?

Paper surgeons are set down in the above army lists, whereby the establishments appear to be complete, and favouritism prospers. A late East India Register noted on the Bengal establishment twenty-six surgeons wanting to complete.

Lieutenant and assistant-surgeon, captain, and surgeon, in India, on furlough, and on retirement in England, receive the same rate of pay,—that of the former being 7*s.* a day, or 11*8*l. 12*s.* 6*d.* a year; and of the latter, 10*s.* 6*d.* a day, or 191*l.* 12*s.* per annum. How utterly this is unequal to their support in England, in the character of gentlemen, it is unnecessary to state. The fact may be too insignificant; but here it may just be mentioned, by the way, that the additional 6*d.* per diem lately granted to the latter, is withheld at the India House from captains and surgeons on furlough, who happened to leave India just, perhaps, a day only before the publication of the order for this augmentation of pay.

The period of service as assistant-surgeon in India, before promotion to a surgeoncy, is from twelve to fourteen years, as already stated, on lieutenant's pay; and he has to serve an equal time as surgeon on that of captain, before he can succeed to the anomalous situation of superintending surgeon. The military officer, in about fifteen years, obtains a company, and in from twenty-two to twenty-five years will have been promoted to a majority, and may retire, after twenty-two years' service, on the pay of his rank, 292*l.* a-year. After seventeen years' service in India, a surgeon may also retire on the pay of his rank, that of captain, 191*l.* 12*s.* a year; and when is he to look for any thing like an adequate retiring pay? The remuneration for his long, painful, hazardous, and useful services in India, from seventeen to perhaps, and most likely, thirty years actual service in India, is still the same; not one farthing advance—191*l.* 12*s.* This may be thought fair; but if they who think so were in the surgeon's situation, they would think and feel *that it is not*. Not three medical men in a hundred can save any thing of importance in India; and, upon the above wretched allowance, the surgeon, having devoted the full period of exertion his life can afford to the service of the Company, when assailed by disease, age, and infirmities, must either return to his native country, to linger out his remaining existence in penury and want, or submit to that fate to which the parsimony of his employers consigns him.

'Twenty-five years' service brings a military officer to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and entitles him to retire, as soon after twenty-two years as he gets his promotion, on the pay of his rank, 365*l.* a year. In about thirty-two years he would succeed to the colonelcy of a regiment, which would give him, in England or in India, from 1200*l.* to 1500*l.* a year.

A surgeon does not reach the station of superintending-surgeon in a shorter period than thirty years; and up to this time, after his period of actual service in India, seventeen years, his retiring pay is that of captain, only 191*l.* 12*s.* a year. After his nomination to a superintending surgeoncy, a hardship and injustice is inflicted on the medical man applicable to no other commissioned officer in the Company's service: he has to serve two years as superintending surgeon, to be entitled to the retiring pay of that station, 300*l.* a year; the shortest period deficient would doom him to the pay of surgeon. When advanced to the Board, the same treatment follows him, and is repeated; *more work is to be got out of him*, now, at least, sixty years of age; he has to serve two years longer in the Board, to entitle him to the retiring pay of 500*l.* a year; and thus, practically at least, occasion or chance is taken of withholding, or saving, by demise, a very inadequate and more than thrice already earned pay, at the expense, risk, and suffering, of a much injured individual.

If a member of the Medical Boards, or superintending surgeon, in India, return to England sick or on furlough, he is instantly posted to a regiment in India as surgeon, nominally, of course; but should he return, he is liable to join that or any other regiment, and must wait his turn to be reappointed to a superintending surgeoncy, or be promoted over again; although on furlough, they have lieutenant-colonel's and major's pay respectively.

His Majesty's army has been considered as the example on which our Indian army is formed. His Majesty's regulations for increasing the advantages, and improving the situation, of the medical officers of his army, with the view of encouraging able and well educated persons to enter into and continue in that branch of the service, are of the most liberal description. In no instance has an inspector of hospitals, (the collateral rank of superintending surgeon,) ever been reduced to serve as a regimental surgeon.

It might have been expected that some analogy would prevail betwixt the situation of the East India Company's medical and clerical servants, but their condition is different indeed. Both have a profession to acquire; and that of the medical man is neither the easiest, the least expensive, or the shortest of attainment. They both proceed to India about the same time of life, their twenty-third year. The chaplain at once receives, on landing in India, the pay of major; is little exposed to the fatigues and dangers of travelling inseparable from that climate; and not at all

to the hardships of a military life. He either remains fixed at one principal station during his short service, or changes it, at most, once or twice for a better. On fifteen years' service, he is entitled to retire on the full pay of lieutenant-colonel, 365*l.* a year. On the contrary, a surgeon, on his landing in India, has the pay of lieutenant for twelve or fourteen years; after this, up to thirty years, that of captain; shares the fatigues and hardships of a military life; and belonging to the service generally, is liable to frequent changes of regiments and stations. After fifteen years, the surgeon, if compelled by ill health to quit the service, has the pay of lieutenant only to retire upon,—seven shillings per day; after seventeen years, that of captain; and after even thirty years he has no better provision,—still captain's pay, only 10*s.* 6*d.* a day, or 191*l.* 12*s.* a year.

It has been judged expedient by the Court of Directors to augment, within the last year, the retiring pay of chaplains from that of major, 292*l.*, to that of lieutenant-colonel, 365*l.*, after fifteen years; leaving that of surgeon, after seventeen, and even thirty years, as it was, at that of captain, 191*l.* 12*s.*, very little more than half the amount, for double the service. Are the merits and wants of these different servants so widely disproportioned? That medical men have no opportunities (it may with truth be so stated, as affecting the Service generally) of making money in India, is evident from the fewness of retirements from their branch of the Service, and the great number of old and worn out medical men at the head of the several medical establishments in India, unable to retire to their native country, well knowing, some of them from actual trial, the impossibility of living as gentlemen on the miserable pittance awarded to them.

The inferior compensation of services on retirement to medical men, as contrasted with that of the Company's military, civil, and clerical servants, may be best understood from the following statement. With the exception of civilians, the others have little or no opportunity of saving money in India; surgeons, unquestionably, the least of all; so that the pay on retirement must be regarded as the sole and ultimate reward or compensation for service done.

Pay, on retirement, of a civilian, after twenty-two years' service in India, to which he has contributed half, by a percentage on his income, per annum,.....	£1,000 0
Pay, on retirement, of colonel, after from thirty to thirty-five years' service in India, 450 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> off reckoning, 800 <i>l.</i> to 1,000 <i>l.</i> , say, per annum, from 1,200 to .....	1,500 0
Pay, on retirement, of lieutenant-colonel, after from twenty-two to thirty years' service, per annum,.....	365 0
Pay, on retirement, of a member of the Medical Board, after from thirty-two to thirty-six years' service in India, and after having served two years in the Medical Board, per annum,.....	500 0

Pay, on retirement, of a superintending-surgeon, after from thirty to thirty-two years' service, and after having served two years as superintending-surgeon, per annum,.....	£300 0
Pay, on retirement, of a chaplain, after fifteen years' service in India, per annum,.....	855 0
Pay of a surgeon, after seventeen years' service in India, per annum,.....	191 12
Pay of a surgeon, after thirty years' service in India, per annum,.....	191 12

The late appointment of a surgeon not in the Company's service to be assistant-surgeon to the Depôt at Chatham, shows that surgeons from India have nothing to expect from the Executive in this country. Are there not many surgeons from India now in England, of from seventeen to thirty years' service in India, and upwards, whose only requital is the miserable pay above mentioned; and who, as stated by one of the Proprietors, when the above appointment was submitted to their Court for ratification, would have been glad of the appointment on half the salary; but this consideration is not in their bond, and they must not complain. One question may be asked; if the above salary to the assistant-surgeon at Chatham, who, doubtless, may have made several voyages in the Company's ships to and from India, be no more than an adequate provision, what is to be thought of the above retiring pay to a surgeon who has devoted the twenty or thirty best years of his life to the service of the Company in India?

It will not surely be contended, that the services of a chaplain in India, in fifteen years, are of double the value of those of a surgeon of seventeen, and even of thirty years. Supposing that the services of one or other must be dispensed with altogether, which of these staff, I ask, clerical or medical, could the Service, the interests of the Company, most conveniently spare? The retiring pay to these servants is in direct contradiction to the only reply to this question that can be given; and this disparity of treatment evinces partiality and favour to the one, and the greatest injustice and neglect of the other and most essential aid, alike destitute of friends at court, and of mitred or of any other influence.

If the necessity and utility of the services in India of the medical officer be thought by the Board of Control, by the Court of Directors, or by the Court of Proprietors, entitled to any consideration, he surely will be held to have a strong and just claim to a more adequate and decent provision, on retirement, than the wretched pittance now assigned to him. This statement, if it does not advance, ought not to prejudice his claims; and some warmth of expression that may have escaped in the detail, may be pardoned to

A RETIRED SURGEON.



## SCRIPTURAL IMITATIONS AND THEOLOGICAL FORGERIES.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,

May 18, 1897.

The account of Dr. Franklin's 'Parable against Persecution,' (vol. xii. p. 298,) may serve to introduce an anecdote related by Dr. Priestley in his 'Observations on the Increase of Infidelity.' He is showing that 'numbers who have even had a liberal education,' discover an 'extreme ignorance of the Scriptures;' and gives the following instance:

'Being, one time, in company with Dr. Franklin, a person now dead, but of considerable genius and a literary turn, brother to an English nobleman now living, being introduced, Dr. Franklin turned the conversation upon the subject of the simplicity and beauty of the *Oriental* style of composition. To exemplify his observations, he took down his Bible, and opening it, seemed to read, but really repeated *memorites*, that chapter which he had himself composed from an old Jewish tradition concerning Abraham. This the gentleman, not doubting but that it was a real chapter in the Bible, expressed himself much pleased with. On this, the Doctor smiled, and the gentleman, perceiving that he had been taken in, was a little mortified. However, to try him a little farther, the Doctor took the Bible again, and read the first chapter of the book of Job, which the gentleman also expressed himself much pleased with; but said it was no more a part of the Bible than the other. The Doctor then showed him the Bible, and said he might read it himself. But even this did not satisfy him. He said it might be a book of his 'own printing, and no real Bible at all.' (Priestley's Works, xvii. 79.)

Though Dr. Priestley was by no means over-credulous, yet he was himself 'taken in' by a deception, which a Pundit practised upon Colonel Wilford and Sir W. Jones. The fraud and the detection will be seen in the 'Asiatic Researches,' by comparing iii. 463, 468, with viii. 25-4. The Pundit, availing himself of a conversation with Colonel Wilford on the Bible history of Noah, took an opportunity to read to him, as if translating from the 'Padma-puran,' an account of that patriarch, whom he named *Satyavarma*, and his three sons, *Sharma*, *C'Harma*, and *Jyapeti*.

Dr. Priestley, who died in 1804, a year before the detection, had availed himself of this passage, from the 'Asiatic Researches,' as peculiarly suited to his purpose, in the preface to his 'Discourses relating to the Evidences of Revealed Religion, delivered in the Church of the Universalists in Philadelphia,' in 1796, and again in

1799, in his 'Comparison of the Institutions of Moses, with those of the Hindoos and other ancient nations.' In the edition of Dr. Priestley's works now in progress, the 'Comparison' forms part of the seventeenth volume. The passage on Noah is there omitted, and the manner of the deception explained, on the authority of Colonel Wilford.

That justly-lamented Oriental scholar, when communicating to the Asiatic Society, in 1805, his 'Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West,' relates how his Pundit deceived him as to the story, of which 'there is not a word to be found in that *Purāṇa*, the *Padmapuran*.' He adds, 'It is, however, mentioned, though in less explicit terms, in many *Purāṇas*, and the Pundit took particular care in pointing out to me several passages which confirmed, more or less, this interesting legend. The rest of the legend, about the intoxication of Noah, is from what my Pundit picked up, in conversation with me.'

In the account (p. 235.) of a 'remarkable forgery,' I wish the edition and page, or the chapter of the 'Age of Louis XV.' in which Voltaire mentions the 'Ezour-Védam,' had been given, or that your readers could be favoured with further information. I have in vain looked for some notice of that work, in ch. 29, 'De l'Inde,' &c. (Siecles, 1803, iv. 216.) where the little which the author says of Indian literature, is professedly taken from Mr. Holwell. The only edition of the now ascertained forgery, with which I am acquainted, was published at Yverdon in 1778; and entitled, 'L'Ezour-Védam, ou Ancien Commentaire du Védam, traduit du Samscritan, par un Brame.'

Dr. Priestley, and also his editor, in the 'Comparison of the Institutions of Moses and the Hindoos,' have made frequent use of the 'Ezour-Védam,' and the notes of the supposed French translator, relying on both as undisputed authorities. The deception will, no doubt, be properly exposed, should there be a future edition of the 'Comparison,' which is not very improbable, in a separate form.

J. T. R.

### THE PRESS IN INDIA.

WE have endeavoured, with as much fidelity as possible, to follow up this great question, by the publication of every remarkable fact connected with the proceedings of men in authority, either at home or abroad, relating to the Press in India, and in the Colonies generally: and we regret to say, that materials have but too abundantly offered themselves for this purpose. We believe that one good effect has certainly arisen from this perseverance in exposing the caprice, the folly, and the injustice of the rulers of the East, and we trust that a seed has been sown, which will, ere long, produce good fruit, and an abundant harvest. In the first Number of a new Quarterly Journal, devoted exclusively to matters of legislation, and entitled 'The Jurist,' we are glad to see no less than two articles out of ten devoted to India, and these to two of the most important topics connected with legislation in that country,—the introduction of Trial by Jury into Ceylon, and the measures for restraining the freedom of the Press in India. The nature and character of this work, will, undoubtedly, obtain it attention from senators, judges, and barristers in England, as well as from Members of both Houses of Parliament generally; and we rejoice at the hope which this affords of their attention being called to these great subjects in an especial manner.

With a view to promote this increasing interest, and to furnish materials for the judgment of others, by whom these pages will be read, we take occasion to place on record a 'Statement of facts connected with the threatened withdrawal of the license of the "Bengal Chronicle," the revocation of which was suspended on condition of the then Editor's resigning his situation.' This has been sent to us from India by the latest ship from thence, having left Calcutta in January 1827; and as its authenticity may be relied on, we give the whole 'Statement,' with the corrections of the authority from which we have received it, just as it reached our own hands. It is as follows:

#### THREATENED SUPPRESSION OF THE 'BENGAL CHRONICLE.'

Such an event as the suppression, or threatened suppression, of a newspaper in India, though it promises to become sufficiently familiar under the existing rulers of that country, has not yet become so common as to have lost its interest with the public. It has therefore been considered of importance to record, in a connected form, the facts and correspondence respecting the late threatened suppression of the 'Bengal Chronicle.' Owing to circumstances, which it would be useless to state here, the compilation has been got up at a few hours' notice only, in order to be sent

home, if possible, by the *Carn Brea Castle*. The observations which the subject naturally suggests, are therefore omitted; but the text is furnished in what follows, and let the Press of England supply the comment!

It was intended to include the former Correspondence, designated, 'by authority,' 'the warnings,' three in number, like those of Death in the fable; but want of time has rendered it necessary to confine the compilation to what relates to the annunciation of the intention of Government to revoke the licence,—viz. the article in the 'Government Gazette' which called forth the remarks of the 'Chronicle'; those remarks themselves; and the Official Correspondence; which, with the exception of a few connecting and explanatory remarks, are all that are given in these pages.

The following is the article of the Gazette of authority, above referred to, extracted from that Paper of the 7th Dec. 1826:

'The *New Times*' of the 15th July, has republished the Parliamentary copy of the dispatch of this Government to the Honourable the Court of Directors, in reply to inquiries respecting the right of the British authorities to the island of Shapuri, as well as its extent and value. From this document it appears, that as far back as 1790, Sunnuds were granted by the Collector of the district for the occupation of the island; that an official measurement of it in 1801 is upon record; and that at various periods subsequent, it was surveyed, and let on lease. During the whole of this time, until towards the commencement of the war, no claim was ever preferred on the part of the Burman Government. The question of right is therefore satisfactorily set at rest, although it is very immaterial to a determination of the grounds of the war, which were to be found, not within the narrow boundaries of Shapuri, but in the wider ambition of the Court of Ava. Proofs of the existence of this spirit are fully supplied by the dispatch, and the sacrifices by which the war might have been avoided for a season must, as there observed, have been equally unworthy and vain. The dispatches also adverts to the period selected for the declaration of the war, and the expedition to Rangoon, and shows that the former was imperatively called for by the progress of the Burman preparations. As to the latter, it now needs no vindication. It instantly changed the current and character of the war, and compelled the enemy to convert attack into defence, and paralyzed his powers of aggression. It absorbed and annihilated all his resources, and placed his capital at our mercy. The Rangoon expedition effected all the most important objects of the war, notwithstanding it was throughout enfeebled by efforts made in other quarters, the results of which, from natural and insuperable obstacles, were much less commensurate with the means employed.'

In reference to the above, the 'Bengal Chronicle' of the 8th of December, put forth the following remarks, which were considered to merit the revocation of the licence:

'Some of our contemporaries have republished the reply of this Government to the inquiries of the Court of Directors as to our rights to the island of Shahporee: instead of the document entire, we have inserted an abstract of it, which we copy from the *'Times'* of the 13th July, and which embraces, we conceive, every essential point it involves. The *'Gazette of Authority'* here, is, as a matter of course, loud in his praises of this state paper, in which his official organs of vision decry a triumphant refutation of all that has been

said against the policy and conduct of the war. We are obliged to him, however, for setting the example of a discussion, into which we might not otherwise have felt ourselves safe in entering. The question of our right to that valuable portion of territory, the barren sand-bank of Shahporee, is, he considers, for ever set at rest. It is, however, admitted, with a spirit of candour which cannot be too much admired, that it never has yielded an atom of revenue from the hour on which he first laid claim to it up to the date of the despatch!

As might be expected, however, a great effort is made to impress the reader with the belief that the cause of the war was one of more importance to the interests of the Company than the possession of a sand-bank. With what success, we leave the reader to judge; but what say our military friends to the idea of the so much dreaded Burmah invasion—*risum teneatis*?

The argument adduced in defence of the season chosen for the commencement of hostilities, seems to us not a little extraordinary. We cannot perceive the vast advantages derived from our becoming the assailants. It is urged, that it gave us command of the capital, and that had we delayed the war, the navigation of the Irrawaddy would have been impeded, &c. We have heard the opinion of many individuals competent to form a judgment on this subject, of professional men of both services, and we never heard any difference of sentiment as to the fact, that Rangoon would have been taken as easily in December, as it was captured in the previous May. It is a notorious fact, that such was the ignorance of the Burmahs as to what our naval force could effect, that even when they knew of the arrival of the expedition in the river, they entertained no doubt they could sink the whole forty sail of men of war and transports with ease; they might, indeed, have strengthened the defences of the place, but with all that they could have done in that way, it is the opinion of every practical man acquainted with it, that we ever conversed with, that they could never have rendered it, with their deficient means, capable of resisting the fire of such a frigate as the *Liffey*. As it actually was found, a one-gun privateer might have taken the place. As for the stress laid on the command we gained of the enemy's capital by the capture of this miserable hole, a reference to facts will best settle that question. We would just ask the Gazette of Authority, then, how far our army had advanced on the capital, even in the following December after it was taken?

In order to soften down the melancholy loss of life occasioned to our army by the occupation of this place during the rains, it is urged that the sickness had its origin in an epidemic, which is not peculiar to the place, but which raged in Calcutta about the same time. It is not precisely said, that this epidemic occasioned the mortality which occurred, but the fact would seem to be insinuated;—now it is well known, that the epidemic was not at all of a dangerous type. The real source of the sickness, however, is to be sought, not in the epidemic, but in the inclemencies of the season, and the want of proper food.

This last cause of the sickness is admitted, but defended on the plea of its being impossible to foresee that the Burmahs would not desert the place on our invasion, and drive or carry away all the means of our subsistence. In short, it is admitted and justified, that we depended entirely on the resources of the country we were about to invade, knowing scarcely any thing even of what these were!

We have had only time for a very hasty glance over the document to which we have been adverting, but even in this rapid perusal, it has presented much matter for reflection: we have only time, however, for one more remark. The war was declared in March 1824. This defensive document, dated 13th December 1823, or twenty-one months afterwards, is distinctly declared to be "THE FIRST OCCASION" of this Government's "addressing the Honourable Court relative to the Burmah war." And this first address, be it observed, is in reply to inquiries into the cause of it! The fact is at

least singular, and develops a new circumstance in the system of administering this country. Of course, we understand that the communications with the Secret Committee may have been frequent, but what was there in this document that might not have been addressed to the Court long before, without waiting till the information was called for!

'The above gave rise to the following correspondence :

' *To Mr. Monte D'Rozario, Proprietor of the Bengal Chronicle.*

' *Sir,* General Department.

' I am directed by the Right Honourable the Vice President in Council to apprise you, that the tenor of the comments and remarks published in the 'Bengal Chronicle' of this date, on the subject of the letter addressed by the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors, under date the 23d December 1825, is considered to be in direct violation of the Press Regulations.

' 2. Repeated warnings having failed to secure attention to those Regulations, the Vice President in Council has now resolved to revoke the license under which the 'Bengal Chronicle' is printed and published, and a formal notice will accordingly be issued to this effect on Monday next.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

' *GEO. SWINTON,*

' *Acting Chief Sec. to Govt.'*

' *Council Chamber, the 8th December 1826.*

' *To George Swinton, Esq., Acting Chief Secretary to Government.*

' *Sir,*

' I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, announcing to me the Resolution of Council, to revoke the license of the 'Bengal Chronicle;' a resolution which, if adhered to, will utterly deprive me of my only means of supporting a numerous family.

' I trust, however, that the humane consideration of his Lordship in Council will be extended to me on this occasion, on the grounds and conditions I now proceed to state.

' Although I am the sole proprietor of the Paper in question, as I have sworn in the affidavit, accompanying my application for a license, and I am ready to swear at this date if required, (I am the more anxious on this point, as some enemies of this Press have circulated a report that the property was Mr. Buckingham's; but both the Editor and myself are ready to swear to the fact, that I alone am the sole Proprietor.)\* I have never written a single line in it, nor exercised the least control over its editorial management—in fact, I am a poor uneducated man, incapable either of writing myself, or of judging of the writings of the Editor employed by me. The difficulty of obtaining any one to undertake the office on the moderate terms I could offer,† obliged me to submit myself entirely to the Editor. I know of no one else who could supply his place, and without his aid I considered that my Paper must have been valueless.

' The warnings alluded to, in your letter under acknowledgment, were placed before the Editor, and I expressed my hope, that as all was left to him he would not by his imprudence involve me and my family in ruin. He has, however, again incurred the displeasure of Government; but I trust

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\* There is some slight confusion and tautology here, probably owing to the hurry with which the letter was drafted for the Proprietor.

† Another and a greater difficulty which, however, the Proprietor dared not state, was the risk of transmission, or of being suddenly thrown out of employment, by the *sic roto, sic jubeo* of arbitrary power.

the Right Honourable the Vice President in Council will not visit my innocent family with ruin, in order to punish his offence. I have no other dependence, and must starve or subsist on charity, if this Resolution be adhered to.

‘These are the grounds on which I venture to solicit a suspension of the order of Revocation of my Paper; but unless I could at the same time offer an ample guarantee that no future offence would be given to the Government in it, I could not venture to indulge a hope that his Lordship in Council would listen to this appeal. I proceed, therefore, to state the condition on which I venture to hope it may be successful.

‘In order to insure obedience to the Press Regulations, I propose to remove the present Editor immediately, and to supply his place by a gentleman, whose prudence and judgment, as well as his talents and acquirements, are acknowledged by all who know him. The gentleman I allude to, is \_\_\_\_\_, \* and I feel confident, from all I have heard of him, that he will strictly confine himself within the limits of the Press Rules. I knew not until this morning that this gentleman could have been prevailed on to undertake the management of my Paper, or I should probably not now have been compelled to make this appeal to the humanity of the Government to save me from ruin. In the actual case, however, I venture to cherish the hope that it will not be in vain.

‘I have now only to add my request, that you will have the goodness to bring this communication to the immediate notice of the Members of Council, as delay may be as ruinous to me as the completion of the Resolution you have announced to me. If, however, the decision must await a Council day, I trust you will be able without such reference to allow the Tuesday’s Number of the *Chronicle* to be issued, and should the decision be adverse, that will of course be the last Number, otherwise the Subscribers will be kept together and the Paper go on without interruption.

‘Earnestly soliciting the favour of a reply in the course of the day, as the case is most urgent.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient Servant,

‘M. D’ROZARIO.

‘*Bengal Chronicle Office, December 9, 1826.*

‘I annex an Affidavit to the fact of my being the sole Proprietor.

‘AFFIDAVIT.

‘I Monte D’Rozario do hereby make oath and declare, that I am the sole Proprietor of the *Bengal Chronicle* Newspaper and Printing Establishment, and that no other individual has any share or partnership whatsoever in the said concern. I do further solemnly swear, that the business of the said concern, save and except some trifling work in book-binding carried on at the same Press, is my sole dependence for the support of myself and family.

‘M. D’ROZARIO.

‘Sworn before me, at the Police Office,

‘this 9th day of December 1826.

‘P. ANDREW, Magistrate.’

‘To Mr. Monte D’Rozario, Proprietor of the *Bengal Chronicle*.

‘SIR,

‘I have received and laid before the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council your letter of the 9th instant.

‘2. In reply, I am commanded to inform you that in consideration of the circumstances therein stated, and of the steps taken by you to insure obedience to the Press Regulations in future, his Excellency in Council has been pleased

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\* The Editor has taken the liberty to omit his own name, which he trusts will not be construed offensively.—Ed. *Bengal Chronicle*.

to suspend the resolution intimated in my letter of the 8th instant, and to permit the issue of to-morrow's number of the 'Bengal Chronicle,' on the distinct understanding and condition, that you insert in the paper of that day, without comment or remark, your letter of the 9th above acknowledged, together with my previous letter of the 8th, and this letter of the 11th instant.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

' Council Chamber, 11th Dec. 1826.'

' GEO. SWINTON,  
' Acting Chief Sec. to Govt.'

Along with Mr. Rozario's letter above quoted, the Editor himself sent in a communication to the Chief Secretary, which he did not deem it proper to order to be published with the unfortunate proprietor's humiliating epistles; the reason is sufficiently obvious. All that has a tendency to exhibit in an unfavourable light those connected with the liberal press, is welcome to the arbitrary authorities who restrain its freedom; it is part of their system indeed to endeavour to injure the reputations of those connected with it: and then they turn round and exclaim, *ex uno disce omnes*,—these are the advocates of freedom; they were aware too, that Mr. Rozario was the only individual known to the public as connected with the 'Bengal Chronicle,' and that many supposed that he was both proprietor and editor. To publish the grovelling letters he was compelled to write, was then a glorious triumph to them, for to many it would seem that the vaunted, fearless, and independent Editor of the 'Chronicle,' when the hour of trial came, was an abject slave. Those who read that Editor's letter to the Chief Secretary may decide this point for themselves; it is as follows:—

' George Swinton, Esq., Acting Chief Secretary to Government.

' SIR,

' Calcutta, December 9, 1826.

' In reference to your letter of yesterday's date to Mr. Rozario, the Proprietor of the 'Bengal Chronicle,' informing him of the resolution of the Vice President in Council, to annul his license to publish that paper, I find that he is about addressing a letter to the Government, appealing to its humanity to save him and his family from ruin by suspending or recalling the above-mentioned resolution, on the ground that I alone am the offending party.

' The object of this communication, therefore, is to acknowledge and confirm the truth of that statement; and I do hereby most solemnly declare, that this poor man is totally incapable of writing, and never did write a single line in his paper, nor exercise the slightest control over its editorial management. With the exception occasionally of a paragraph or two, when I may have been ill or absent, every editorial article in the paper was from my pen, and in most cases the poor proprietor never saw what I had written till it appeared on the following day in the pages of his journal.

' I make this declaration with no view of conciliating the Government as far as I am individually concerned, for so far from regretting the zeal with which I have advocated, to the extent of my humble ability, the rights of my fellow subjects in India, I feel a conscious satisfaction in reflecting on it, of which, the consequences, however ruinous to myself alone, can never deprive me; and I avow that it will be the proudest moment of my life should I survive to see the principles for which I have contended, signally triumphant.

' Whatever may be the opinion otherwise of the sentiments expressed above, I trust that my sincerity will not be questioned, and in that case it will be for the consideration of the Vice President in Council to decide how far it may be consistent with the dignity, the liberality, and the humanity of a



powerful government, to put forth its strength to crush an unoffending individual, and consign him and his innocent family to utter ruin.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

‘ J. SUTHERLAND,

‘ Editor of the “ Bengal Chronicle.” ’

This letter could not of course be published, for it would have been seized on as a pretext for withholding that **MERCY** which the proprietor's humble supplications has obtained. It is hoped, however, that the Free Press of England will yet give it circulation.

Two days previous to the publication of the foregoing correspondence, the Editor intimated the facts on the following article in the ‘ Bengal Chronicle ’ of the 10th December, 1826 :

‘ Our last announced a change of plan, which promised to give a wider scope to our exertions in the public cause, and at once to render this paper more interesting to its subscribers, and more profitable to its proprietor. While we were indulging in our dreams of future success, in the honourable career before us, these hopes were suddenly annihilated by the contents of a letter put into our hands by the proprietor, at a late hour on Friday evening, announcing that the Vice President in Council had resolved on revoking the license of the ‘ Bengal Chronicle,’ and that its revocation would be formally announced in a notice to be issued on Monday. The article that has drawn down on us this visitation, is that contained in Friday's ‘ Chronicle,’ commenting on the letter of this Government to the Court of Directors, relative to the Burmah war, or rather on the remarks of the ‘ Government Gazette ’ in praise of that official paper.

‘ As far as we are concerned, this communication dissolves our connection with the Calcutta press, “ Othello's occupation's gone ; ” but the proprietor has made a respectful appeal to the Government to allow the paper to be continued under another editor, and a gentleman of considerable talent has been selected for the office, under whose auspices we trust the ‘ Bengal Chronicle ’ may yet flourish ; unless the Government by adhering to its resolution should put it down for ever, and with it destroy the unoffending proprietor's only means of maintaining himself and a numerous family. If the offence be unpardonable, let the punishment fall on us alone, who have committed it, and not on the poor man. If we are removed from the management of the paper, a measure to which the proprietor has pledged himself, surely the dignity of Government will be violated, and the real offender sufficiently punished. That those who award this punishment may form an estimate of its proportion to our alleged offence, we declare that the loss of the editorship of that paper wrests from us at once the means of present comfort, and the prospect of future independence, depriving us, in short, of all but the bare means of subsistence. Whether this may be deemed, in the eyes of those whose will is law in this respect, a visitation sufficiently adequate to our imputed political sin, time alone can decide. Suffice it to say, that we shall submit to it, without any attempt to obtain a mitigation of the sentence. For ourselves we ask nothing, and, at least, it never shall be said of us that we have cringed to the power whose aim has been employed to crush us. All we implore is, that an innocent family may not be consigned to ruin for an act of ours.’

The ‘ John Bull,’ with its accustomed malignity, disappointed in its expectation of seeing the paper suppressed, endeavoured to provoke the Government to resume its intention of revoking the license, and at the same time subject the wretched proprietor to a fine, by endeavouring to establish, that any issue of the paper after the Chief Secretary's letter of the 8th, was in violation of the law, and a display of what he termed ‘ radical insolence.’ The pro-

prietor therefore addressed the following letter to Mr. Swinton, which was inserted in the 'Chronicle' of the 15th, with the reply subjoined:

'To George Swinton, Esq., Acting Chief Secretary to Government.

'SIR,

'As it has been affirmed in the 'John Bull' here, with a view no doubt of prejudicing the Government against me, that the Sunday number of the 'Chronicle' was issued in violation of the press regulations, and that I was thus setting the Government at defiance, at the very moment I was appealing to its humanity, I trust you will pardon my soliciting the favour of your stating, whether I was not right in construing your letter of the 8th instant, as a mere communication of the intention of Government, which was to be formally fulfilled on the following Monday, and in considering that my license was not revoked till the formal notice alluded to by you, did actually issue. At the same time, I beg to assure you, that if I have erred in my interpretation of your language, the error was perfectly unintentional, for I could never have been so infatuated as to have at once subjected myself to a fine, and destroyed all hope of being allowed to continue the publication of my paper under my license, merely in order to issue one unlicensed number.

'I avail myself of this occasion to request also, in reference to your letter of the 11th instant, that you will have the goodness to acquaint me whether, as that communication only authorises the publication of yesterday's number of the 'Bengal Chronicle,' I may continue the issue of it without a further notice from Government.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

'M. D'ROZARIO.

'Bengal Chronicle Office, December 12, 1826.'

'To Mr. Monte D'Rozario, Proprietor of the Bengal Chronicle.

'SIR,

'General Department.

'In reply to your letter of yesterday, I am directed by the Right Honourable the Vice President in Council to refer you to my letter of the same date, for the decision of Government regarding the future issue of the 'Bengal Chronicle,' and to acquaint you, that in publishing the Number of that Paper on Sunday last, you correctly construed my letter of the 8th instant.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

'Geo. SWINTON,

'Acting Chief Sec. to Govt.'

'Council Chamber, the 14th December 1826

This terminated the correspondence, and the Paper is accordingly continued under a new Editor.

Since the receipt of the 'Statement' given above, we have seen with as much surprise as regret, a paragraph repeated in all the daily papers, announcing that the able and excellent journal, published by Mr. Greig at the Cape of Good Hope, has been entirely suppressed, by an order from Lord Bathurst, sent out from this country to the Governor at the Cape. No explanation is given in the papers announcing this fact, of the *causes* of this arbitrary measure. (for arbitrary it must be, as no sentence of a court of law could inflict such a punishment;) so that we are unable to say more, than that *whatever* might be the nature or extent of its offence, the suppression of the paper must have been an unjust mode of punishing it. If further information reaches us before our pages are closed, we shall add it to the general news.

# ALLEGED CORRUPTION BY SALE OF PATRONAGE AT THE INDIA HOUSE.

A GREAT bustle and outcry has been made at the India House, about an alleged sale of a cadetship for *money*! (oh! frightful contamination!) and the Directors, as in duty bound, raise their hands in *virtuous indignation*, and threaten to overturn heaven and earth before they will desist from their search after, and adequate punishment of, the *guilty* parties!! All this is very laughable in the eyes of other people, and scarcely less so, we should think, in their own. The facts, as far as they have yet transpired, appear to be simply these: That a Director, wishing to oblige a friend, placed at his disposal a cavalry cadetship; that this friend, having no use for it for any of his own sons or relatives, sold it to another friend who needed it, and was willing to pay the current price for it. This done, the purchaser, whose prudence was greater than his sagacity, goes to the India House to inquire whether the payment of money for a cadetship would vitiate the appointment; which, of course, leads to the discovery. In the investigation which followed, it has been ascertained, we hear, that the Director himself, who had made a *gift* of the cadetship to his friend, had no knowledge either of his intention to sell it, or of the amount for which it was sold, and that he actually received no portion of the pecuniary consideration for himself. This was accidentally in his favour, in this particular instance: but it might just as probably have been otherwise, as the purchase and sale of every description of Indian appointments, on first entering the service, is as notorious as the purchase and sale of seats in Parliament. A Director's annual salary is 300*l*. To obtain this, there are men who will spend 5000*l*., and pass five years of the most humiliating penance; and when they get in, pay back nearly all their salary in fines for non-attendance. What, then, is the great prize for which they spend this money, and make these sacrifices of their comfort, their independence, and sometimes even their characters? It is answered in one word—PATRONAGE. What? the mere pleasure of *giving away* appointments, without hope of any corresponding benefits, fees, or reward? Hardly, we should think. The first class of claimants is that from which the votes come, by which a man has been brought into the Direction; and appointments given to these, in *grateful recollections of past services*, are as much sold for a consideration as if they were paid for in money. Then come friends, who can help a Director into Parliament, if he is not there already; or secure his next election if he is. Appointments given to the sons, relatives, or persons recommended by such friends as these, in *hopes of future aid*, are as much sold as if they were exchanged for money. And so on throughout, whenever the ap-

pointment goes out of the Director's own family: and while it is confined to these, it is in truth giving to them that provision which saves the necessity of their being furnished with money for their progress in life, which would be required in any other profession. The homely proverb says, 'a penny saved is a penny got,' and thus it is a cheap bargain for a man to spend 5000*l.* to get into the East India Direction, where he may make a better provision for his children, relatives, and dependents, however numerous, than 50,000*l.* would enable him to do, if they were all to be brought up to other equally respectable and lucrative professions in life.

Whether the practice of receiving money openly for Indian appointments is common or not, we really do not know, any more than we know that it is the practice to receive money for seats in Parliament,—because we have never had any actual negotiations or transactions with either. But after what has been disclosed by others, as to the practice of both these bodies, and the notorious and universal practice among all classes, of naming the precise prices of seats for certain boroughs, and the actual market value of writerships and cadetships for India, as well as the common mode of speaking of the account of Indian patronage, as being a certain number of thousands per annum to each Director,—no doubt can be entertained that the practice of selling, even for money, is by no means unusual: though whether money, or money's worth, were received in payment, must be, in truth, nearly the same thing. The outcry raised by the Directors generally against their unhappy colleague, who happens to be *caught* in doing what they must all know is done privately by many among themselves, is a mere screen, but one which will be easily seen through, and reflect anything but credit on themselves.

What is wanted to do away with all this juggle of double dealing is this:—First, That the patronage should revert to the Proprietary body at large, to whom it of right belongs: Secondly, That every appointment should be sold to the highest bidder, the only checks being, that no man should enter on the appointment, even when bought, or receive any emolument from it, till qualified to pass a public examination, and prove his perfect fitness for the appointment purchased, and that he should be liable to dismissal from the service, on conviction, by trial, of incapacity, or infidelity to his trust. Thirdly, That the produce of such sales should form a general fund, to be added to the common stock of the Proprietary body, or be laid aside for liquidating debts. Fourthly, That the Directors should be elected every year, by secret ballot; and that none should be even admitted as candidates who did not pass a public examination, and prove themselves qualified. Fifthly, That their salary should be raised from 300*l.* to at least 3000*l.* a-year; at which, with six efficient Directors, and one Chairman, (although the open or apparent expense of management would be 21,000*l.* a-year,

instead of 7,200*l.* under the present system,) it would be much more than repaid, as to mere expense, by the difference in the produce of appointments; and if the removal of temptation, by shutting out all *necessity* for misapplying patronage, be taken into consideration, as well as the importance which every Director would attach to a trust, with so handsome a salary, and the retention of it beyond a year, all depending on his preservation of the good opinion of his constituents—much would be gained, in point of economy, purity, and efficiency, by the change. For that seven young, vigorous, and competent Directors, could do more than twenty-four old, indolent, and incompetent ones, no man can presume to doubt. And as to their undergoing an examination to prove their fitness, it could hardly be objected to; for surely, in a body where the very *youngest servants* are compelled to undergo such an examination before they can take the lowest offices, there would be neither hardship nor inconsistency in asking that the *masters* should prove their competency in the same manner;—since, to command requires at least as much fitness as to obey.

SUPPRESSION OF MR. GREIG'S NEWSPAPER, AT THE CAPE  
OF GOOD HOPE.

SINCE the article on the Indian Press was in type, we have received the details relative to this flagrantly iniquitous and infamous transaction, and considering it as the *act* of the British Government in *England*, though no doubt at the suggestion or *request* of the party who had so much reason to dread the expression of public opinion at the Cape, we confess that it is even more surprising than any thing which has occurred in India, and shows that a Colonial Secretary in this 'free' country, can be to the full as arbitrary a tyrant as any Governor-General in the East, where despotism was first nursed in its cradle, and where it is still thought congenial with the atmosphere and nature of the soil.

Our readers will remember that about two years ago, (we speak from memory,) Mr. Greig returned home from the Cape of Good Hope to England, to seek redress for the unlawful seizure of his printing press and materials, an act committed by Lord Charles Somerset, or some of his myrmidons, (who had before unjustifiably suppressed an able and interesting periodical commenced by Mr. Pringle,) the effect of which was to interrupt entirely the publication of the paper for the printing of which these materials were used. We know from the best evidence that Mr. Greig returned again to the Cape, not merely with the permission of the Government here, to resume his paper and his business, but that he was

furnished with an order for an entire new set of materials in lieu of those so seized, and, in short, that this public redress was rendered to him for the public outrage of which it was thus admitted he had been unjustly made the victim. We have been assured, moreover, that before he left this country to resume his publication, which was still to be published under a license from the Government of the Cape, Earl Bathurst assured him, that before such licence should be withdrawn, Mr. Greig should have some warning, and that even then it should only amount to a temporary suspension of the publication for a limited period, according to the degree and nature of the offence; that the editor should be heard in his defence, before any decision was given; and that at all events, his publication of an Advertiser, as a matter of profit in his business, should not be interrupted at all. It was further admitted, that no measures would be taken for any article republished from the English papers, but for such only as originated at the Cape. Frail and unstable as this foundation was, Mr. Greig yet relied on the integrity of the compact made; and on this reliance, entered on his voyage of return.

It appears, then, that a London daily journal, the 'Times' of the 25th of January 1826, contained an article on the case of Mr. Buissinné, which article, as being peculiarly interesting to the people of the Cape Colony, to whom Mr. Buissinné was well known, as that Colony had been the scene of his persecutions and sufferings, was republished from the 'Times' of January 25, 1826, in the 'South African Commercial Advertiser' of May 24, 1826, and probably reached this country in August of the same year. In October, 1826, or three months afterwards, the same case of Mr. Buissinné was stated and argued upon at great length in the 'Oriental Herald,' by the able author of a series of papers published in this journal under the signature of 'A Cape Colonist.\*' And, after these three publications of the same case, had been before the world, that in the 'Times' for 15 months, that in the 'Cape Journal' for 10 months: and that in the 'Oriental Herald' for six months, Lord Bathurst, upon the mere suggestion of Lord Charles Somerset, without hearing any evidence, or offering any other reason, chose to exercise his arbitrary power in the most tyrannical manner imaginable, by sending out an order for the immediate suppression of the only one of the three offending journals, that he *could* suppress, (though no doubt he wanted not the *will* to crush them all,) and this too in spite of stipulations, conditions, pledges, or by whatever other name they may be called, on the faith of which alone the paper was ever resumed! That we may not be supposed to exaggerate any thing, we here subjoin a copy of the official letter addressed to the Proprietor of the paper, which has been transmitted to us from the spot:

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\* See 'Oriental Herald' for October, 1826. vol. xi. p. 29.

*Cape of Good Hope, Colonial Office,  
March 10, 1827.*

SIR,

I am directed by his Honour, the Lieutenant Governor, to inform you that in consequence of a publication in the 'South African Commercial Advertiser' of Wednesday, the 24th of May last, containing a statement, entitled 'Mr. Buissinné's Case,' and which has been *represented* by His Excellency the Governor, LORD CHARLES SOMERSET, to be of a false and calumnious nature, his Honour has received instructions from his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, to cancel the license under which you are allowed to print and publish that Journal.

You will, therefore, from this date, consider that license as cancelled and of no effect.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

RICHARD PLASKETT,

*Secretary to Government.*

Here is no 'warning' as promised,—no 'temporary suspension' as agreed,—no 'hearing in defence before judgment' as pledged: but on the *mere REPRESENTATION* of the very man, whose conduct was the subject of complaint, that these complaints were 'false and calumnious' (and what guilty man was ever accused who did not say the same thing?), without the least acknowledged effort on the part of Lord Bathurst to ascertain, by evidence, whether they were false or true, an order is sent out to inflict total ruin on an individual, who, for aught that appears, might, however mortifying to the feelings of Lord Charles Somerset, have been speaking nothing but the truth, and by this means doing the greatest service to the community! If the facts stated in the 'case of Mr. Buissinne' were *really* 'false and calumnious,' Lord Charles might have brought his action, or information, or indictment, either against the 'Times' or the 'Oriental Herald,' and proved the allegations to be 'false and calumnious' before a jury. But, *there* his *mere assertion* that they were so, would go for nothing; and, perhaps, he had no proof to offer. The task of sneaking silently to Lord Bathurst's office, and there making his *representation*, was, however, an easy one; and as the suppression of the 'Cape Journal' was equally *as* easy to Lord Bathurst, the one costing only a morning's ride to the Colonial Office, and the other, an order for Mr. Plaskett to pen his short letter—this was no doubt preferred by both; for English courts of justice and impartial juries are things of which all official functionaries, and especially guilty ones stand in horror.

We do not think it necessary to say a word more on the subject, being persuaded that this is one of those flagrant and detestable abuses of power, in which the mention of the bare facts is more severely impressive than any commentary that can be given on them. But we shall show what was the opinion entertained of it on the spot by the following documents, copies of which have also reached us through the same channel.

We should add, that on the 12th of March, two days after the suppression of the Paper, a requisition was made to Sir Richard

Plaakett, the Secretary, signed by upwards of fifty respectable inhabitants of Cape Town, requesting permission of the Governor to hold a meeting on the 15th, 'for the purpose of taking into consideration the circumstances attending the suppression of the "South African Commercial Advertiser Newspaper."' This reasonable request was, however, refused; and as there is a law still in force at the Cape (of Dutch origin, but now made British by adoption) which makes it felony for more than *two* persons to meet together in that colony, without permission from the Government!—a law which Lord Charles Somerset is said himself to have threatened to put into execution on a former occasion, when he suppressed a Literary Society in the same arbitrary manner, no such meeting could take place. The following is a copy of an Address to the Editor of the Paper, (Mr. Greig being the Proprietor and Printer.) dated on the 13th, three days after its suppression, and as honourable to the public spirit and independence of the inhabitants (how different from the conduct of the *pretended* friends of the freedom of the Press in India!) as it must be gratifying to his own feelings:

'To J. Fairbairn, Esq., Editor of the Commercial Advertiser.'

'SIR,

'Cape Town, March 13, 1827.

'We, the undersigned inhabitants of Cape Town and its vicinity, have learned with the utmost concern and regret, that an order from Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, has been received by the Colonial Government, to prevent the further publication of the "South African Commercial Advertiser."

'Doeply as we lament this circumstance, but forbearing to inquire into the motives which may have induced his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies to adopt this measure, we cannot withhold the expression of the satisfaction which the Paper has so generally given us, and the loss which, in our opinion, the colony will sustain by its suppression.

'In a colony, circumstanced as is the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, where a small population is scattered over an immense tract of country, and where the progress of improvement, and the diffusion of enlightened ideas, are consequently retarded by the difficulty of communication, a *Newspaper* conducted with the *ability* and *integrity* which were displayed in the columns of the "Advertiser," affords instruction to the people, and, by inducing them to reflect on their true interests, renders them more useful members of society. The deprivation, therefore, of this benefit is severely felt by us as an incalculable loss to the colonists in general.

'It would be superfluous to enumerate the benefits, nay the blessings, which would result to this colony from the establishment of a "FREE PRESS." These have become apparent from the good effects resulting from the circulation of your independent Journal, by which—we take the whole colony to witness—the principles of *loyalty*, *morality*, and *good order* have been constantly maintained and enforced.

'In alluding to the blessings of a free press, we cannot, however, refrain from remarking one circumstance peculiarly affecting this colony; namely, that had your valuable Journal existed from the year 1814, the destructive depreciation of the paper currency, with the consequent waste of property and ruin of many respectable inhabitants, would have been foreseen and prevented.

'Considering that it is necessarily the lot of the upright conductor of a political publication to point out and expose public abuses wherever they may be found to exist, we beg leave to express our conviction of the impar-



tialty and fairness with which you have performed this painful part of your duty.

We earnestly trust that you may once more be enabled to resume the editorship of the "South African Commercial Advertiser," repeating that we regard the loss of it as prejudicial to the best interests of the colony.

In conclusion, we beg to assure you that we sincerely sympathize with the proprietors of the Paper, who are exposed to such unexpected losses by its suppression; and wishing you a prosperous voyage, and that we may speedily have the pleasure of again seeing you amongst us, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves, with respect and esteem, Sir, your obliged and obedient servants,

(Signed)

W. HAWKINS,

Agent for East India Affairs,

And about one hundred other signatures.

A memorial to the King in Council was immediately drawn up, and put in course of signature, to be brought to England by Mr. Fairbairn himself, who is now daily expected. But as we do not wish to impair the utility or the force of this document, by anticipating its publication, we reserve the copy of it, which has been sent us, for a future Number, after it has been regularly presented and become an official paper, which will not be long delayed.

#### ADMISSION OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA TO SIT ON JURIES.

In one of our recent Numbers, we republished, from the Bengal Papers, a charge of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, in which he adverted to the arrival in India of the Act of Parliament granting to the Natives the privilege of sitting on Juries; as well as the observations of the 'Government Gazette' on the same subject, both of which evinced a strong disposition on the part of these authorities to raise objections, if not to excite most unfavourable impressions, as to this 'innovation' on the 'wisdom of our ancestors' among our Hindoo and Mohammedan fellow-subjects. Whatever may be the *professions* of the ruling authorities either here or in India, (and they are as abundant as they are cheap and easy to be made,) there are no actual *intentions* or even *desires* on the part of either to add to the importance, the dignity, or the freedom of the people in that country. As much knowledge as will keep up a show of education, but still keep them unenlightened, may be permitted; as much freedom of speech as may enable them freely to praise, but subject them to punishment when they dare to censure, may be also conceded: and as much admission to mingle with Europeans in public duties as may *sound* like a grant of political privileges without in reality advancing them a step—~~conferring~~ the privileges, in short, to such as are hardly worth acceptance—is also deemed safe to indulge. In this light, it is that the admission of the Natives of India to sit on *Petit Juries*, but excluding them from sitting on *Grand Juries*, has been regarded by them

with great and not unaccountable coldness, and the professed object of the Bill is therefore likely to be defeated. If the President of the Board of Control possessed the knowledge which he ought to have of Indian feelings and Indian manners, he would have known that the class of persons who sit on Petit Juries in India contain many with whom Natives of rank and character would not consent to sit or act; while on Grand Juries it would be an object of ambition to even the highest amongst them to do both; and in this sphere, associated with English gentlemen, they might have been much more useful than in the lower one. We have seen a letter from Bombay, dated at the latter end of December, 1826, which states that Sir Edward West, the Chief Justice of that Presidency, had conferred with and received the opinions of the most intelligent individuals of all the Native castes and classes, previous to the forming the regulations consequent upon this act; and that the general feeling was one of unwillingness, even among the inferior classes, to sit as Petit Jurors, unless the superior classes of the same caste, or sect, should be eligible to sit as Grand Jurors also, occasionally. It appears that the same feeling prevails in Bengal and at Madras, though at the latter place they have got up a public meeting, (think of this! in a country where it is the constant answer to all attempts at discussion, that there is no public to take an interest in it, and no public opinion to move!) which may truly be characterised by the expressive epithet applied by the Duke of Wellington to some of the county meetings in England, namely, 'a farce.' We shall insert the report of this meeting at length, as it appears in the 'Madras Courier' of the 1st of December 1826, by which it will be seen, from the speech of the Sheriff especially, that it was not convened to *discuss* or to ascertain the *real* opinions of the Natives on the subject, but to declare a previously arranged set of opinions, such as were known to be agreeable to the ruling authorities, so that all the Sheriff had to do was to caution them against the indulgence of 'UNNECESSARY DISCUSSION,'—to support the respect due to the high authorities,—to tell the meeting that it should form an *appropriate* petition, stating their *objections* to be employed as jurors (before they discussed whether such objections existed or not). The meeting was over very soon, every thing being conducted with such regard to dispatch, that when one of the heads of a caste wished to retire into a room with his followers, in order, after what they had heard, to form an opinion before they *expressed* it, (a request that must be admitted to have been extremely reasonable,) it was objected to him that this '*would take up time unnecessarily,*' which objection was supported, and the more rapid mode of *expressing* an opinion, without taking up time to *form* it, or to ascertain whether the opinion expressed was just or otherwise, was adopted. And at the end of this extraordinary proceeding, the Sheriff was actually thanked by the Natives (according to the Report) not

merely for the discharge of his ~~own~~ share of the duties, but actually 'for pointing out (to others) the manner in which the assembly should be conducted. What an accommodating Sheriff! and what a truly accommodating meeting to conform so readily to his instructions!! The following is the report:

'We have been requested to give insertion to the following report of the proceedings of the Meeting of the Native Inhabitants of Madras, which was held on Saturday last, pursuant to the notice of the Sheriff.

'At a Meeting of the principal Hindoo Inhabitants and heads of different castes, held at a house formerly the shop of Messrs. Ashton and Co., situated at Black Town, in Popham's Broadway, on Saturday, the 25th day of November, 1823, pursuant to the Notice of the Sheriff, for the purpose of taking into consideration the Act of Parliament passed in England regarding the appointment of Jurors in this country.

'The Assembly consisted of the most respectable Hindoo Inhabitants of Madras, in number more than a thousand.

'The Sheriff having taken the chair, addressed the Meeting as follows:—

'GENTLEMEN—At the requisition of several respectable Native inhabitants of Madras, I solicited, and obtained the sanction of the Honourable the Governor in Council, to convene the meeting of the Native inhabitants now assembled.

'To mark the object of this meeting, I shall read to you the letter soliciting it, and the sanction of the Government.—(The Sheriff then read the letters.)

'From the time that has transpired since my public notification of the 15th instant, I doubt not you are come prepared to take into consideration the object for which you are here assembled.

'It might be justly deemed presumption on my part were I to offer an opinion on the Acts of the Legislature, nor is it my intention to offer you any advice on the subject. But before I call upon you to nominate your Chairman, I trust I may be permitted to suggest to you the course, which it strikes me, you ought to pursue, to prevent UNNECESSARY DISCUSSION, and to enable you more effectually to attain the object of your wishes with due decorum and respect towards the high authorities appointed to frame Rules and Regulations for the Appointment, Form of Summoning, &c. of Jurors.

'I therefore submit to you, Gentlemen, the propriety of selecting a Committee (not too numerous) from each of the castes here present, who may possess your entire confidence, to discuss the subject, (should it not have already met with mature consideration,) and to frame an appropriate Petition to the Honourable the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, STATING YOUR OBJECTIONS TO BEING EMPLOYED AS JURORS.

'It now only remains with me to tender you my humble services in presenting your Petition to the Honourable the Judges of the Supreme Court. And, Gentlemen, I have now to request you will make your selection of a Chairman."

'Resolved unanimously, that the warmest thanks of the Meeting be given to the Sheriff for calling the Meeting.

'The Assembly then requested Vennalacuntty Soob Row Bramin to preside; and having taken his seat, he explained to the Assembly what the Sheriff had stated, and interpreted the Act of Parliament in the Tamil and Telugoo languages, and requested the Assembly to state their individual opinion respecting the Act.

'Chinnatombby Moodeliar then stated or read his opinion to the following effect:—

'The object of this Meeting is to collect the opinion of the Hindoos of this

town, on the subject of a Law lately passed in England, whereby we are declared eligible to act as Jurors like Englishmen, provided the Judges of the Supreme Court should think fit, in cases of a criminal nature, when persons of our own religion are to be tried.

"Since this law became known at Madras, it has been the subject of much discussion and consideration, and some European Gentlemen have kindly explained to several among us, that the privilege which has thus been conferred on us, is very valuable, and ought to be received with gratitude; and some of the Native Inhabitants, who are acquainted with the English language and European customs, have, at times, spoken of this measure as one that is likely to be beneficial to the Hindoo community.

"Others have considered, that to our present condition, we are not sufficiently educated, or advanced in knowledge to understand the nature of the duty, which, as Jurors, we shall have to perform; and it must be admitted, that nine-tenths of our number are totally ignorant of the English language, and have never been in the Supreme Court during a criminal trial, scarcely any of us are in the least acquainted with the rules of English law, and perhaps there is not a single individual who can understand the distinctions that are said to exist in respect to offences against the Law of England, of which, if we act as Jurors, we shall be required to convict or to acquit our countrymen.

"At a criminal trial we may understand the evidence given by witnesses in our languages, and we may happen to know the character and condition in life of these witnesses, whereby we may form a correct judgment, whether they are speaking truly or otherwise; but without a proper understanding of the nature of the offence and the law that may apply to it, it will be a difficult task to pronounce a verdict, however we may understand the facts of the case. Should the trial be for an offence, which may subject the prisoner to the penalty of death, there are very few among us, who would consider themselves fit to form an opinion, on a matter of so much importance. To the members of the Braminical caste, other considerations will suggest themselves, to which no allusion need be made.

"Many of us have heard, that at criminal trials, the assistance of Counsel has been useful, in explaining the facts of the case, in prosecuting with effect the guilty, and in defending the innocent; now, should we act as Jurors, we shall lose whatever benefit can arise from the aid of Counsel, either to the Prosecution or the Defence. For we shall not be able to understand what may be addressed to us, and the same effect can never be produced by an interpreter, however skilful and able he may be. This observation will apply in a much stronger degree to the Charge of the Judge, which must be interpreted and particularly explained, to enable the most intelligent among us to understand the law of the case, or the reasoning of the Judge on the evidence, and the application of it.

"Yet all these difficulties ought to be overcome, before any honest man can venture to pronounce a verdict, which may deprive a fellow creature of his life, or occasion some other punishment.

"If we are to act as Jurors at the Court House, we must also perform the duty of attending the Inquests of the Coroner, and let any one present reflect on the situation in which he will be placed, if liable to be summoned and to be kept for hours near to a dead body, and that body deposited in a place which Bramins and respectable Hindoos ought not to approach.

"On the present occasion, I do not wish to advert particularly to the differences and distinctions which exist between our castes; but, in the trial of offences, which may have been occasioned by quarrels of castes involving the common feeling of great numbers of men, it will be very difficult to find an impartial Jury to determine on the guilt or innocence of the party charged. The consequences of an acquittal or a conviction, are likely to be much more prejudicial to the conflicting parties, than if the party offending should be tried as heretofore.

"It is said, that a similar measure has been tried at Ceylon, and that its effects have been very beneficial. On this subject, there are different opinions; but the people of Ceylon, who serve as Jurors, differ essentially from ourselves, and perhaps, are better fitted for the benefit which, it is said, has been conferred on them. There, the judges perform circuits at a distance from the seat of government, and unless they were enabled to find men to perform the duty of jurors, it would be necessary either to take Europeans with the judges, or to abandon that mode of trial. At Madras, the judges constantly administer justice in one court.

"A time may arrive hereafter when the Hindoo population of this place may overcome the difficulties which have been noticed; but it is for those amongst us, who are not competent to the task, to consider and declare, whether, in our present condition we are fitted for the duty we may be required to perform; and if not, whether we ought not to represent submissively, but earnestly, to the Judges of the Supreme Court, that we are at present desirous of being excluded from the privilege extended by the late act of Parliament to the Natives of this Presidency.

"There are many points of a minor nature which must occur to any one who may have witnessed or heard of the criminal proceedings of the Supreme Court; and which illustrate the inconvenience that would result from our attending as jurors. Whatever may be the day, or however indispensable, we may think it, to perform particular ceremonies, either for family purposes, or in the celebration of festivals, we must attend punctually or be subject to fines. We cannot, during a trial, take any refreshment, that, by our customs, is not permitted. We must continue together until our opinion is found; and it is possible, that, with every regard to our religion and our prejudices, men may be brought together, who have never before sat on the same form or carpet, and whose sitting together would constitute a mental derangement to the one or the other, and perhaps the feeling might be mutual. Thus circumstanced, any unanimity of opinion would be difficult of attainment.

"Although, in certain cases, about thirty years ago, half the jury were Hindoos, the other half were Europeans, and the Court of that time, was not conducted by any regular forms or proceedings. The Judges were not lawyers, and the course was better within the comprehension of the Natives, who were usually selected to fill the office. What then happened to terminate the summoning of Natives to serve on the Jury, is within the recollection of a few only. It is for our present consideration, whether we are yet competent to understand and to perform the duty?

"Should this Assembly be of opinion that the period has not yet arrived, when we can venture to exercise the privilege which the British Parliament seem to have offered us, let us form a committee to prepare a respectful and becoming representation to the Judges of the Supreme Court, to whom the framing of the rule is delegated, expressing our thanks for the benefit intended to be conferred, and explaining our reasons for wishing to decline it. It may also be proper to convey a similar representation to the Government, by which we are protected.

"The sentiments stated by Chinnatombi Moodeliar, and his proposal, were declared by the Chairman to be in conformity with his own, and for himself, and on behalf of the Bramin caste, recommended that they should be adopted by the meeting. Poompavey Annasawmy Moodeliar supported the proposal for himself and on behalf of the other Nattawars, with the exception of a few persons, in number about twenty, who desired to be furnished with an extract of the proceedings of the late Mayor's court, exhibiting the names of the Hindoo inhabitants who formerly acted as jurors in that court, for the purpose of giving their opinion within a month. This latter suggestion was seconded by Unnore Mootiah Moodeliar."

"The opinion and proposal of Chinnatombi Moodeliar, seconded or recommended by the Chairman, was also supported by Namasevoy Chettyar, for

himself, and on behalf of his caste, and by **Collah Ragayah Chetty**, for himself, and on behalf of his caste.

**Vencatasawmy Chetty**, on behalf of the **Dessayees**, asked the **Chairman** permission to retire into a room for the purpose of forming an opinion. This was seconded by **Mootoosawmy Naick**, but objected to by **Poompavey Annasawmy Moodeliar**, on the ground that it would take up time unnecessarily, which objection was supported by **Nineappah Moodeliar**.

The **Sheriff** suggested that those people who wished to retire into a room stand up, as also those who made the objection to it, in order to point out the majority and minority. Eight Members of the **Dessayees**, then stood up, as wishing to retire, but twenty having objected to it, the original proposal was negatived.

It was then unanimously agreed, by the Members of all the castes, that respectable persons of each caste should be appointed to form a Committee for the purpose of taking into consideration the best mode of framing and preparing a respectful memorial to the honourable the Judges of the Supreme Court, and another to the Honourable the Governor in Council, expressing the thanks of the Hindoo Inhabitants of Madras for the benefit intended to be conferred by the Act of Parliament, and explaining the reasons for wishing to decline it.

The following persons were then nominated to form the committee:

**BRAMINICAL CASTE.**—**Vennalacunty Soob Row**; **M. Bagaventy Row**; **Vumpackum Ragaviah Braminy**; **Woodraghery Audy Narrainiah Braminy** and **Nagaloo Sashiah Braminy**.

**NATTAWARS, OR RIGHT HAND.**—**Poompavey Annasawmy Moodeliar**; **Chinnatomby Moodeliar**; **Covoor Soondram Moodeliar**; **P. Agutteswarah Moodeliar**; **Cannore Iyahsawmy Moodeliar**; **Conjevaram Sabapty Moode-liar**; **Muddyalah VATERAZLOO Naidoo**; and **Ponnah Pillay**.

**DESSAYEES.**—**Seemapoorty Vencatasawmy Chetty**; **Bary Vencadady Naidoo**; **P. Connary Chetty**; **Parombackum Sashachellah Naidoo**; and **Balasalah Ramasawmy Naidoo**.

**NAGARUMWAR.**—On the part of **Soocoowar.**—**Rottalah Kistnasawmy Chetty**; **Y. Appiah Chetty**; and **Mada Sambavasevah Chetty**.

On the part of **COLLASVAR.**—**Callah Ragayah Chetty**; **G. Ramasawmy Chetty**; **A. Vencatavamah Chetty**; **M. Narrasimualoo Chetty**; and **C. Ramasawmy Chetty**.

**LEFT HAND CASTE.**—**Vencatachella Chetty**; **Arnachellah Chetty**; **Caumoo Chetty**; **Chuckravurdy Chetty**; **Vurdapah Chetty**; **Ramasawmy Naicken**; and **Basooova Puttan**.

**V. Rahaviah Braminy** then proposed, that the thanks of the meeting should be given to the **Chairman** for his able conduct in the chair; which was seconded by **Chinnatomby Moodeliar**, and voted unanimously.

Thanks were also given by the Assembly to the **Sheriff** for his zeal, activity, and the able manner in which he had convened and conducted the Assembly, and for pointing out the manner in which the Assembly should be conducted.

Thanks were then offered by the **Sheriff** to the Assembly, for the regular manner in which the meeting was conducted.

Madras, 27th of Nov. 1826.

V. Soob Row.

(*Courier*, Dec. 1.)

To this report we take leave to append the observations of the Editor of the '**Bengal Hurkaru**,' of the 18th of December, written three days after the report had been republished in his paper, and deserving attention, not merely from their being supported by sound reasoning, which is itself a high recommendation, but because they are written in the country, and among the people

to which this discussion relates, and by one whose local knowledge must deservedly excite confidence in those who read his observations here. He says :

‘ We intended to have taken some notice last week of the meeting of the Native Inhabitants of Madras, an account of which appeared in our paper of Friday, but have been obliged, for want of time, to defer it till this morning. The “Government Gazette” says, “the result is exactly what we anticipated; they voted it a privilege, with which they would willingly dispense, &c.” and concludes, “such must ever be the consequence of a premature attempt to transfer the usages of one form of society to another, to which they are wholly foreign and unfitted.” The end of our contemporary’s paragraph here forgets the beginning, for it seems to have escaped him, that this very public meeting, at the shop in Popham’s Broadway, is one of those usages of foreign society, which he thinks it premature to transfer to India. He forgets that public meetings, except for voting adulatory addresses, are only known and tolerated under free governments, and that if any difficulty is found in making a change in judicial proceedings, there must be a tenfold greater difficulty in the premature attempt to cause the free expression of public opinion by those who think it little better than insanity to court gratuitous trouble and responsibility. Responsibility is an awful word, from which great men shrink as well as little ones, and if it appears to a Hindoo that the quantum incurred by his verdict on a petty larceny trial, at which he is obliged to attend by authority, is more than he would like, it is evident that he would shrink from volunteering to speak and vote at a public meeting, unless he were quite sure that his efforts would be graciously accepted by his Lord and Master.

However, we need not be surprised at some slight discrepancies on the part of the “Government Gazette,” for we shall find, as we proceed, that the whole business is full of contradictions which it would puzzle the most ingenious of our contemporaries to reconcile. The thing was well got up, and the principal actor, Mr. Chinnotomby, performed his part to admiration. but here we come to another extraordinary dilemma; the delivery of a speech in good English by a man who alleges that he will not be able to understand what is addressed to him even with the assistance of an interpreter: from which it follows either that he is one of the best qualified persons that could be found to sit on a jury, or that the speech is not his own, and that he is merely the wooden oracle of some cunningly concealed Priest. But allowing the speech to have been delivered in Tamul or Telugoo, and that the orator and his countrymen do not understand English, their ignorance of the language is not more likely to be prejudicial to the course of justice than of the Judges of the Supreme Court, who, we take it, are not often able to dispense with the assistance of an interpreter; and therefore, the argument, if it is good for any thing, proves too much—more at least than Mr. Chinnotomby would like to venture upon; namely, that the trials of Natives ought to be conducted solely by their countrymen, or persons equally skilful in the language of both prisoner and witnesses.

In criminal trials, Counsel are not allowed to the Prisoner, and supposing the remarks of the Prosecuting Counsel could not be understood without an interpreter, as they are generally short, they might be translated with little inconvenience. Points of law are rarely left to the determination of a Jury, and the summing up of the Judge would alone present any difficulty, but surely none that might not be overcome by an intelligent interpreter.

The objection as to serving on Coroner’s Inquests and trials for capital offences is easily surmounted. It does not appear likely that what Government confers as a boon, it should convert into an instrument of oppression: and of course every person would be excused whose religious scruples make such duties abhorrent. With regard to the profound ignorance which the orator considers is to disqualify himself and countrymen from performing the

duties of Jurymen, we should be glad to be informed what peculiar knowledge is required for exercising this function that is not possessed by every shopkeeper in the Bazar. We have heard an English Jury ask the meaning of plaintiff and defendant, and yet they gave a verdict which showed they fully understood the merits of the case. Besides, it is well known that an institution similar in many respects to that of Juries has long existed in India—the Panchayet, and has been strongly recommended by men who have had the best opportunities of understanding the Native character: we need only name Malcolm, Munro and Elphinstone as authorities in favour of this analogous institution.

It appears by the speech before us that Juries *de medietate* were in use at Madras about thirty years ago; why they were discontinued our orator does not say, but contents himself with telling us that it is in the recollection of a few only. We should like to be informed why they were discontinued. However their existence for any length of time is a sufficient answer to the objection he now raises as to the prejudices of religion. He refuses to admit the analogy between Madras and Ceylon, where the experiment has been fairly tried and found completely successful; he says the Ceylonese "are perhaps better fitted for the benefit that has been conferred on them than ourselves." This reads very much like a sneer. Sir A. Johnstone and all his successors, the Judges, as well as the local Government, have described the introduction of Juries, not merely as a good judicial instrument, but as the means of gaining over multitudes of influential Natives to the English interests, which was remarkably exemplified in the last Kandyan war. Would the Madras orator insinuate that his townsmen are not so loyal as the Ceylonese; or has he a secret motive for not wishing to strengthen the existing Government?

It does appear to us that Mr. Wynn's Act begins at the wrong end, and excludes Natives from the duties for which they are best fitted; and where their services would be of essential utility. Whatever objection the most scrupulous amongst them may feel at the examination of a corpse or the condemnation of a criminal, we are quite sure that there are many Natives, in this city at least, who would have no objection to serve on Grand Juries, where their accurate knowledge of Native habits and character, would enable them to sift evidence far better than any European, and where they would only associate with Gentlemen whom they are accustomed to regard with esteem and respect.

One observation naturally presents itself. If the Natives are really so ignorant, that with the assistance of an interpreter they cannot understand the common proceedings of a Court of Justice, what becomes of the dangers to be apprehended from a free English Press? How are they to be influenced by what they cannot be made to comprehend? If they so anxiously shrink from trouble and responsibility, even when called upon by their superiors, what probability is there of their embarking in any course that would be sure to excite jealousy and displeasure. The whole is a choice of difficulties. We are told by the help of an English institution, that English institutions will not suit the present state of society. A man makes an elaborate speech, to prove himself and friends utterly ignorant and incapable of instruction. He proves that religious prejudices are insurmountable, by showing that they have already been overcome. He points out as an objection the religious obligation of abstaining from refreshment, when it is notorious that a Jury, when deliberating, are always debarred both meat and drink; and he asserts that the inhabitants of Madras are not fit for exercising a part of the duties of self-government, though the Ceylonese are! that is, that a people in a very rude state of society are more fit to profit by the institutions of the most civilized than those who are much farther advanced; and that the duties of civilized life will be better performed by rude peasants and ignorant fishermen, than men like himself who get up public meetings and make long speeches at them.



In the 'Madras Gazette' of the 4th or 5th of December, appeared a letter, dated on the 1st, the day on which the report of this meeting first appeared in the 'Madras Courier,' in which the writer, signing himself 'ASIATICUS,' points out the absurdity of most of the objections raised, and shows the whole proceeding to have been what indeed it was hardly necessary to prove, after the report itself, a thing 'got up' by the authorities, for the sake of putting a good appearance on their own coldness towards the introduction into India of European institutions. On this letter (which is republished in the 'Hurkaru' of the 21st of December 1826,) the Editor makes the following sensible observations :

'We extract from the "Madras Courier," a letter on the subject of the late meeting, which completely confirms our conjectures as to the speech of Chionetomby Moodeliar. It asserts the opinion of intelligent Natives to be, that the meeting was suggested, and the course of their proceeding pointed out, by some *person in authority*, and that, therefore, they suppressed their own private opinions. In another part of the letter it is said, that some of the rich Natives, of whom the orator is understood to be one, entertain great jealousy of their own countrymen, and are envious to prevent the diminution which their own consequence might sustain from the rivalry of a greater number of candidates for distinction, which they apprehend might be acquired by those who would display activity and talent as Jurors. We are glad to find, that this meeting is considered at Madras, as it is here, a mere blind to screen an object, and not as expressing the real sentiments of those for whose benefit the late Act was intended. It would be very poor encouragement for Government to proceed in the liberal course of legislation, of which, we trust, the Jury Act is only a foretaste, to find, at the outset, its objects misunderstood, and its gift considered as a burthen rather than a boon. We should be glad to hear that the Natives in this town were preparing to express their real sentiments on the occasion, unbiassed by any influence. We apprehend the result would differ considerably from that of the meeting at Madras. It seems singular, that whilst the British Government succeeds so well in moulding the Natives of India to such of our usages as are exclusively adapted to the maintenance of their own authority, those which are exclusively intended for the benefit of the people should be considered as wholly foreign and unfitted for their present state of society.'

After this, we have only to express our hope that some sincere friend of India, who has a seat in the House of Commons, will take upon himself the duty of removing the principal objection, (that of enlarging the privilege, to an admission to sit on Grand Juries,) by moving additional clauses to the Bill; and also take advantage of this publicly acknowledged want of sufficient knowledge in India, (which is urged as a reason why even the acts of the legislature cannot be carried into effect,) to enforce the necessity of encouraging among them, by means of the press, a more free and general diffusion of information than they have hitherto been permitted to enjoy.

Since the above was in type, we have obtained a copy of the 'Madras Courier' of Tuesday the 2d of January 1827, in which is a letter, dated December 22, 1826, written by a Hindoo, and confirming entirely the view taken by us of the probable character of the meeting. It is as follows :

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MADRAS COURIER.

'SIR,—I beg you will favour me by inserting in your paper, the following remarks, on a subject at present much agitated amongst my countrymen, but heretofore most erroneously stated, and the opinions that have gone forth are not only highly injurious to the Native character, but directly contrary to the general sentiments and earnest wishes of at least more than seven-eighths of the respectable Native inhabitants.

'I attended the meeting held on the 25th ultimo, in presence of the Sheriff, but I beg to assure you that the meeting was not solicited by the principals and heads of the Hindoo castes, neither by any Hindoo respectable nor experienced, but by 14 who are pretty respectable Hindoos of Madras, who thus took upon them to act for the whole Native community; the proceedings of the meeting are already before the public, but so far from containing the sentiments of the generality of the respectable Natives, they contain the very reverse.

'I am connected with the greater part of the respectable Natives at the Presidency, and I beg to assure you that they are greatly distressed at what has taken place, and much lament it, as the account of the meeting must tend to lower their character very much in the eyes of all liberal or enlightened persons; their refusing the gracious boon held out to them by their rulers of serving as Jurymen was never their wish nor desire; it is looked upon as a high honour, and a great privilege, and their sincere wish is, that the proceedings of the meeting of the 25th ultimo, may be rescinded, and this foul stain obliterated from their characters; and that the views of our rulers at home may meet with that gratitude they deserve, we shall "all be proud" to be admitted to so honourable a distinction.

'The person who took the lead at the meeting had no authority for the steps he adopted; but by his much fair speech, misguided the worthy Sheriff into his ways, and by his intrigues put all the other Hindoos into confusion.

'It is very painful to us to find one of our number, who has risen to some eminence, making use of his knowledge to asperse and injure his countrymen. I again beg to state, at least more than seven-eighths of the respectable Natives of Madras are desirous of having the honour of serving as Jurymen, and are most grateful to the honourable gentlemen who have in Parliament taken notice of them;—they feel sadly grieved at what has taken place, but hope it may yet be obliterated.

'I am trespassing too long on your limits; I would, however, just say, that were Government to issue a notice that there was required a body of Natives to serve as petty jurymen, to whom a handsome monthly salary would be given, on their being found fit for that duty, I conceive some\* hundreds would come forward fully qualified for it, conversant not only with the English language, but with Tamul, Talooqoo, and Mahratta, &c. all desirous of serving on this duty; and likely amongst the foremost, would be found the 14 persons who signed the requisition for the meeting.

'I trust you will insert this letter at an early period, and oblige Your obedient servant,

'C. D. A HINDOO.'

'Madras, 22d Dec. 1826.

In the 'Bengal Hurkaru' of January 1, 1827, is the following abstract of the Regulations actually framed by the Supreme Court of Calcutta, under the Act of Parliament, which will appropriately close our notices on this subject:

'We understand that the substance of the regulations made by the Supreme Court under Mr. Wynn's new Jury Act is as follows:—

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\* Our Correspondent might have added thousands!—Editor of the 'Madrass Courier.'

‘All persons being residents in Calcutta, occupying houses at the monthly rent of fifty rupees and possessing property to the amount of five thousand rupees, will be considered competent to serve as petit jurors.’

‘All persons holding offices under the Supreme Court, minors, persons attainted of felony, foreigners and lunatics, and persons unable to read and write English, are deemed incompetent. The sheriff is prohibited from putting on the list the names of those Natives, of whose knowledge of the English language he has not practical experience. All governors, peers, officers of the army and navy, clergymen, domestic servants and Native priests are incompetent. All covenanted civil servants, all persons of rank and authority, and possessed of two hundred thousand rupees, are only liable to serve on grand and special juries.

‘In January and February of every year, the sheriff is to make inquiry, and prepare an accurate list of persons capable of serving on juries, their places of residence, qualifications and country.

‘The sheriff to deliver the list to the Court on the 1st of March, who will re-deliver it to the clerk of the Crown, it will then be verified and published in the ‘Government Gazette,’ or other Calcutta newspaper.

‘Any person wrongly described in the list may make application to the sitting judge, and the list will be altered, and the corrected copy published in June. The list will be put amongst the records of the Court.

‘Persons summoned in one jury will not be summoned again till the conclusion of the twelvemonth.

The sheriff will summon at each sessions thirty-six persons on the grand and sixty on the petty jury, and the summons will be served one week before they are required to attend.

‘If any case shall require it, and the judges shall think proper, a special jury will be granted, and summoned from the lists of the grand and special juries, their names and places of residence first being written on cards, and then put into a box, and shaken, and forty-eight taken out. If any objection be made to any of these forty-eight, and the clerk of the crown be satisfied of its justice, their names will be left out. All matters connected with special juries will be conducted as in England, and all persons applying for special juries will pay the necessary fees.

‘There shall be no award that by-standers shall sit except with the consent of all parties. Willful disobedience to the summons will be punished.’

The above, we believe, is the substance of the regulations, a correct copy of which we hope in a few days to lay before the public.

#### ABORTIVE SCHEME FOR PAYING OFF THE DEBTS OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS IN INDIA.

IN a former number of the ‘Oriental Herald,’ we made our readers acquainted with the particulars, as far as they had transpired, of a scheme entertained by the Bengal Government for relieving their Civil Service from the debts under which a great part of it was supposed to labour. The provisions of this scheme are already before our readers, and need not be now recapitulated. Suffice it to say, that on the faith of this prospect of relief held out to them, the great majority of Civil Servants sent in to the Government a full *exposé* of the state of their affairs, declaring freely the amount of their debts, and awaiting with confidence the completion of the act of grace which was to liberate them from

their embarrassments. Who shall paint the joy with which the prospective change in their condition was viewed! At length, then, they were to be rescued from the gnawings of that 'worm that never dies,'—Compound Interest,—and to be detached from the gloomy fellowship of Laudable and Life Insurance Societies, which serve as perpetual *memento moris*! The dreaded account current might now be looked at without the shuddering it was wont to inspire, and the balance-sheet might speedily be expected, in the language of the Stock Exchange, to 'look up.' The fear of *duns* was at an end, and the occupation of usurers was gone! Alas, that such bright hopes should be so speedily blighted! He who reckons without his host reckons twice, and so it was in the present case, for it appears by recent notices from Bengal, that the Court of Directors have not only entirely disapproved of the intentions of the Bengal Government, and positively directed that they may not be carried into effect; but they have, moreover, fulminated the most fearful denunciations against the hapless debtors, and instigated their Government in Bengal in terms too plain to be misunderstood, to visit them with the most severe penalties and disqualifications. Of the honour and good faith which would be displayed by taking advantage of the confessions into which the Civil Servants have been decoyed, and of thus betraying them to their ruin, little need be said. The document we subjoin speaks plainly, and each will readily form his own conclusions on it. Had it been of other than its actual origin, we might have found it difficult to believe that any set of men, even in their collective and corporate capacity, where individuality is lost, and in all the recklessness of monopoly, power, and patronage, should have ventured to prompt what would be considered in private life a disgraceful breach of faith. But honour and delicacy have ever been strangers to the policy pursued by the body in question; and it is not to be wondered at that they have been departed from, even more widely than usual on the present occasion.

The principle on which the Bengal Government proposed to extend this relief to the Civil Servants was this, that persons who laboured under pecuniary embarrassment are in a great measure disqualified from discharging the duties of offices of responsibility, for they are beset with temptations which their difficulties render nearly irresistible; therefore, say they, it is better to relieve them from the immediate pressure of these difficulties, and thus to render them trust-worthy. The Court of Directors agree entirely in these premises, but they differ somewhat in their conclusion, for, say they, it is better not to employ them at all, but to cast them off, as it is agreed on all sides that they are not trust-worthy.

There is unquestionably much of what is just and true in the objections which the Court of Directors oppose to the plan proposed, and were it not for the profusion of cant and affectation which is

so largely mixed up with it, together with some glaring instances of real or pretended ignorance of the actual state of the Service, and the above mentioned *honourable* instigation of its functionaries to betray the confidence reposed in them, there would be little to comment on in the decision.

We give the document for the information of our readers, together with the remarks of an intelligent correspondent on the spot, who has favoured us with them.

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*Extract from a Letter from the Honourable Court of Directors, in the Public Department, dated 17th May, 1826.*

*Par. 21.* We confess, however, that objections of a more weighty character than those hitherto stated, are, in our minds, opposed to the adoption of the plan which you have recommended. ♦

22. The principle of that plan seems to be, that the Government, in order that its servants may be trust-worthy, should advance to each servant in debt, a sum sufficient to release him from embarrassment.

23. Fully admitting that servants involved in debt, are thereby disqualified from properly filling stations of trust and responsibility connected with the administration of the Civil Government of India, the important inquiry naturally arises, whether that disqualification do not proceed, at least, as much from the cause as from the effect of extravagance.

24. In the 10th paragraph of your Dispatch, you state that the debts are 'in very few instances to be ascribed to any thing like dissoluteness and vice. They arise chiefly from the mere thoughtlessness and imprudence of youth, stimulated to expense by an exaggerated estimate of the advantages which the service presents, and unmindful of the rapid growth with which debt accumulates.'

25. Upon this part of the subject, we feel it to be our duty to express ourselves in the most plain and unreserved manner.

26. The servant who \* involves himself in debt without knowing when he shall be able to discharge the obligation, manifests in our judgment a dereliction of moral principle, whatever other character, whether that of dissoluteness and vice, or 'thoughtlessness and imprudence' be attributable to him; and if it be the fact that young servants are 'stimulated to expense by an exaggerated estimate of the advantages which the service presents, and unmindful of the rapid growth with which debt accumulates,' those are errors which you should take occasion frequently to dispel. The young servants being resident for a time in Calcutta, *you have the oppor-*

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\* It should be borne in mind, that the young writer enters the service at the age of 17 or 18; and from the first moment of his landing in India is exposed to a thousand temptations.

*tunity, and we consider it to be peculiarly incumbent upon you, as the guardian of the servants upon your establishment, to exercise a vigilant control over them, and to check, by the force of example, and the voice of authority, the appearance of expensive habits.\**

27. We are *not ignorant* of the temptations by which young men are surrounded in the earlier period of their residence in India, of the attractions which solicit an indulgence in extravagance, and of the facilities with which the means of gratification are obtained; but, after giving DUE WEIGHT to these palliating considerations, we are compelled to declare our deliberate conviction, that the great mass of the debts of our servants now brought to our notice, have arisen from a habit of *ungoverned, not to say unprincipled, expense, springing up on their first arrival* in India, and fostered by the pernicious example of many of their seniors.†

28. It is that habit which renders the servants who indulge in it unworthy of confidence. By relieving such servants, the effect of past extravagance would indeed be removed, but the habit might remain, and be actually stimulated to fresh indulgence by present

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\* The monitors of the India House seem to forget that they are not addressing their great moral lesson to the old factory of Fort William with twenty or thirty writers, whose occupations were so happily described by Mr. Randle Jackson, in the Court of Proprietors, as 'being limited to the weighing of tea and measuring of bales.' Then, indeed, 'vigilant control' might have been exercised, when the heads of the factory were not too much engaged in making out invoices, and preparing the investments of the Company, and 'the force of example' might have been brought to bear with admirable effect, particularly if the superiors did not happen at the time to be under a cloud for speculation. Also, 'the voice of authority' might have been raised, though perhaps, like Captain Scelcy's, without being much attended to. But now (it is stated for the information of the East India Directors, for every other person knows it) the Bengal Government has eighty millions of subjects to rule, and is busied in sending forth armies and generals, and ambassadors and judges, and in legislating for all. The perfection, then, of a code of sumptuary laws to be enforced by a 'vigilant control' and 'the voice of authority,' though in many respects no doubt congenial to the spirit of the Government of Bengal, would require more leisure than could or ought to be spared, even setting aside the utter absurdity of the thing. As to 'the force of example,' it may be asked of these sages, what sort of example is a Governor-General with 300,000 rupees a-year, to set a writer with 3000?

† The very natural causes admitted by the Directors themselves only a few lines above,—viz. the temptations which surround the youths on their arrival in India, which solicit an indulgence in extravagance, and the facilities with which the means of gratification are obtained,—are merely sufficient to account for the evils complained of, even without the aid of the 'pernicious example of many of their seniors,' and without supposing them to be absolutely without principle. There is, doubtless, much to blame in the conduct of the youths, but far more in the system pursued. Abolish the absurd and extravagant nursery of Haileybury, and attach writers on their arrival in India to a Sudder or interior station, peremptorily barring even a Director's son from any promotion till he passes an honest *bonâ fide* examination in languages and regulations by his judges, and is 'called,' as they say, at the bar: in short, let examinations and tests be substituted for colleges both abroad and at home; let no man come to India till he is of age; and above all, let no man take rank in the Service finally till he pass his examination and is 'called.'

relief; in which case, though the servants would be eased, the Government would in no degree be benefited.

29. There may certainly be instances in which embarrassment has arisen from accidental and uncontrollable circumstances, but those instances are rare exceptions; and although we are not disposed to controvert your statement that cases have occurred wherein zeal for the public interests has led our servants to disregard their private concerns, yet it is impossible for us, on any such ground, to unite with you in *attributing* \* *'a part of the embarrassments of your servants to their public virtues,'* as if public virtue could be ascribed to a servant who had suffered himself to fall into pecuniary embarrassment which rendered him unfit for public trust. A strict discharge in a public functionary of moral obligations in his private capacity, is the best security we can have that the confidence reposed in him will not be abused; and if such a functionary have been lax in his private duties, and have thereby become embarrassed, freedom from his embarrassments would not of itself restore our confidence.

30. It is farther important to observe, that desirable as it undoubtedly is, that all persons now in the service should be free from pecuniary difficulties; that advantage would be purchased at too dear a cost, if the arrangement by which it was obtained should operate prejudicially on newly appointed servants. In a circle so limited, the influence of example is incalculable; and we much fear that paying the debts of persons now in our service, would create the expectation of similar relief in future cases, and would thus make junior servants even less apprehensive of the inconvenience and disgrace of getting into debt, and would also afford increased inducement to money-lenders to pursue their ensnaring and pernicious traffic.†

31. We have thus explicitly stated the grounds upon which we most decidedly object to and altogether discountenance the scheme proposed in your despatch. We cannot, however, dismiss the subject without expressing our sentiments in regard to the future employment of servants in embarrassment.

32. It is scarcely necessary for us to repeat, that a Civil Servant in debt is not likely to administer an important office either with credit to himself or with advantage to the service. Impressed with this opinion, we can have no hesitation in declaring generally, that

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\* This was an unworthy subterfuge of Mr. Holt Mackenzie and the Bengal Government. But in truth the whole plan was impracticable and absurd; and they were at fault for good reasons whereupon to justify it. The fact is appalling, that so incredible and enormous a mass of debt and embarrassment should have turned out by this inquiry to exist amongst those who have a monopoly of all public employment.

† All this is just enough.

pecuniary difficulties ought to be a bar to advancement, and we think that the practical observance of such a rule would be the most effectual method of discouraging and counteracting habits of carelessness and extravagance.\*

33. At the same time it must be admitted, that a rigid exclusion from office of servants in debt, would be incompatible with the present state of the service,—the total number of servants being already insufficient to supply the situations required under your Government. All that can now be done is to mitigate the evil and check its progress. With this view, we earnestly enjoin, that in making appointments, you endeavour to select for offices of the greatest importance and responsibility, servants not in debt; and that you be especially careful to exclude servants in debt from offices which would give them any influence or authority over their creditors.

34. We are disposed to hope that the most salutary effects may arise from any such decided manifestation, that servants, so long as they are embarrassed in their pecuniary circumstances, are not entitled to your confidence; and in order that the servants may know that we entertain that opinion, we desire that the sentiments

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\* This is as mean as it is sophistical. They do not venture to *order* this violent measure, though a strict conclusion from their own premises, because they know it to be utterly impossible for Government to execute such a proscription; least of all, when it had inveigled the Civil Servants into the confession of a crore or two of debts! But the Court of Directors wish to have the credit of being *supposed* to authorize a measure right in the abstract beyond question. There are not perhaps two dozen of men amongst the whole body (saving the very highest classes of functionaries) who are not more or less disqualified under this principle. But a number of *cautious* people guessed that no good would come in the end to them of this scheme, and gave no return to the inquisition into their affairs. The Government *here*, however, did really act *bonâ fide*, and but for the war, and consequent scarcity of money, as well as the unexpected enormous aggregate of the debts when given in by the individuals, would certainly have carried the measure into effect *on the spot*. This is pretty well known.

In short, it would appear, the Government of Bengal have acted in this affair with great weakness; whilst the powers at home have been more cunning, and would seem to have taken Joseph Surface as their model. 'Such sentiments!'—'Aye, and act up to the sentiments they profess!' The whole is, perhaps, as rich a specimen of public delusion as ever was played off. It should be added, that the Indian functionaries, on their scheme being disapproved of, lost no time in assuring the unhappy debtors, who were allured to give in schedules of their debts, that not only had all schedules, returns, and correspondence between them, and the several multitudinous debtors been cancelled, but that *foreseeing* this probable rejection of the measure, they had abstained collectively and individually from acquiring any knowledge of the individual cases.—Mr. Holt Mackenzie, the Government Secretary, having been instructed to lock up and keep secret the original documents, since honourably destroyed, unread! With this consolation, poor as it is, the unfortunate debtors must be satisfied. But in what a whimsical position all this places the Indian Government, if we admit the truth (and who can deny it as a general axiom?) of the Directors' diatribe, against the wilful employment of servants overwhelmed with debts to rule over their own creditors!



which we have expressed regarding the character of the existing debts, be embodied in a circular-letter to the several members of your Civil Service.

(A true extract.)

E. MOLONY,

Acting Secretary to the Government.

#### TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION—COMPARISON OF INDIA WITH AMERICA.

SINCE writing the former article on the Indian Press, we have received a copy of the 'Bengal Chronicle,' under its new editor, the Reverend William Adam, a Unitarian minister, and personal friend and colleague of the excellent Ram Mohun Roy. If the Indian Government flattered themselves that by the removal of Mr. Sutherland, the former editor of this paper, they would be secured from further animadversions, they have evidently deceived themselves; for in the number of that paper for the 19th of January, is an article from the pen of the new editor, which it is no exaggeration to say, is infinitely more bold, and more liable to the imputation of being 'seditious,' than any thing we ever remember to have seen in any Indian paper whatever, from the earliest period of our recollection. It is of such a nature, as that if the Editor had been banished for publishing it, scarcely any man in the British Parliament would have been found to undertake the defence of his conduct; and an outcry would have been raised from one end of England to the other, against the danger to our Indian possessions of *permitting* such inflammatory writings to go unpunished.

And yet, notwithstanding this 'seditious' and 'revolutionary' appeal, India remains as safe and as tranquil as before! It is valuable, therefore, as a proof of what may *really* be published with perfect safety; and, approving as we do of the bold and intrepid manner in which this writer has appealed to his countrymen, on the subject of the intended imposition of a new tax, we rejoice that he has made this appeal. As the subject touches the pockets, and as its issue will affect the guins, of the individuals addressed, it is also much more likely to be taken up by the community at large, than any question of principles or abstract rights; for which, in India, no one seems disposed to hazard much. If the same persons, however, who rise to resist the impositions of a stamp duty, had risen to resist the impositions of fetters on the freedom of discussion, they would have been wiser, and more useful in their opposition to tyranny; for *with* freedom of discussion, stamp acts and every *other* oppression may be checked in the bud; while *without* it, almost any iniquity may be practised with impunity; and the freedom they now enjoy (and of which the very appearance

(this article may be considered a proof,) is a freedom of suffering merely, which any man may be ruined for venturing to exercise. But, if they would effectually oppose either this or any other attempt at the imposition of oppressive burthens, they should first obtain for themselves a FREE PRESS, and then, in the language of scripture, 'all other things would be added unto them.' This is, in short, the foundation stone of the great edifice of public liberty, and whosoever attempts to build up its altars without it, may be likened unto him who raised his house upon the sands, which, when the floods came, was swept entirely away.

## INDIAN STAMP ACT.

"It is rumoured very generally and widely, that the imposition of a Stamp Duty on acknowledgments for money paid and received, is in contemplation at this Presidency, by orders from and under the authority of the Board of Control."—*John Bull*, Jan. 12.

"We understand that the Stamp Act or Regulation, to which we alluded the other day, if registered by the Supreme Court, is to take effect on the 1st of May. Besides receipts, it is said, all Promissory Notes, Bills, &c. are to be stamped, as well as Bonds and every other conveyancing Deed, and all proceedings in the Supreme Court. So far as we have been able to learn, from the reports in circulation, the last Stamp Act passed in Great Britain has been taken as a model in preparing the proposed Stamp Regulation for this city."—*John Bull*, Jan. 17.

"The 'John Bull' has lately adverted to a rumour which has long been in circulation, with respect to the imposition of a stamp duty here; in other words, the introduction into the British dominions in India of that very principle of government which lost Great Britain her American colonies; viz. taxation without representation. Not that we mean to infer that any such consequences are to be apprehended from this, or any other experiment, for extracting more money from the pockets of his Majesty's lieges in these remote regions, which it may please the wisdom of the '24 gentlemen in Leadenhall Street' to suggest, or the judgment of the Board of Control to sanction. We merely advert to the fact of the consequences to which such an experiment has elsewhere led, in order to illustrate how strictly the rulers of this country at home are guided in their measures of legislation for it, by a regard to the principles of the British Constitution. In this particular instance, it is stated by our contemporary the 'Bull,' that the intended stamp tax is to be imposed 'by orders from and under the authority of the Board of Control;' but we presume that Board could not have suggested this extraordinary measure. We have understood that the idea originated here, and has been submitted for the approval and sanction of the authorities at home, where it was too much in unison with the spirit of a trading government not to be well received. The Board of Control, it is true, might, theoretically viewed, be considered likely to be free from any bias to such principles of government; but practice has sufficiently shown that the interests of the Ministerial and Directorial authorities of India are too nearly assimilated to be in hazard of coming often in collision.

'There are, however, many weighty considerations, which might have been supposed calculated to make the controlling authorities pause, ere they sanctioned a measure of such magnitude and importance as that to which we are now alluding. It is difficult to conceive of any ingenuity of reasoning which can possibly reconcile it to the principles by which the British Government professes to be actuated in its administration of this country, and still more to discover in it any of that conformity to the spirit of the British Constitution by which the subjects in India have a right to expect that all legislative measures affecting them shall be regulated. At a time when the com-

merce of this country is struggling with difficulties which almost threaten it with annihilation, its manufactures and produce taxed with almost prohibitory duties, a competition arising in Egypt and in the New American States with one of its principal staples (indigo,) which bids fair to drive it out of the market; another principal staple (sugar) sacrificed to maintain the ascendancy of the West India interest, at this juncture, in a time too of profound peace, when no emergency calls for any sudden accumulation of revenue, it is deemed an eligible opportunity by those who sway the destinies of India, to introduce a tax, as *odious in principle* as it cannot fail to be *embarrassing and oppressive in its application*. There are, however, other considerations which might have weighed with Mr. Wynn, and those who think with him in pausing over the enactment of such a measure.

‘They have contended that India cannot be fitted to receive the boon of a free press, till she has first received the free institutions of the mother country, which render it salutary and essential. Do they then mean to contend that India is fitted to be burthened with all the grievous weight of taxation, which grinds and oppresses the people at home, while she is not suffered, even in the most remote degree, *to have a voice in the government of the country*? This is indeed to apply, in its *most revolting form*, the principle laid down by Mr. Impey, that India was, is, and ever will remain, a despotism. To hear this lawyer prate about futurity, as if his legal optics could dive into its dark unfathomable abyss with as much facility as he would detect a flaw in an indictment! The British Ministry—the British Legislature—can surely never mean to recognise it.

‘The mention of the British Legislature suggests the course which, if public spirit be not altogether extinct in this community, must be followed on this occasion to procure the revocation of this measure, since, in all probability, it is too late to prevent its enactment. If the merchants of British India do not, on this occasion, hold a meeting and unite in a memorial to Parliament against the contemplated tax, or rather against the principle of its introduction, there will be no limit to the system but that which the dispositions of men in power may assign; nor will any occasion be lost sight of to make up for deficiencies of revenue from any other source, by a recourse to this prolific plan of taxation. It is, as we have said, to the *principle*, rather than the mere operation of this new tax, (sufficiently vexatious as it promises to be,) that we would direct public attention. The elegant Junius never gave the people of England more salutary advice, than the following, contained in his dedication to the English nation:—“If,” says he, “an honest and, I may truly affirm, a laborious zeal for the public service, has given me any weight in your esteem, let me exhort and conjure you, never to suffer an invasion of your political constitution, however minute the instance may appear, to pass by without a determined persevering resistance. One precedent creates another. What yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine,” &c. It may possibly be disputed whether India has *in fact* any political constitution—unless an *enlightened despotism* is to be so called; but it is sufficient for the argument, that in theory our legislators are *professedly* actuated by a regard to the spirit of the British constitution, modified according to the peculiar circumstances of this country. Hitherto then, though the subjects here have been excluded from a participation in some of the most glorious privileges of the British constitution, they have been uniformly exempted from the burthens imposed on the people who enjoy them in their fullest extent at home. But the precedent against which we would have the community appeal, goes to establish a new principle of administration, and it will be well for this country if the advice of Junius be followed in such a conjuncture.

‘If a stamp tax be *tacitly submitted to*, the precedent will soon be employed to justify the introduction of the whole system of taxation, which England, in a great measure, owes to the same minister, whose wisdom planned the political constitution of British India, which, though admitted to have been but an experiment in the science of government, is lauded by some in the same language of eulogium, which is applied, and with equal reason

perhaps, to the system of British law, as "the perfection of human wisdom!" We have, however, gone more largely into this subject, not indeed than its high importance justified, but than we intended in the present stage of the business. We the more readily therefore defer any further observations upon it, until we see in what manner this precedent of *taxation without representation*, will be received by the community of British India. We have deemed it our duty meanwhile to elevate our voice, humble as it is, to warn them of the *danger of silent submission* to such innovations, while the right of respectful appeal is theirs, and their influence—if *cemented by that union* which on such an occasion may be naturally looked for—sufficient to demand attention, and indeed to insure success.—*Bengal Chronicle*, Jan. 19, 1827.

We add only a word to this, which is to beg that our readers will contrast the fact, that for *this* article, no imputation of even indiscretion is made upon its author, by the Government of India, no *pretence* is even set forth, of its danger to the state, by exciting resistance to authority; whilst the Editor of the 'Calcutta Journal' was first banished, and subsequently all his property swept away, and every hope of return or redress denied him, because he ventured to call in question the propriety of giving to a reverend clergyman the secular occupation of a stationer's clerk! his own judgment being afterwards shown to be correct, by the removal of the said clergyman from the secular office in question. We do not say that the Editor of the 'Bengal Chronicle,' or any other editor, ought to be banished without a trial, and then reduced to ruin, for this or for any other article that could be written. God forbid! We would have every man protected in his person and property by a fair appeal to the law. But this, all will admit, that every subsequent instance in which publications of this description are permitted to go unpunished in India, only serves to sink deeper and deeper into the minds of men the irresistible conviction that the utter spoliation of Mr. Buckingham, for his harmless jesting at the clerical and secular occupation of Dr. Bryce was a flagrantly wanton violation of justice, and an act of merciless plunder, which must stamp infamy on all who were concerned in its commission, as well as on those who have the power to grant remuneration, as long as they withhold it from the victim!

*To the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council  
for the Affairs of Trade.*

THE MEMORIAL OF THE LIVERPOOL EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

HUMBLY SHEWETH.

That previous to the year 1823, the duty on rice imported from the United States of America was 15s. per cwt., and upon paddy, or rice in the husk, 10s. per cwt.; whilst the duty on rice, the produce of the British territories in the East Indies, was 8s., and on paddy 2s. 6d. per cwt.

That under these protecting duties, your Memorialists, in common with others engaged in the trade with the East Indies, imported considerable quan-

titles of rice from thence; and, as the prejudice against East India rice was gradually wearing away, your Memorialists entertained a confident expectation that the consumption in this country would increase to an important extent, particularly among the poorer classes of the community, who have found it a cheap and wholesome article of food.

That this expectation is entirely destroyed by the operation of an act passed in the 4th year of his Majesty's reign, c. 69, by which the duty on American paddy was reduced from 10s. per cwt. to 2s. 6d. per bushel; and although the duty on East India paddy is at the same time reduced to 7½d. per bushel, it must be obvious to your Lordships that this affords no protection to the importers of paddy from India, the freight from that country being from 6s. to 7s. per cwt. higher than from the United States; and therefore, until the difference of duty shall be made considerably greater than it is at present, the importation of paddy from India is entirely out of the question.

That the difference in the price of rice and paddy in the markets of the United States is equal to the expense of manufacturing there, and as the same process is performed in this country by machinery on the most approved principles, the only disadvantage the importers of American paddy have to encounter is in the increased rate of freight for this more bulky article; but as that will not exceed 1s. per cwt., the manufacturer in this country of American paddy is enabled to bring his rice into consumption upon a duty (after making an ample allowance for waste) of about 9s. 6d. per cwt.,—an advantage so decidedly in favour of American paddy, that, when the mills and machinery requisite to prepare a quantity sufficient for the consumption of the United Kingdom are completed, the import of rice, not only from India, but also from America, must wholly cease.

That your Memorialists apprehend that the period when this event is likely to take place is not far distant,—as a mill upon an extensive scale has been for some time in full operation in the neighbourhood of the metropolis,—another of considerable magnitude is also constructing here,—and they are informed that others are preparing in different parts of the country for the same purpose. In the two last years about 120,000 bushels of paddy have been brought annually into London for the manufactory there, and a cargo of about 15,000 bushels has recently arrived here for the factory now building.

Your Lordships having, by the different rates of duty leviable on East India and American rice and paddy, declared that the former is entitled to protection, and having in the difference of duty between American and East India rice fixed the amount of that protection at 10s. per cwt., your Memorialists will not trouble your Lordships with any argument in support of the principle, but will content themselves with submitting to your Lordships' consideration the total inadequacy of the intended protection, as applied to rice prepared from American paddy in this country. They would also urge that the one is the produce of our own dominions, and is brought exclusively in British vessels; whilst the other is the produce, and is in a great measure imported in the shipping of a country whose merchants and shipowners are our most formidable rivals; and they would farther respectfully suggest that, as a question of revenue, it is a subject entitled to the consideration of his Majesty's Government.

Your Memorialists respectfully submit the foregoing statement to your Lordships' favourable consideration; and they earnestly pray that your Lordships may be pleased to direct a bill to be brought into Parliament which shall, either by taking off altogether the duty on rice, the produce of the British possessions in India, or by raising the duty on paddy, the produce of the United States of America, afford your Memorialists in the prosecution of this branch of their trade a reasonable but sufficient protection.

(Signed) JOHN EWART, Chairman.

## POSTSCRIPT—GENERAL NEWS.

SINCE our last, we have received papers and letters from India, bringing us *news* from Bengal to the 25th of January, from Madras to the 8th, and from Bombay to the 5th of the same month. We have given, to most of the communications from thence, a separate place under their respective heads, so that the general news may be very briefly stated.

The Governor-General still continued his tour through the Upper Provinces,—was received everywhere with the honours due to his station, was in much better health, and rather recovering, though slowly, from the universal unpopularity into which the early part of his administration had plunged him.

The commercial intelligence states a great scarcity of money, and failures to some extent, among the inferior Native traders. The indigo crop was estimated not to exceed 75,000 maunds, the quality very bad. The demand was great by Arabs and Americans, as well as English.

A meeting of the Friends of Steam Navigation had been held in Calcutta, and it was determined that though the voyages requisite to entitle him to the premium offered by the Society had not been accomplished by Captain Johnston, yet that his efforts in promoting steam navigation called for a mark of their approbation. Half the accumulated subscriptions (the whole of which amounted to 80,000 rupees, or 8,000*l.*) was voted to Captain Johnston accordingly.

Letters were in Calcutta from Rangoon, which stated that the people of Pegu had commenced offensive operations among the Burmese; but no attack had at that period been made on Rangoon itself.

Madras papers of the 6th January, say, that an expedition, consisting of four vessels, sailed on the 12th December to take formal possession of the new settlement (Amherst Town) near Arracan. On the embarkation of the troops, six sepoys lost their lives by the upsetting of one of the boats.

Rumours were prevalent at Bombay that some indications of commotion and dissatisfaction had been manifested at Jeypore, amongst the Chiefs assembled in that quarter, in a sort of diet, which would seem to have been convoked for the discussion of grievances. Sir Charles Metcalfe was daily expected, and to such a height had the dissatisfaction proceeded, that it was reported an attempt had been made to assassinate him. This is certain, however, that recent letters from Nusseerabad, state that the troops at that station and at Neemuch were under-orders to march at a moment's warning.

At each of the Presidencies of India, more alarm seemed to exist respecting the hostile intentions of Russia than on any other subject. But it has been well observed to us by an Indian correspondent, that 'though the Russian army of the Caucasian (Georgian) provinces is 100,000 strong *on paper*, yet it is well ascertained that 25 per cent. *die* every year, 25 per cent. more are always sick; and 25 per cent. are raw recruits; 25,000 good troops, therefore, at most remain to protect the country, and to take the field. They have no batta nor medical staff, and but one general hospital, viz. at Teflis, whence 500 funerals have been seen to issue in one day, in the bad season. This frontier is considered the grave of the Russian army, and is the receptacle therefore of all the refractory corps.'

In England, the proceedings in Parliament on Indian subjects have been more than usually animated, and full reports of these will be found under the heads of the debates, as well as the observations which we have felt it our duty to make on them in the shape of notes.

At Birmingham and Hull petitions have been in course of signature, praying for an extension of the trade with India: and at Manchester, a meeting has been held on the subject of burning widows, a report of which we subjoin:

\* *Town Hall, Manchester, May 2, 1827.*

'At a numerous and highly respectable public meeting of the inhabitants of Manchester and its vicinity, convened by the Boroughreeve and Constables of Manchester, and held here this day, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament to prevent the burning of widows in India, and other practices destructive to human life:

'George Neden, Esq. Boroughreeve of Manchester, in the Chair;

'The following resolutions were unanimously passed, viz:—

'Moved by the Rev. R. Remington, A. M., seconded by Dr. Johns,

'1. That the burning of widows with the dead bodies of their husbands, and other practices which prevail in British India, by which human life is wantonly sacrificed, are a gross violation of the laws of God, and in their tendency destructive of the rights and feelings of humanity.

'Moved by the Rev. J. Butt, seconded by the Rev. J. Hollist,

'2. That this meeting, deeply impressed with the obligation of the inhabitants of Britain, to promote the civilization and improvement of their fellow-subjects in India, and with the necessity of the interference of the legislature of this country, in order to the suppression of the above-mentioned customs, which are alike abhorrent from the British character, and opposed to the welfare of our Indian possessions, deem it highly expedient to petition both Houses of Parliament, in the hope that they may adopt such measures as will remove the stigma which at present attaches to our national character, and relieve the inhabitants of British India from this cruel scourge.'

The new Bishop of Calcutta, and his suite go to Bengal in the ship *Mary Ann*, Captain Boucaut. We have not heard by what ships the new Governors for Madras and Bombay proceed. As to the new Governor-General, he seems to have been quite lost sight of in the late bustle of the change of ministry, and nothing more is distinctly known respecting the successor of Lord Amherst than was known six months ago.

## HOUSE OF LORDS, MAY 10, 1827.

## VOTE OF THANKS TO THE INDIAN ARMY AND NAVY.

Lord Viscount GODERICH said he rose, pursuant to the notice he had given on a previous day, to propose to their Lordships to vote their thanks to the army and navy of the country, which had recently been employed in the Eastern hemisphere. If in the present times their Lordships were called on almost annually to testify their admiration for the great and invaluable services performed by the fleets and armies of his Majesty, it was impossible not to recollect that the very unfrequency of such motions was the consequence of the peace, and that the peace was the result of those unparalleled successes for which their Lordships had been so frequently called on to express their gratitude. It was impossible for him, on that occasion, not to recollect with great pride, that on the termination of the war he was one of those selected by the other House of Parliament, of which he was then a member, to carry their thanks to the great and illustrious Duke—to thank whom for his services they regarded as a high honour; and there was not, he was persuaded, in their Lordships' house, nor in the whole country, a single man who would join more heartily and sincerely in the vote he was about to move than that great officer; not only on account of his close and intimate connection with all the officers and men engaged in that service, but also on account of India having been the theatre of some of his own important services. It was there that he first drew that sword which flashed terror on the foes, and inspired confidence in the friends of his country. He thought himself not unwarranted in making these preliminary observations in justice to the noble individual to whom he had alluded, as none of the proceedings of the great undertaking to which he was to refer had not met with his approbation. He would then proceed to advert to the two circumstances on which he should call for their vote. The first was the war against the Burmese, and the other was the operation against Bhurtpore. In mentioning these circumstances, it was his wish to abstain from any topic which might tend, in the smallest degree, to interrupt the unanimity of their vote, as such votes derived most of their grace from the unanimity with which they were passed. He must observe, however, that the aggressions which led to the operations of Sir Alexander Campbell against the Burmese, originated a considerable time before the government felt itself called upon to resent the hostilities. It was impossible not to perceive, when it felt itself compelled to undertake hostile operations, that the enterprise was surrounded with no ordinary difficulties. The country was unknown; it was wild and desolate, and there were numberless difficulties in striking a decisive blow. Such a blow could only be struck by attacking the capital, and the only way known to get at the capital was to proceed up the river which runs from thence down to Rangoon. As little was known of the temper of the people as of the nature of the country, but they were found to be animated with a very hostile spirit, and to be bent on resistance. The season was unfavourable, which made the success of the operations more doubtful, and added to the risk of the undertaking. As soon as the determination to take the field had been adopted, no time was lost in making the preparations. And it was impossible to praise too strongly the great exertions of Sir T. Munroe, the Governor of Madras, where the chief force was collected for this service, and a great part of which had to be collected from a considerable distance. But it was not only Sir T. Munroe who was deserving of praise. The exertions of the officers and men of the Native troops, to collect at Madras, were beyond all praise. It was known that the Hindoos had an aversion to all naval operations, and they had, moreover, a superstitious feeling of terror of the Burmese. Notwithstanding these circumstances, and notwithstanding they had to be brought many hundred of miles; of several thousands who were employed, only two persons out of the whole failed to embark with their regiment. When the operations were begun against Rangoon,



it was found that energetic measures had been employed to defend the place, and it was not possible immediately to advance. The Sovereign of Ava knew the strength of the country, and knew how to avail himself of its resources. He kept up for a considerable time a species of desultory warfare, which required all the exertions of our troops; and he (Lord G.) knew it was the opinion of military men, that the energy and military skill manifested on that occasion by our officers and troops were of no ordinary degree, and that nothing but great energy and skill could have overcome the difficulties of their enterprise. Every position had been defended—personal conflicts had been frequent—but in every instance the success had been uniformly on our side, till the enemy had been compelled to sue for peace. He would not advert at any greater length to the services of the army; but brilliant as had been its operations, it was impossible they should have been successful had the army not been seconded by the navy. All the supplies for the army were carried up the river, and it was not possible for the army to be supplied by any other means. On the river the Burmese had a great number of armed vessels, which were called war boats; and however contemptible such a force might appear to their Lordships, accustomed to think only of our own mighty fleets, they were, in truth, a very formidable force; and had they not been met with that spirit and energy which had in all ages distinguished the British navy, the Burmese capital would have been inaccessible to our troops, and would have rendered the success of the expedition impracticable. Whatever feelings of admiration they might have for the services of Sir Alexander Campbell and the officers and soldiers of the army, the same feelings must be extended to the officers and men of the navy, for their assistance was necessary to success. Their Lordships would not expect him to enter more into the details, or to mention more individuals, when all were deserving of mention. In the motions which he should have the honour to submit to them, the names of such officers as it was customary, from their rank, to include in such votes, would be mentioned; and they would find on the records of their Lordships' journals a testimony of their services that must be far more valuable to them than any transitory eulogium which could be bestowed by any individual so humble as he was. He would then proceed to address a few observations to their Lordships on the other operations, and on the attack of Bhurtpore. Those noble Lords who had not applied their minds to the subject might, perhaps, think it was not proper to call on their Lordships to vote their thanks for the capture of a single fortress that was in possession of an almost unknown Rajah. But there were some circumstances connected with the fortress which made it of very great importance. There was a superstitious opinion concerning it in the minds of the inhabitants, and Bhurtpore had also about twenty years ago successfully resisted a gallant and vigorous attack. The failure of that attack had increased the superstitious reverence of the natives, and they believed Bhurtpore was unassailable and impregnable. It acquired additional importance in their minds from being regarded as the rallying point, around which every thing was concentrated, or might be concentrated, that was hostile to British interests. It was impossible to say, when their Lordships considered the nature of our Government in India, what would have been the consequences of leaving that fortress in the possession of the Rajah, in case of a war in that part of India; or what would have been the consequence of failing in our attempt. Justice required that he should observe, that as soon as the attack was resolved on, every exertion was made to prepare sufficient means; and Sir Edward Paget, who at that time held the command in India, collected such a force and such preparations, brought together so many troops and such a train of artillery, that after Lord Combermere had arrived, success was infallible. He considered it of importance to remark that the means of attack were sufficient, and in three weeks after the batteries were placed, that fortress, which was deemed impregnable, and which was invested with a superstitious reverence by the inhabitants, was taken by assault, although it was vigorously defended by the enemy, who lost 3,000 men. They regarded it as the key-stone of the country, and the pos-

session of it by us was of the greatest importance to the security of our dominions in India. He trusted their Lordships would excuse him for having troubled them so far, and he was sure it was not necessary for him to enter into any further details. He knew their Lordships were too ready to do justice to the gallant defenders of our common country, not to pardon him for his wishes that they should give a cordial and sincere assent to his motion for a vote of thanks. His Lordship concluded by moving a vote of thanks to the officers of the army and navy employed in India, similar to that moved in the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 8th.

The Duke of WELLINGTON, notwithstanding the detail into which the noble Viscount had entered, hoped that it would not be presumptuous for him to say a few words, considering his acquaintance with the country. His Grace gave his testimony to the superstitious importance attached by the Natives to the possession of Bhurtpore, and to the activity and efficiency with which the Indian Government had made the preparations necessary for its reduction. He mentioned the rapidity with which Lord Combermere had gone up 100 miles in ten days, and arrived in time to commence his operations, and close them by a military feat which had never been surpassed. His Grace then adverted to the war against the Burmese. Nothing was known of the country, the people, the climate, the force which they had it in their power to collect; nothing, in fact, which could enable a commander to form a regular system of operations. Sir Archibald Campbell had gone to Rangoon at the commencement of the rainy season, and it was not astonishing that his operations should have excited so much anxiety. He had found no provisions; every man was fled, and not a soul was near save in the shape of an enemy. It was impossible to describe the nature of the privations which the army had borne with exemplary patience and unconquerable resolution. After a number of military feats equal to any ever performed, the contest had been brought to a conclusion by an honourable, and he hoped, a lasting peace. In no case whatever had the House been called on better grounds to express its approbation to the troops engaged, and he had great satisfaction in joining in the motion.

The Earl of CARLISLE was also anxious to unite his humble mite to the high testimony already borne to the merits of the army and navy engaged in the late war in India. His Lordship then took a view of the different services, and of the skill and bravery with which they had been performed. He regretted, however, that the name of the Governor-General should not be included amongst the individuals to whom the thanks of Parliament were voted, as it was, in a great degree, to the activity and ability with which the preparations for war had been effected that its success had depended.

Earl MORLEY said, that it was by the energy of the Governor-General that the armies had been impelled, and a treaty concluded so honourable and advantageous to the interests of country. The operations against Bhurtpore were not only necessary, but had been commenced at the most difficult and critical period of the war against Ava. It had then devolved upon the Governor-General to assemble a new army, and but for his consummate prudence those operations would have been commenced at an earlier period, and with an inferior force, which might perhaps have led to a fresh failure. Splendid and solid as had been the successes and results of the war, yet its course had been attended with grievous foreboding and numerous calumnies against the noble Lord. They were now pretty well known to have been calumnies, and it should be recollected, that on Lord Amherst's arrival in India the question of going to war with Ava was no longer an open question.

The Earl of HARROBY said, that it was not from want of the deepest sense of the merits of the noble Lord at the head of the Government in India, that his name was not included within the motion, but because it was not usual to vote the thanks of the House for civil services. Otherwise it would be necessary to lay before Parliament a great number of documents relative to the causes of the war, which were at Calcutta, and could not be brought be-

fore their Lordships for a long period. With respect to the military operations, the House were in possession of all that was necessary to form an opinion, and to justify the vote now proposed. The noble Lord himself had already received from the hands of his sovereign a splendid reward, which would carry his name down to posterity, and he had besides the testimony and praise of the best judge in matters of that kind, whose opinion conferred as much gratification as honour.

The resolutions were then put and agreed to.

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#### HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 8, 1827.

##### THANKS TO THE ARMY OF INDIA.

Mr. C. W. WYNN said, that after the late discussions which had occupied and divided the House, he felt great pleasure in bringing forward a proposition upon which he apprehended there could exist no difference of opinion. No task could be more grateful to the House than that of acknowledging important services rendered to the country; it was a task, moreover, of considerable importance, and one the performance of which demanded some discretion; for, to withhold the tribute where it was merited would be impolitic and unjust; while to bestow it too frequently was to lower and diminish its rate of value. It was as well that he should state, perhaps, in the outset of that which he had to say, that it was not his intention to propose any vote on this occasion which would affect the members of the political government of India. He stated this, because he believed that as to the policy of the late war there existed some difference of opinion. He was far from admitting that, for this opinion, to which he alluded, there was the slightest foundation; but he thought that, in general, the thanks of Parliament were best limited to the performance of naval or military services, as to which it was seldom that any opposition of feeling could exist. There were cases in which this course had been departed from; but it was in instances where the military and political power had centred in the same individual. And he therefore should confine his present motion to the officers and men who had carried the late expedition into effect, without extending his vote to include the parties who had planned it. The service, then, to which he had to refer, had certainly not been of so brilliant and imposing a character, at all points, as some upon which, in the course of his experience, he had had opportunities of congratulating the House. The enemy, in fact, had been of a less noble, and perhaps of a less formidable, character than those which we had had in other places to encounter. But the troops employed had been compelled to meet local difficulties, such as soldiers in very few instances had ever had to contend with. They had had to combat with heavy and arduous marches in an unknown country—with inclemency of season, unwholesome climate, and almost unparalleled fatigue. This service of danger and difficulty had not been confined to the army. Its operations had been most materially aided by the navy, to the exertions of which the highest credit, throughout the enterprise, was due. It was also a new feature in this contest, lying, as the scene of operations had done, mainly upon the banks of a great navigable river, that the power of steam had, for the first time, been applied in aid of our warfare, and used with the most unequivocal success. It was not necessary to enter into the details of a struggle which had been as honourable to the British arms throughout its progress as in its termination. Upon that last part of the question certainly he would detain the House for a single moment in noticing the conduct of Sir Archibald Campbell, but it should only be for a moment. The moderation and discretion of that gallant officer in checking his army when it was within four days' march of the enemy's capital, and when that plunder which would have fairly recompensed his soldiers for their toils, was open to them, could not too highly be commended. A temptation which could not

fail to be strong in its way had presented itself; but the gallant general had preferred the opportunity of terminating the war in a way eventually advantageous to the British empire, to enriching his army, and had demanded, at that period of the contest, no higher terms than he had asked at its outset. There was another gallant officer to whom he must also allude by name: it was impossible for him to pass over the signal service performed by Lord Combermere, in the taking of Bhurtpore. That great and important fortress was the only one which had ever withstood our arms in India. In the time of Lord Lake, circumstances had brought upon us the misfortune of being repulsed from before it; and the effect which that success had produced upon the superstitious conquerors was indescribable; they believed that it was charmed by their deity, and impregnable for ever to European arms. Great credit was due to Sir E. Paget for the alacrity and judgment with which he had collected together the necessary strength and materials for the attack of that place; and its capture had been one of the most acceptable services which could have been performed by the arms of this country. He was happy in being able to add, that in both these expeditions the zeal and courage of the Native troops had shown themselves conspicuously. The Madras sepoy, in particular, deserved great praise for a readiness in the service which could not have been exceeded even by European forces. The numerous instances of individual courage and devotion, which it would be easy for him to allude to, he should only omit because he had already stated that it was not his intention to bring the details of the war before the House; and he should therefore conclude by moving, in the first instance, "That the thanks of the House should be given to Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India, for the zeal and meritorious conduct he displayed in commanding the troops employed in the attack upon Bhurtpore; and particularly for the judgment with which he planned the assault upon that fortress, the success of which had been highly valuable to the reputation of the British arms."

Mr. HUME rose to second the motion, and entirely concurred with the President of the Board of Control in his view of the service which had been performed; the value of which, as well as the difficulty, he fully admitted the right hon. Gentleman had rather stated below its real extent, than exaggerated. The degree in which the troops had been exposed to disease might be judged of from the fact, that regiments of 700 or 800 strong were often unable to furnish 50 men for parade. He rejoiced also in the particular course which the motion of the right hon. Gentleman had taken: because, although he cheerfully acknowledged the excellent conduct of the war, it would have been impossible for him to have given the same opinion as to its merits, if that question had been included in the vote. There was one circumstance on which he desired to say a word—the right hon. Gentleman had said nothing of the troops employed at Arracan. He thought that their services had been of the most distressing and harassing nature, and that they were entitled to a separate vote. With respect to the navy, he was glad to find that their services were duly appreciated by the right hon. Gentleman; and the more so, as they had not received justice from a work professing to give an account of the campaign. He gave full credit, as he had before said, for the mode in which the service of the war had been conducted; to Sir A. Campbell for the manner in which he had brought it to a conclusion almost upon any terms. For the generosity which the right hon. Gentleman had attributed to the gallant General, however, in refusing his troops the plunder of the chief city of the Burmese, he rather believed that that policy was entitled to the praise of having been a prudent as well as a liberal one—for as Sir A. Campbell, at the time when he signed his treaty, had not more than 2,000 men under arms, and the inhabitants of the city, of which he was within four days' march, exceeded that number about fifty times over, it seemed more than likely that, if he had gone on, instead of having to plunder the great city, his little army would have been destroyed the moment that he entered it. He said this, however, with no view to detract from the praise which was so justly due to Sir A. Campbell—and he believed that many officers of high reputation would

scarcely have gone on as he had done, in the face of the same difficulties. With respect to what had been said about the fortress of Bhurtpore, he could speak from some experience on that subject, and he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman opposite as to the value of that service entirely. He had himself been in India at the time when the British troops had been four times repulsed from before that fortress; and fully recollected the impression which that result had produced upon the Natives. The taking of that fort did the highest credit to the activity of Lord Combermere, and was of the utmost importance to our possessions in India. It would tend to re-establish the character of the British arms. Had the attack of that fortress failed, it would have been attended with the most unfortunate consequences.

Mr. WYNN then moved thanks to Brigadier-General Morrison, and to Sir Archibald Campbell, and the officers and troops under their command; which, and the foregoing, were all carried *nem. con.*

Sir J. YORKE said, that he understood from his right hon. Friend, that he was about to move thanks to the navy, which he was rejoiced to hear, as their services under the Indian sun in very unhealthy climates were no less than those of the army.

General GROSVENOR said, that the army must feel deeply for the attention which had been shown to their claims, though a little tardy in the expression of it, by the right hon. Gentleman. The names of Generals Sir A. Campbell, Lord Combermere, and Sir Vincent Cotton, would stand high in history. The country must feel the greatest gratitude to the Indian army for its many brilliant services. Happy the country which possessed officers of such high worth to look up to in every future emergency. They had been bred up in the school of one of the first commanders ever known, from whose example they could not fail to become great themselves. He could not but regret the departure of the great captain of the age from the head of the army. Would to God there were some constitutional adviser—some Nestor to arise, who, with honey lips, could do away the differences which had arisen more by accident than from any other cause. He was sure that the country at large did not lose sight of the compliment to the Duke of Wellington paid by our gracious Monarch, who had refused to put any other subject into that royal station, but had taken on his royal self to effect the duties of it.

After a few words from Sir E. Brydges, General Duff, and a Member whose name was not known in the gallery, the vote was carried *nem. con.*

Mr. WYNN now wished to justify the conduct of the Commander and the Government, who had done every thing to secure victory. The reason why Sir A. Campbell had not taken more than 2000 men was, because he thought that force enough for the capture, in the distressed state of the King of Ava; and it was difficult to provide for them; a greater number would have impeded their progress. He now moved the same thanks to the following officers:—Major-General Sir T. Reynell, Major-General Sir Jasper Nichol, Brigadier-General Adams, Brigadier-General Sir John Whittingham, and Brigadier-General Wallace Sleigh.

The next motion was one of approbation from the House, acknowledging the zeal and discipline of the non-commissioned officers and troops under their command, Europeans and Natives, which is to be signified to them by the officers who generally command them. Both carried as before.

Mr. WYNN then moved thanks to Sir Archibald Campbell for his valour and perseverance in the conquest of Ava, and the skill and judgment with which he had conducted the war to so glorious a termination. Next, thanks to the following officers:—Brigadier-General M'Keene, Sir Willoughby Cotton, Brigadier Macraugh, and to the officers in command under them. He took this opportunity of explaining why he did not name more of the latter. It had been well considered during the late war, and the practice adopted was not to name any officers of a rank lower than he had now done, separately.

Had he felt himself at liberty to do otherwise, he could not but have noticed with marked praise, Lieut.-Colonel Sale; but the reason for this abstinence was, that in a service where so many were engaged in different operations, some of which, though useful, did not immediately lead to the success of the action, it was invidious to name any without naming all.

Mr. HUME admitted the existence and propriety of the rule as to the transactions of the late war. But it ought not to apply to India, where, from the scarcity of commanding officers, very important affairs were trusted to the colonels of regiments, and even to the captains of companies.

The motion was carried as before.

Mr. WYNN then moved thanks to the naval commander, Commodore Sir James Brisbane; and after that to the captains and officers of the several ships in his squadron.

Sir J. YORKE put it to his gallant friend, who was one of the council to the present Lord High Admiral, if he did not think some of the captains of that squadron deserved to be distinguished by name. It would greatly please him if thanks were voted separately to that fire-eating commander, Captain Chad, whose services seemed in justice to require it.

Sir G. COCKBURN, feeling quite as much regard for the honour of the service as his gallant friend, could not but think that the rule mentioned by his right hon. friend below him, was a good one—that of not mentioning any officers under the rank of commanders, otherwise he would have wished to notice Captains Chad, Marryat, and Alexander.

The motion was then ordered as before.

Mr. ATELL was against the separation of the Bombay marine from the general vote of thanks to the other branches of the service.

Mr WYNN stated that the omission was purely accidental, and he would correct the error in the resolution.

The motion was then agreed to.

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#### HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 18, 1827

[It has been our practice hitherto, to give as full and accurate reports of all the debates on Indian affairs, as we could procure, whether they occurred in the India House or in either House of Parliament, whenever the subject appeared to us of adequate importance, and the parties confined themselves strictly to the matter in debate. It has also been our custom to attach to such reports, occasional notes, for the purpose of exposing the fallacies, and correcting the errors (numerous enough on all occasions) into which the parties seemed to have fallen; and we have reason to believe that much benefit has resulted from the practice in question. Never, however, was there an occasion on which we have deemed this more necessary to be observed than in the case of the debate which took place in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, the 16th of May, on the subject of the trade with India; because, notwithstanding the able and lucid display of facts and reasonings contained in the practical and masterly speech of Mr. Whitmore, it appears that all that was required was for Mr. Huskisson to rise and wave his official wand, when, as if it were really the word of an enchanter, all minds were subdued to submission, all intellects did willing homage to his own; and men of the firmest resolution in other matters were made, by the mere utterance of some of the most common fallacies, and most empty promises, to abandon without a struggle a motion, the propriety of urging which at once, ought rather to have been more clearly perceived after the vague generalities of the President of the

Board of Trade than before. Mr. Huskisson is a man of undoubted superiority, both in powerful natural talent, and extensive acquired information. But the very fact of *such* a man being unable to offer better reasons than those he put forth against going at once into a committee, ought to have decided Mr. Whitmore to press his motion to a division. We shall not anticipate, however, but go at once to the report which we take from the daily papers, and offer our remarks in notes on it as usual.]

#### TRADE WITH INDIA.

Lord MILTON presented petitions from Leeds and Halifax, for the equalization of the duties on commodities imported from the East and West Indies.

Mr. DUGDALE presented a petition from Birmingham, signed by five hundred of the most respectable traders in that town, praying that greater facilities might be given for extending the trade with India.

Mr. SYKES presented a petition from the merchants of Hull, with the same prayer, and for the equalization of the duties on importation.

Mr. W. WHITMORE then rose, pursuant to notice, to move for the appointment of a select committee, with a view to extend the trade between this country and India. When the House considered the distress which was on all hands acknowledged to exist among the manufacturing population, the decline of the revenue, which, since last year, was not less than four or five millions; and the decline of our export trade, which in the same time amounted to an equal extent, it surely became important in the highest degree to inquire how these evils could be remedied. He trusted, therefore, that if he could show that a great increase of employment would result from extending the trade with India, to the weavers of Scotland and Lancashire, government would lend a favourable ear to his proposition. But it was not on the existence of this distress that he rested the question. That distress might be, and he hoped was, of a temporary nature. The resources of the country could not be so much reduced as to prevent the return of the prosperity it had heretofore enjoyed. He wished the subject to be viewed in a more comprehensive manner. Whoever considered the heavy burden of debt that weighed down the energy of the country, and the part she must be destined to play among the nations of the world in the wars in which, in all probability, she would be again engaged, must see how exceedingly desirable it was to extend, by all practicable means, the resources of the country, and to avail ourselves of this opportunity of peace to lighten the springs of our industry, and restore their elasticity. With regard to Ireland, it was evident that every thing should be done that was possible to promote the growth of the manufactures which he trusted had commenced there. The friends of that country, who did not seek to serve it by that course, took a very limited, far from an enlightened, view of her interests. Much might be done, no doubt, by settling the religious differences that unhappily existed, but the mere removal of those dissensions would be no panacea for the ills of Ireland, which could be eradicated only by giving employment to the people. When habits of industry were formed, and began generally to take root, the most favourable hopes might be entertained for the deliverance of that country from the worst evils that oppressed it. After adverting to the mode in which the corn laws had operated to deprive our manufacturers of a large share of their foreign trade, the hon. Gentleman called the attention of the house to the increase that had taken place in our trade with India since the renewal of the charter of the East India Company in the year 1814. At that time the whole of the continent of India, and the islands in the Indian Archipelago, were thrown open to the private trader. What had been the result? No man could have anticipated it. It was said that the only effect would be, to increase the dealing in a few articles of luxury, which would be paid for in bullion. Nobody supposed that the cotton trade was one that would benefit largely by this new

market. Yet, marvellous, indeed, this trade had increased to an extent the most extraordinary. The cotton trade had its origin in India. This country had borrowed its patterns and adopted its very names. The price of labour was here seven or eight times as much as in India, and we drew from that country a portion of the raw material, which, when manufactured, we exported back to it. Yet, with all these disadvantages, we had established a beneficial and growing trade in cotton goods with India. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) The term calico was derived, according to Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, from Calicut, 'a town in India, where cotton goods were manufactured, and sometimes stained with gay and beautiful colours.' Calicoes were now exported in great quantities from this country to that part of the world where they were originally manufactured. It was, therefore, he contended, the duty of the house to give the fullest encouragement to the trade of India. (*Hear, hear.*)

He lamented that he had not the official returns lower than the year 1821. But from those previous to that year he could show that there had been a considerable increase of the trade with India since the opening in 1814. In the first instance, he would state the exports from this country to India from the Parliamentary papers. The hon. Gentleman went through the returns of glass and earthenware, and hardware goods, but we were prevented, in consequence of a noise in the gallery, from hearing them distinctly. In woollen goods, the average value from 1801 to 1810, was 273,414*l.*; from 1814 to 1822, it had increased to 376,399*l.*; and during 1823 and 1824, the yearly value was 962,061*l.* In cotton goods, the increase was still more astonishing. From 1801 to 1810, the average was 55,461*l.*; from 1814 to 1822, 568,356*l.*; and during the two years 1823 and 1824, the average was 1,155,512*l.* He would next state the imports from India, and show their corresponding increase. First, as to indigo, the average quantity imported from 1801 to 1810, was 3,513,053*lbs.*, and from 1814 to 1822, 5,023,187*lbs.* In cotton wool, the average quantity from 1801 to 1810, was 5696,365*lbs.*; and from 1814 to 1822, 23,535,365*lbs.* In Bengal silks the average was, from 1801 to 1810, 438,792*lbs.*; and from 1814 to 1822, 609,570*lbs.* In sugar, the average from 1801 to 1810, was 77,325*lbs.*; from 1814 to 1822, 174,379*lbs.*; and during the two years 1823 and 1824, the average was 244,638*lbs.* These returns manifested an equally great increase in the export trade as well as in the way of importation. No trade could be more important than that we thus enjoyed with a population not less in number than eighty millions. The extent to which it might be carried no man could at present foresee. The prospect might literally be said to be boundless.

He would next refer to the duties levied upon commodities imported from India. He believed that these duties were originally intended to be prohibitory. Let the house look at the amount of duties demanded upon East India produce, as compared with the amount of duties demanded upon the produce of other parts of our colonies. On tumeric, for instance, the duty is seven pounds; on East India rum, the duty is eleven shillings and sixpence a gallon; and on East India cotton, the duty demanded is six per cent. *ad valorem*; while cotton from the West Indies is actually admitted altogether free of duty. These, and such things as these, showed the utter indifference to the prosperity of our trade, to the advantage of our cotton manufactures, or to the welfare either of the mother country or the colonies, which characterised the whole system of our legislation with respect to our possessions in the East Indies. Such was the utter indifference to all the principles not only of sound commercial policy, but even of reason and justice, which the legislature showed in its regulations of the trade of these colonies. The whole system was most unfair and most unjust; and if ever the people of India began to feel it as they ought; if ever the vast population of our possessions in the East came to feel their importance and the degree of injustice with which they have been treated, the house might rest assured that the day of reckoning would then come, and we should be made to suffer as we deserved for the course we were pursuing.

What was it lost to this country the colony of North America? Why pre-



cisely the same principle: you kept to yourselves all the advantages of their trade, and gave them none in return; and the consequence was, that they freed themselves, on the first opportunity, from the power which exercised over them its authority in a manner so utterly repugnant to all the principles of honour, justice, or policy. It was not enough for this country to say it had the power to do these things. It must show that the course of its policy was founded on something like justice, or expect that those who are subjected to its influence, will only continue to obey until an opportunity may present itself to oppose. Such a system was not only contrary to the principles of commerce and of justice, but even to that principle of reciprocity, which the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Huskisson) had advocated with so much ardour; and which he, for one, felt delighted in saying with so much success.

He would now turn to another part of the same subject, and beg the attention of the House to the amount of the imports and exports to those colonies, as the trade was at present carried on. In the year 1824, the total amount of the exports to the East Indies and China was 4,355,437*l*. In the year 1826, there was but little difference; the amount then was 4,394,380*l*. Now, he must take the liberty of begging them to attend to a most important subject, arising out of one of those exports; he alluded to the article of East India sugar—the dead weight, as it might be called, of what we were able to draw from the East Indies at this moment. He did not, therefore, take that article because it was the most important, but because it was that which might be the most increased. He was aware of the state in which the sugar trade was placed at this moment, and that there was much more than sufficient for the general consumption of the country; but he did not consider that any reason why it could not be much increased. He was aware, too, that in such a state of things, when there was an excess of production beyond consumption, the price must be regulated, not by the monopoly at home, but the price which that sugar could procure in the market abroad. Granting that, however, he still contended that the price could be raised, and the consumption increased too, at home. There was annually imported, from the East Indies, a quantity of sugar, to the amount of 244 thousand hundred-weights, upon which there was paid the extra duty of 10*s*. a hundred. Now, he would admit that this sugar was not sold even at a profit at this moment, and yet he was prepared to show that the consumption might be still very much increased. He was aware that it might at first appear, from the price at present, and from the supply being so much greater than the demand, that an increase of quantity could bring no increase of consumption; but did the House take into its consideration the very great increase of demand for our manufactures, the great consequent increase of population and production, which must follow the opening of such a market for the produce of this country? It might, he admitted, be asked, if the produce of sugar by the West India islands is so much greater than your demand, how can you make any increase of consumption? He took it, however, to be quite clear, that the people of this country did not consume any thing like what they might be able to take, if a new market was opened to our manufactures.

Let the House reflect for a moment upon what was the amount of the quantity of sugar consumed by the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. In England, the average quantity consumed by each individual *lb*s. annually, according to the best calculation, about 33½ pounds per head. In Ireland, the quantity consumed by each individual, is about six pounds per head. Now, he would ask, if Ireland became a manufacturing country by the opening of a market, and the encouragement of a trade with India, what was there to prevent her people from becoming consumers to the extent of twelve or even eighteen pounds a head? In that way he was convinced that the Right Hon. Gentleman ought to look for the ultimate improvement and happiness of that country—in that way he must look for the means of her prosperity and tranquillity. Let him, by opening the market of our extensive East India possessions, give employment to her people, and encouragement to her manufactures; and he would find Ireland, instead of being, as at present, a source of endless

alarm, and disquiet, and discontent, become to England and her possessions a mine of wealth and a tower of strength. There would be no occasion then for emigration committees to consider the best means of transplanting her people to other countries.—Give but her manufactures encouragement by opening a market, and he would soon see, by its effect upon wages and labour, the people prosperous, and the nation tranquillised. He was told that, at present, a part of that country, Belfast and its vicinity, already showed the capability of the country to manufacture, and to take advantage of the benefits which flowed from it. He was told that the town of Belfast afforded a most pleasing contrast in its aspect to the general appearance of the other parts of Ireland. There manufactories had been established and worked to a great extent; and he understood that when the manufacturers of England were pressed too much in getting rid of work, they frequently sent quantities of yarn to Belfast, to be wove up, in order to supply their orders in proper time. Between India and Ireland there were some strange features of similitude. Both countries were oppressed by a redundancy of population. Both suffered from the low rate of wages; and both were constantly placed in a state of alarm and agitation by their White Boys, and discontented and starving people. The evils of both were to be remedied in the same manner. Give them employment. Lay open a market to their several productions, and you at once strike at the root of the diseases under which they labour. It was by following up that principle of reciprocity with regard to our own colonies, which had already been recognised and acted upon with regard to foreigners, that the Right Hon. Gentleman would be enabled to relieve the miseries of Ireland and India, and promote the prosperity and security of the empire.

His object at present was to move for the appointment of a Committee, before which that information might be given under which the measures he wished were to be carried into execution. There was one subject, however, to which he must allude, although it was somewhat different from any to which he had yet drawn their attention—he meant the state of the free trade with India. He held in his hand a letter addressed to the East India Company Directors from some persons engaged to a great extent in that trade, in which they complained of the very great impediments thrown in the way of their intercourse with those places to which they were permitted to trade. That Company derived some of their most considerable benefits from what was called the right of pre-emption. The Company had commercial residents at each of the ports and settlements where the free trade was carried on. Those residents made advances to the factors who purchased the productions of this country, and by that means contrived so to keep them in dependence as to confine the whole trade, or nearly the whole trade, to the ships of the Company. This was one of the consequences arising from that junction of sovereignty and trade of this Company—a junction which never ought to have taken place, and which never could be found, without exhibiting consequences prejudicial to the freedom and prosperity of commerce. The Indian Archipelago was one of those places where the trade of this country could be most beneficially extended. Those islands abounded with all the Oriental productions most in request in this country. More than one-eighth part of all the gold introduced into Europe was derived from them, in addition to great quantities of plate, diamonds, spices, and pearls. There, too, a vast proportion of the manufactures of this country found a market—greater, indeed, by many degrees, than we were able to sell in any other place, if we excepted the Chinese territory. At this moment, unfortunately, there was but a very small portion of it open to the free trader; but, he trusted, the time was not far distant when the abolition of this monopoly, which must expire in the year 1833, would enable the manufacturers and traders of the United Kingdom to derive the full and unrestricted benefit of the almost boundless prospect of commerce which these islands presented. The duties upon East India sugar were 37l. a ton; but the duties produced on that of the Archipelago were 64l. a ton; or, in other words, the sugar of those islands was totally prohibited, for the effect was nothing less. It was worth while, in considering the advantages we

might derive from a free trade with those islands, to look at the evidence given on the subject by Mr. Crawford, a gentleman whose accuracy of statement was as unquestioned as his means of information had been extensive. He says, in speaking of the possibility of extending our trade in that part of India, that it was now a very rare thing, indeed, to meet with any Javanese lady or person of any condition in life except the lowest, who did not exhibit at least one article of British manufactured cotton in her dress; and even the woollens of this country were beginning to be in request. In the year 1814, there were only one thousand pieces of cotton exported to the Archipelago; while in the year 1818, from a reduction of the duty there were upwards of 15,000 pieces, and the quantity likely to be very considerably increased. Such would be the benefit likely to arise from an opening of the trade. Give the people but a means of payment, and you may dispose of the productions of this country to an almost unlimited extent. No man, he apprehended, would be so insane as to propose that no more than a certain quantity of our manufactures were to be exported, and yet the effect, by the continuance of the system of prohibition, was entirely the same. (*Hear.*)

Another subject to which he wished to direct the attention of a Committee, if he succeeded in procuring its appointment, was the state of what are called the *emporia* for our India trade. The emporium of Singapore he believed to have been established on sound commercial principles; but at the same time he wished the state of that and other places to be submitted to the attention of a Committee, because he thought it would be found, that without some such places of traffic, the trade could not be beneficially carried on. The House might probably not be aware, that there were several productions of the East, in which the trade was wholly prohibited, unless in particular places, and under particular restrictions. The trade in spice, for instance, was locked up under one of the most extraordinary systems of monopoly the world ever saw, by the Dutch East India Company. That Company, having got possession of all those islands in which the spices grow, and in which, indeed, they are indigenous, resolved upon preserving their monopoly from all chance even of attack, by confining the production of particular spices to particular islands. For that purpose they selected the island of Amboyna as the place to grow cloves, and prevailed upon the chiefs or princes of the other neighbouring islands to root up all the clove trees to be found in their possession. In the same manner they made the Banda Islands the place of growth for nutmegs, and sent yearly a fleet round the coasts of the whole islands in order to secure the execution of their orders and the perfection of their monopoly. It was true that this proceeding did them no good, and reduced the islands to a state of poverty—but they succeeded in fully securing the monopoly they desired. It was obvious, therefore, that without an emporium the trade could not be successful. The only trade which ever was beneficial in India, or which greatly recompensed those engaged in it, was the free trade of the English and the Dutch before the monopolies established by the India Companies of those nations. At that time a trade of immense extent and importance was carried on with all the islands, and even with China and Japan; and it was only the fatal effects of the restrictive system which brought it to a termination. It was the opinion of Mr. Crawford, that the free trade is the most beneficial, and that it can be carried on through the means of *emporia* alone.

He hoped he might not be considered as trespassing too much upon the patience of the House, after it had heard him with so much indulgence, (*Hear, Hear.*) if he said a few words as to the trade now carried on with China through the means of the city of Canton. It was a very singular fact, that although all the purchases and sales of teas were made in Canton, there was not a leaf of the plant grown in that province, of which Canton is the capital. The black teas, it is well understood, were grown in a province three or four hundred miles from that city, and the green teas were brought from another province, seven or eight hundred miles up the country. The teas were brought to Canton by the means of inland navigation, and it might be perhaps

allowed that there was an increase of full 50 per cent. upon the cost of this transport. These provinces, however, from which the teas are taken, are maritime provinces, and it was proved that the articles of their produce could be conveyed by sea to an emporium, a distance not greater than they were now conveyed to Canton. Mr. Crawford, who makes these statements, argues with great truth and justice upon the benefits which must therefore accrue from such emporia, and upon the advantages which such a market must offer to the consumption, without restriction, of the manufactures and productions of this country. To details such as these, continued the hon. Gentleman, the House must turn, when it is called upon to consider the propriety of dissolving that monopoly, which has existence by law to the year 1833. With such information, collected by a Committee, must the House be provided, when it is required to determine upon the great question which will then be submitted to its consideration; (*hear, hear*;) and, therefore, if there was no better and stronger reason, he would contend, that a Committee ought in good time to prepare that information, which will thus be necessary, in order to decide rightly and fairly between the East India Company and the public. For that decision, a thorough knowledge, by inquiry before a Committee, on the state and resources of the Indian Archipelago, was, he repeated, indispensably requisite.

He had thus endeavoured to put the House in possession, within as small a compass as possible, of a general outline of the commercial advantages which must result to this country, from an extension of our trade with India; and proved, he hoped, enough to satisfy hon. Members, that a trade of boundless extent might be carried on, by a removal of restrictions under which our commerce at present labours. The policy had been too long pursued of endeavouring to derive wealth from India by means of revenue: far better would it be to seek to derive wealth by improving our commercial relations with India—by promoting those liberal institutions that create wealth—and by aiding her advancement by the application of those principles which we called into action in our intercourse with the other nations of the world. A change was called for by justice—it was rendered requisite by what was due to the interests of India, and it was demanded by a due regard to the promotion of the commercial connection between Great Britain and India. He would not further trespass on the attention of the House than to move, 'that a select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the trade between Great Britain and India.'

Mr. SLANEY seconded the motion. He considered that the nature of the trade which had subsisted between this country and India, ever since our connection with that vast country, was of that restrictive character which denied to India the fair development of her resources, and the commercial advantages to which she was entitled. The hon. Member expressed some sentiments favourable to free trade, and concluded by hoping that the period would arrive when the seeds of freedom sown in India, as they had formerly been in America, by the hand of England, would—and at no distant day—bloom and flourish in the heart of Asia. (*Hear.*)\*

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\* We have not thought it necessary to offer a single remark on Mr. Whitmore's speech, concurring, as we entirely do, in the accuracy of his statements, and the soundness of his views, which, as it will be seen hereafter, even the opponents of his motion do not impugn. But we think it right to say, that every man who has ever visited India, and at all exercised his powers of observation, must have come to the same conclusion as Mr. Slaney, as to the effects of our restrictive system in impeding the full development of the resources of that fine country. The concluding sentiment expressed by the hon. Member, will, now that it has been uttered in the House of Commons, be repeated in every newspaper in India, and spread through every part of that country, so as to produce all the 'mischief,' of which the enemies of free discussion in that country pretend to be so much in dread. As the speech of a

Mr. LAYCER supported the motion, after a few observations, in the course of which he touched upon the danger of a non-consumption agreement among the people, which would force Government into the adoption of the measure.

Mr. HUSKISSON commenced by observing, that his hon. Friend (Mr. Whitmore) had formerly introduced this subject to the attention of the House, by a simple proposition for the equalization of the rate of duty on East and West India sugars. In this simple proposition, he (Mr. Huskisson) could not concur; and if he concurred in the present, the hon. Member must perceive that the object of his former proposition must be as effectually carried as if that proposition were agreed to. With respect to the threat of a non-consumptive agreement of West India produce, referred to by the hon. Member, (Mr. Leicester,) he could assure the hon. Member—and he spoke from experience—that non-consumptive agreements of the description alluded to, seldom or never met with the success which was anticipated from them by those who entered into them. Of the produce of British Plantation sugar in the West Indies last year, he could say that it had not been less than in any former year. Although it was well known that there was great pressure felt in trade every where last year, the amount paid in as duty on British Plantation sugar imported into Great Britain, covering drawbacks and certain other charges, was 5,500,000*l.*, a greater sum than, since our connection with the West Indies, had been ever paid in one year. He admitted that it was the interest and duty of a commercial country like this, to endeavour to open new channels, and to afford increased facilities to those that were already open; but it was its duty, likewise, in giving encouragement to individual enterprise and to new commercial speculation, to be cautious not to sanction any measure which may endanger or destroy established interests and rising institutions, especially institutions of our own creation, connected with our interests, and specially intitled to our own protection. (1) (*Hear, hear.*) And here

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Member of the British Parliament, it may circulate freely throughout India, and be repeated by every newspaper in that country, without the slightest censure or impediment; but if the *very same words* were written in India by any English editor, and printed only in one paper of the country, an outcry against their mischievous tendency would be raised from one end of our possessions to the other—the Editor would be probably banished without a trial for daring to breathe such a hope—and the Paper would, perhaps, be suppressed for ever, for having contained such a dangerous and unpardonable sentiment! Can any thing be more strongly marked with stupidity and folly, to say nothing of its injustice, than such an absurdity as this?

(1) The argument founded on the largeness of the revenue from the duty on West India sugar, is worthless, unless it could be shown that the same revenue could not be raised from East India sugar, if the former were less, and the latter more encouraged; or, in other words, if they were put on a footing of perfect equality. But no such apprehensions of inferior revenue can possibly be entertained. And as to the duty of not destroying existing interests and rising institutions, by encouraging new interests, and other institutions, it is equally worthless; for this duty, rigidly observed, would have prevented the use of steam vessels, because their growth must injure the existing interests of every owner of sailing ships; and prevented the emancipation of the serfs, because the institutions of society, which made both their lives and labour the property of the barons, would be broken down by their attainment of freedom, though these institutions were as much of 'our own creation' as any subsequent ones, and thought, no doubt, by the nobles of those days, as much entitled to 'protection' as the navigation laws are deemed by the shipping interests of the present day. This cry of alarm at the injury which existing interest in imperfect things must sustain from every innovation or improvement, by introducing more perfect substitutes, is one

he would make a gratifying remark in reply to what had been said as to the low wages of the manufacturing classes. He was happy to state, that after suffering great and long privations, which they bore with exemplary patience.—He spoke of Manchester and the extensive manufacturing district about it—there was an increased demand at present, which enabled the master-manufacturers to give better wages, and to a greater number of workmen to obtain employment. (*Loud cries of Hear, hear.*) So much for the present prospect of increasing improvement in those parts of the country in which distress had been mostly felt. (2) (*Hear, hear, hear.*) But to proceed to the argument so strongly urged, as to the application of principles of free trade, and the extension of commercial intercourse: In these principles, he believed it was not necessary that he should now inform his hon. Friend, the House, and the country, that as far as they could be made beneficially applicable, he concurred in the application of them; but it would be readily allowed, that all great and extensive changes were attended with great difficulty, and should be proceeded in with circumspection, and a due regard to other general interests, already widely established; and that, therefore, whatever new measures or new systems were introduced, they should be regulated in such a manner, as that in endeavouring to effect improvements for some, no sacrifice of essential import should be required from others. (3) Now, his hon. Friend (Mr. Whitmore) had said that the East Indies were rich in every kind of produce that prospered under a tropical climate.—Granted. He admitted the capabilities of the climate; but he wished, for the better understanding of this subject, to call the attention of the House to the attitude in which we

of the most contemptible of all the list of fallacies by which mankind are deluded, and utterly unworthy of such a man as Mr. Huskisson to encourage or adopt.

(2) This is another ingenious, but still a mischievous mode of turning off attention from the main question at issue, and turning the applause for particular statements, gratifying in themselves, but not material to the question in debate, into symptoms of approbation towards the general arguments used. If the distressed manufacturers enjoyed a temporary relief, this should not delay inquiry into what might afford them *permanent* support; because the great object of legislation should be, not to patch up, by expedients, temporary evils, but to pursue a course which would prevent the occurrence of these evils, which is surely much better than letting them first happen and then seeking for a remedy.

(3) This is a mere repetition of fallacy the first, already exposed. This balance of interests is impossible. An increased sale of English muslins must diminish the sale of those of Indian manufacture; and a reduction on the duty of East India sugar must lessen the sale of West Indian produce. All that legislators should do in such cases is to leave competition entirely free, and let every one injure his neighbour to the utmost possible extent, when this is done by producing a better and a cheaper article than any now in use; for this, however injurious to rival individuals, must be beneficial to the community, by adding to the general stock of human enjoyment, and bringing it more and more within the reach of mankind. That this is the universal opinion, and universal practice, too, is sufficiently proved by the fact, that wherever men can leave a shop, where what they need is either of bad quality or high price, and go to another where the same things are to be had of good quality and at a low price, no one thinks it unjust to inflict the injury to 'existing interests,' which is necessarily created by such a transfer of their custom; but if Mr. Huskisson's doctrines be worth any thing, they would go the length of teaching, that when a man changed his bad butcher, or his bad baker, for better ones, he ought to take care that by encouraging men who sold good and cheap beef and bread, he did 'no injury of essential import' to those who so sold bad and dear provisions; such a doctrine is manifestly absurd, as well as unjust, and quite unworthy of a senator to utter.

stood towards the West Indies, and to the circumstances under which trade was first opened between India and Great Britain. When it first opened, it opened under a strict monopoly of a company of merchants. We then received from them, under this monopoly, silk and cotton, (the raw material,) for which we exchanged the precious metals, which we obtained by the disposal of our manufactured goods in other parts of the world. This was the limited course of commerce that had commenced, and was long continued. Meanwhile, in another part of our dominions, the West Indies, and long before, great wealth had been acquired and accumulated, large interests had been united, and British property to a large amount had been vested. It was our duty to attend to and secure those interests. (4) The East India trade continued, since its commencement, under the same restraints, until the expiration of the East India Charter. In 1814 it was renewed, and then new encouragements were given to individual enterprise, and new means opened to the accumulation of wealth and the exercise of skill. In the situation which he (Mr. Huskisson) unworthily filled, he and those who co-operated with him had taken every opportunity of giving facilities, and offering every suggestion, that might advance and improve that trade; (5) and he knew that it continued greatly to improve and increase. It would, he had no doubt, so continue to prosper. Many encouragements, into the detail of which he need not enter, were held out to it; but in all these encouragements and regulations, the House should be cautious not to proceed in their relaxations to such an extent as would create just alarm in the minds of West India proprietors, to whose interests they were strongly bound, but rather seek to reconcile those interests with those of the East Indies, by satisfying them that they may be both augmented and maintained, without unduly interfering or clashing with each other. (6)

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(4) Not if these interests were injurious to the commonweal. There are persons in London, who have vested their property in gambling saloons, in brothels, in flash-houses, and in other modes of gain not more reputable. They might ask to be let alone, to make their money in their own way, and without taxes, licenses, or restraints. But they would hardly have the impudence to ask for 'protection' in the sense in which this is given to property vested in the slave colonies in the West Indies. If, for instance, the law of England was, that every man might go to the flash-house and brothel free, but that he must have a Government permission before he could enter the tavern where no gambling or other immorality existed; or, if the produce in the gambling-house were admitted to be freely enjoyed, while a tax of 50 per cent. was placed on the produce of the respectable innkeeper, it would be deemed an encouragement of vice, and a crying injustice. It is just so with the opposite modes of conduct pursued by the English Government towards the East and West Indies. In the latter, the sugar is raised by the sweat of slavery, which the Parliament, in their virtuous indignation, profess to denounce and abhor, and they impose on it a tax of 27 per cent. to prove their sincerity. In the former, it is produced by free labour, which the same Parliament profess their wish to encourage and reward; but they impose a burden on it of 37 per cent., or 10 per cent. more than on the other; by which the slave-raised sugar is sold to such an extent, as to afford all its growers handsome remuneration, and the free-raised sugar is nearly kept out of the market! These are facts which cannot be controverted, and they speak more loudly than all Mr. Huskisson's professions.

(5) And yet, under the present Government of India, a proclamation has been issued, ordering the seizure and apprehension of all Europeans found guilty of the sin of trading in the interior of India, ten miles from the capital, without specific permission from the Governor-General so to do; and neither Mr. Huskisson, nor any of his colleagues, have offered a remark on it in Parliament, or taken any public step towards its repeal!

(6) This will be a vain and delusive hope. These opposing interests are just as irreconcilable as the increased intelligence and religious education of

It was his opinion, that the equalization of the rate of duties on sugar would not be the great advantage that he seemed to contemplate from it. He would offer a few remarks upon this part of the subject, as the hon. gentleman seemed to lay particular stress upon it. The British plantations grew fifty or sixty thousand hogsheads of sugar more than there was to be found consumption for in this country; now this must find vent in foreign markets. And it was admissible for East India sugar to find a vent in those markets, as the sugar of any other country. If the East India sugar were so grievously taxed, and if it could be manufactured at a so much cheaper rate than British plantation sugar, why did it not enter the competition that was open to them at any of the foreign markets? A vessel might sail from Calcutta, or from any port of the East Indies, and enter into competition at Hamburgh or Dantzic, or any other European port, with the sugar of Cuba or Brazil, or any other country; and if this superior cheapness was possessed in the manufacture, why was it not found to be preferred abroad to the sugar of every other country? Either, then, on this account, or on account of some accompanying and necessary increase of freightage, that would balance the cheapness of manufacture; or again, unless they could convey the sugar so as to use it as ballast for their ships in conveyance, which would require a corresponding but improbable increase of consumption, he apprehended that the advantages derivable to the East Indies from equalization of duties would be by no means so great as they had been described by some hon. Gentlemen. (7) Although he did not anticipate such important results from the proposed equalization of sugars, yet he was ready to admit that there were many points and topics touched upon by his hon. Friend which required attention, and which he assured him had engaged much of his time; some difficulties had recently been removed; some facilities had been recently afforded; the removal and the granting of more were under consideration; and he thought the result would be more satisfactory if they were left in the course in which they now were, than if they were placed under the direction of such a Committee as his hon. Friend moved for. Many alterations in other respects, relating to trade, which the country approved of, were introduced without such a Committee. (8) (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

slaves, and their willing endurance of slavery—or as the monopoly of the East India Company and the free trade of England; and if there are any who cautiously wait, under a belief that such opposites can be made to unite or harmonize with each other, they may exercise their caution long enough. But, to those who wish to enjoy the reputation of good intentions, and yet desire to maintain the existing state of things, this fallacy, of ‘caution not to create alarm by innovation,’ is a very useful, and, unfortunately, a very powerful engine.

(7) This is the fallacy of ‘begging the question.’ The sugar is wanted here in England, in return for British manufactures. It is not carried to Hamburgh or Dantzic,—first, because of the more limited means of purchase in those countries,—and next, because those are not the markets for the commodities wanted in exchange. Sugar is an article of which every family in England would make greater consumption than at present, if its price were much less. If there were no extra duties on its importation, that consumption would be sufficiently great to admit of ships bringing it as ballast or dead weight. But, if Mr. Huskisson really believed that the advantages of equalized duties were overrated, this might have been easily proved by a Committee, and therefore he ought to have supported the motion for going into the inquiry. If he did not believe the arguments he advanced to be capable of proof, by facts adduced before a Committee, his motive for opposing it is then intelligible; but in what a predicament does this place his public virtue and sincerity?

(8) But many more would, no doubt, be introduced with a Committee. This is a mixture, in nearly equal proportions, of the ‘Self Trumpeter’



One topic he would mention, in which such changes as he alluded to might be made beneficially for the trade of India—it was that which related to the difference of duty between the raw material of silk and cotton imported from the East Indies and other countries. This was a subject which required reconsideration, and one in which the trade of India laboured under a disadvantage. He would propose, that these articles should be subjected to the same duty as similar articles imported from all other nations.—(*Hear.*) The knowledge and information best calculated to effect these alterations with advantage, were to be procured more easily through the official means of intelligence which he possessed, perhaps, rather than through the Committee proposed by the hon. Member. (84) The changes which it was expedient to introduce into the principles of our trade with India, were changes which circumstances rendered necessary. Circumstances must always enter into the consideration of every Legislature. By circumstances, their determination must be in every instance influenced. The relative circumstances of this country and of India, commercially considered, had undergone a most material alteration. Instead of being a country importing manufactures extensively from that part of the world, we had become a country exporting extensively to it. In that part of the hon. Gentleman's speech which related to the making of free ports in India, there was much in which he entirely concurred. But he begged to state, and it was with a feeling of great personal satisfaction that he did so, that he had done all that he could to place the ports of Singapore, Penang, and Malacca, on the most perfect footing of free ports. In those places there did not at present exist any charge, nor any obstacle to perfect freedom of trade. It was infinitely better to look to the future for financial benefits to be derived from those sources, than to trust to the increased revenue which the growth of their prosperity would necessarily occasion, and of seeking for a trifling temporary advantage by the imposition of duties which, however small, might have the effect of driving away commerce altogether.—(*Hear, hear.*) The effect of the system which had been introduced, as far as it could at present be judged of, was most satisfactory; and what might be its ultimate results upon the trade with China, and with the immense population in other parts of the Indian seas, no one could anticipate. For his own part, he confessed that he was exceedingly sanguine upon the subject; and that he looked forward to the most extensive commercial intercourse, under the British flag, between the western parts of America and the

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Fallacy,\* the 'Procrastinator's Argument,'† and the 'Non causa pro causa,' or 'Cruse and Obstacle confounded.'‡ The praise of what *had* been done would have come with a better grace from another quarter, or by a statement of the cases in which facilities have been increased: and the value of what was *intended* to be done, would have been best seen by an explicit declaration of its nature and extent. As to the assumption that things had better be left in the course they now were, than placed in the hands of a Committee, that is a question of which the House was to judge; but on which Mr. Huskisson, from his very situation, was the last man that should have pronounced an opinion; for it was in truth saying—as Mr. Wynn said before, on the Barroepore debate,—'This is a matter intrusted to my care; it had better be left to me to manage than be submitted to any Committee, for I can do it better than they; therefore, instead of inquiring as to whether I perform my duty efficiently, you had better take my assertion that I do, as quite conclusive, and give yourselves no further trouble in the matter!' This is official modesty. In an individual it would be called impudence.

(84) But the Committee would have all the official means of intelligence, as well as every other accessible source, entirely at their command, because they can order the production of any information which the minister, or public officers, can procure or may possess.

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\* 'Bentham,' p. 120.

† *Ibid.* p. 126.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 328.

eastern parts of Asia. It was the duty of the British Government to prepare the ground, to lay the highway, for such an intercourse; and he could assure the hon. Member for Bridgnorth, that it was a duty of which his Majesty's present Government never for a moment lost sight. (9) (*Hear, hear.*)

The only suggestion which he wished to throw out to the hon. Gentleman was the expediency of postponing an inquiry into this subject until the result of the experiments which were at present trying had more distinctly manifested themselves. He had not the slightest inclination to throw any impediment in the way of eventual inquiry; on the contrary, he was solicitous that it might take place; but it certainly appeared to him that it was desirable to defer it until the success of the measures which had already been adopted, and the expediency of extending them, should be more fully ascertained. An investigation of the whole of this large and important question at some future period would, he was convinced, be at once more satisfactory to the house, and more advantageous to the general interests of the state. It was not that he differed from the hon. Gentleman on any of the principles which he had advanced. So far from that, as was well known, he was a warm advocate for the application of those principles as extensively and as promptly as they could be applied, consistently with what was due to existing interests; but it was because he was persuaded that the present was not the fittest moment for the inquiry, and that at a future period, when they were in possession of the result of what was now going on, they would proceed to that inquiry, with a much greater probability of an advantageous issue. (10) The appointment of a committee at present might create alarm, and excite exasperation

(9) This, again, is mere self-laudatory assertion. Let the Committee be granted, and this could be shown, when; if the report of a collective body admitted this, it would become good authority; but as asserted by a functionary of himself, and without collateral evidence, it is a mere diversion.

(10) Here is a union of the 'Procrastinator's Argument,' and the 'Snail's pace Argument.' \* 'Wait a little, this is not the time.' 'One thing at a time! Not too fast! Slow and sure!' On this subject we cannot refrain from quoting Mr. Bentham's words, so prophetically appropriate are they to the present occasion. He says, 'This is the sort of argument or observation which we so often see employed by those who, being in wish and endeavour hostile to a measure, are afraid or ashamed of being seen to be so. They pretend, perhaps, to approve of the measure; they only differ as to the proper time of bringing it forward; but it may be matter of question whether, in any one instance, this observation was ever applied to a measure by a man whose wish it was not that it should be excluded for ever. A serious refutation would be ill bestowed upon so frivolous a pretence. Which is the properest day to remove a nuisance? Answer, The very first day that a man can be found to propose a removal of it: and whosoever opposes the removal of it on that day, will, if he dare, oppose the removal of it on every other.' The venerable author closes his masterly chapter on the Fallacies of Delay, by a collation of the numerous phrases used to effect this generally dishonest purpose. As, for example:—'Importance of the business,—extreme difficulty of the question,—danger of innovation,—need of caution and circumspection,—impossibility of foreseeing all consequences,—danger of precipitation,—this is not the time,—people well satisfied,—no mischief yet happened,—stay till the apprehended evil has taken place. Such is the prattle with which the magpie in office, who must have something to say upon every subject, amuses his auditors, as a succedaneum to thought.' But the reader who desires to see a perfect picture of official fallacies and delusions, should examine the original, which is a mine of wealth hitherto almost unworked.

\* Bentham, p. 198—201.

at a moment when he was most anxious to show the parties who were interested that the alarm was unfounded, and the exasperation uncalled for. (11) However reluctantly, therefore, he was compelled to object to the hon. Gentleman's motion.

There was only one point on which he differed in opinion from the hon. Gentleman, and that was with respect to his recommendation to throw open to Ireland the trade with India. The hon. Gentleman seemed to consider that that would have the effect of increasing the manufacturing industry of Ireland. He (Mr. H.) was at a loss to see how that effect could be so produced. The probability of the increase of manufactures in Ireland must depend materially and principally on the protection experienced by property in that country, and the advantages thereby secured to those whose interests were connected with manufacturing prosperity. He was happy to say that manufactures had begun in Ireland. He sincerely trusted that they would increase. Many circumstances induced him to believe that they would do so; but he did not believe that any alteration of the law for regulating the duty on sugar (rather, as he thought, indiscreetly suggested), would have the effect of affording employment to the population of Ireland—an object which depended on very different circumstances. (12)

He would not take up any more of the time of the house. He had sketched an outline of what appeared to him to be some of the most important considerations in this most important subject. He hoped he had shown that he did not entertain the slightest wish to interfere with the progress of improvement, or to prevent the extension of sound commercial principles; (13) but he repeated his conviction, that those objects would best be attained by abstaining at present from an inquiry which would be more beneficial at a future period. The time must come when the subject would be more ripe for consideration, and when it would be imperative to enter into a full investigation

(11) But it must be evident, that a Committee to *inquire*, could only exasperate those who thought the inquiry would prove them to be in the wrong, and bring truths to light inimical to their interests. If, however, as Mr. Huskisson has all along pretended, the system is now upon the best footing, and as much good is done to all parties as is practicable, a Committee, before which this should be *proved*, would tend to calm, and not exasperate, and therefore it should have been granted. If he feared the result, what faith can be put in his statements?

(12) These circumstances should have been stated; for no credit is due to a naked assertion like this, coming from the greatest man that ever lived, unaccompanied by explanation. The House and the Country want from the speaker the *grounds* of his belief as well as its profession, for if these grounds are *weak*, the belief is worth nothing, and if *strong*, they would convince others as well as the speaker; on every account, therefore, they should not be withheld.

(13) On the contrary, the very objection to grant the Committee moved for, was a direct interference with *Inquiry* and *Investigation*, which are the necessary pioneers of improvement; for if it be forbidden to discover and point out what is wrong, how are men to know what is improvement, or how wrong can be displaced by right? The way to extend sound commercial principles is not by burying them in official bosoms, but by submitting them, and the acts proceeding from them, to the test of the most rigid examination by others; and he who refuses to do this, *does* interrupt the progress of improvement and of sound commercial principles. That man, in this instance at least, is Mr. Huskisson; and we say so with regret and pain, because we had always regarded him as one of the most candid and liberal men in the Senate. But though he may shut his eyes to facts and consequences, we cannot: we therefore speak as plainly of him now, as we wish all men would do on every other occasion.

of all the circumstances connected with it. The right hon. Gentleman sat down amidst loud and general cheers.

LORD MILTON expressed his entire satisfaction at what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman. He had felt exceedingly anxious to support his right hon. friend's motion; and if the President of the Board of Trade had opposed it, he (Lord Milton) should have felt himself bound to support it. After the fair and candid manner, however, in which the right hon. Gentleman had treated the subject, he really thought that a postponement of the inquiry would be more conducive to the object which his hon. friend had in view, than its immediate adoption; as he entirely agreed with the right hon. Gent., that a premature consideration of the question might exasperate conflicting interests, and confirm prejudices which every well-wisher to his country would desire to see weakened rather than strengthened.

MR. PHILLIPS had the satisfaction to state that the manufactures of Lancashire were greatly increasing in activity. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) In confirmation of this statement, the hon. Gentleman read extracts from two letters which he had recently received on the subject. The first was dated on the 8th of May, and was from a very intelligent and active individual, who said that the calico-printers in Lancashire were doing more than they ever did; that of some descriptions of cloth three times as much could be sold as the manufacturers were able to make; that some of the master manufacturers were very desirous to take on an additional set of workmen; that at Blackburn and other places there had been an advance of wages; that many articles were sent off the moment they were out of the loom, &c. The second letter was dated the 12th of May, and stated that there appeared to be a considerable revival of trade within the last fortnight; that every body who chose it might be employed; that weaving-wages were greatly advanced, &c. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) Although this revival of our manufactures had been tardy, he had always thought that it was certain. He had never indulged that despondency on the subject which seemed to have seized so many persons. In fact, although he would not enter into that topic at the present moment, it appeared to him that the causes which had so long depressed our commerce and manufactures might be easily traced and described.

There was one object to which a greater importance than it deserved seemed to him to be attached; and that was, the lowering of the duties on East India sugar. The effect of such a measure would be comparatively trifling, with reference both to the East and West Indies, and to Ireland. With regard to the trade to India, it was a subject on which he felt great interest. He recollected the time when he had anticipated many events connected with that trade which had since come to pass. He recollected anticipating that cotton yarn would be sent from this country to the East Indies—the cotton of which it was spun having previously been brought from the East Indies to this country—and manufactured by the Native Indians. He recollected anticipating that even cotton piece-goods would be sent from this country to the East Indies. At that period he had been treated as an enthusiast and a visionary. What had since occurred, however, had proved the justness of his anticipations; and had proved the advantages consequent on an adherence to the principles of free trade. (14) He firmly believed that the exports from this

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(14) This is the common history of almost all improvements—free trade—gas-lights—steam navigation—any thing, in short, that is *new*, is at first denounced as *innovation*; but the wonder is,—after so many centuries of experience, that every old thing must have been once new, and in its time an innovation on some pre-existing mode,—that we should still cling to the old as if they never *had* been new, and still reject the new, as if they never *would* be old. The anticipations of Mr. Phillips had been realized—so, no doubt, will those of Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Stacey, whatever Mr. Huskisson may say as to the over-rating advantages yet realized.

country to India would be much greater than they were, if the East India Company could be persuaded to divest itself of the jealousy which it entertained on the subject. He was persuaded that great advantages would result to the empire generally, were the Company to pursue a more liberal policy. If, instead of deterring, they would encourage his Majesty's subjects to go and settle in India, they would at the same time increase their own revenue, and materially contribute to the improvement and extension of commerce. (15) He had heard of persons who were very anxious to send out persons to superintend the cultivation of cotton, and to take other measures calculated to be beneficial to commerce; but so many obstacles were thrown in their way by the Company, that they were obliged to abandon their plans in despair. (16) He was really much surprised to hear any hon. Member say, that by the commercial policy which had lately been pursued in this country, they were cutting down the interests of the land-owner. It was quite the contrary; for whatever was calculated to increase the prosperity of the empire, must be also calculated to increase the prosperity of all the classes of which the population of the empire was composed. With respect to his hon. Friend's motion, although he perfectly concurred with him in opinion, he thought it might be desirable not to press it at the present moment, but to wait until the object in view could be obtained under circumstances of much greater advantage.

Sir C. FORBES thanked the right hon. the President of the Board of Trade, for the able, fair, and candid exposition which he had made of his opinions; and congratulated the country and India on the unusual attention which such a question had experienced in the House of Commons. (16½)

Mr. SYKES said, that although he was quite satisfied with the tone of the President of the Board of Trade's speech, and perfectly coincided with him in his general commercial principles, he was anxious that some measures should be adopted with as little delay as possible, for the purposes of improving and extending the trade with India. He had not heard a single reason which to him appeared cogent for continuing the duties on East India sugar. He could not see any opening so likely to be advantageous to the shipping interest as the encouragement of trade with the East Indies. If the duty were taken off East India sugar, a larger quantity of sugar would necessarily be imported into this country, which, added to the distance from which it would be brought, must greatly increase the amount of tonnage that would be em-

(15) So must all reflecting men think and believe, who have not, like the India Company, an opposing interest to maintain. Neither Mr. Huskisson nor Mr. Wynn have, however, taken any one step to facilitate the settlement of Englishmen in India, though, according to their joint authority, 'the interests of that country are never lost sight of for a moment.' Either then they must be too dull to perceive its advantages to the empire (which is hardly possible), or they must want the courage and virtue to attempt it; for if any proposition to this effect were to emanate from them, it would be almost certain of success.

(16) Is not this simple fact sufficient ground for the appointment of a committee of inquiry?

(16½) This is fairly a subject of congratulation; and it is but justice to Sir Charles Forbes, to state, that his constant attendance and support to all measures which he conscientiously believes to be for the welfare of India, has had its full share in contributing to this increasing interest through the country on the subject. The introduction into the House of half a dozen more such members, to watch over the important interests of that distant and unrepresented country, would be one of the surest modes of rivetting public attention to questions connected with its government and commerce, and do more good for India than has ever yet been done by single and divided efforts.

oyed. It was principally on that ground that he was disposed to press the speedy consideration of this important subject. He did not see any way in which the shipping interest could be relieved from their present depression, except by increasing the commerce of the country; and he did not see any way by which the commerce of the country could be so effectually increased by opening and cultivating the trade with the East Indies. (17)

Mr. Ross observed, that how far it might be proper to continue these protecting duties in favour of the West India Colonies, he would not undertake to say; but he thought that the best mode would be for the hon. Member to withdraw his motion for the present, and leave the matter to his Majesty's Government. (18)

Mr. W. SMITH said, whether his Hon. Friend chose to withdraw his motion or not, he could not help observing that the argument, that the reduction of the duties on East India sugars would do no harm to the West India sugar growers, was one which cut its own throat; for, if that was the case, why retain the duty on the East India sugars, or why call for an inquiry? This was a proof that the argument was not confined in, even by those who used it, or, at least, that they laboured under a very great delusion on the subject. If the argument, however, was good for anything, and if the West India sugar growers would really not be injured by the reduction of the duty on East India sugars, then let the people of England, at least, have that satisfaction which they craved by 500 petitions. (19) The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, that it would be much more convenient to enter upon the full discussion of the subject at another period; and he could not help remarking, that in this way the matter might be postponed for seven or eight, or, at least, five or six years, till the East India Company came again for a renewal of their charter. He would say that such a postponement would be a great disadvantage indeed, and he could not see why the matter should be so long delayed. (20) An hon.

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(17) The mercantile, the manufacturing, the shipping, and the national interests, would all be largely benefited by the extension of our trade with India, to say nothing of the commerce, and increase of happiness to the people of India themselves. In the scale against all these, is set the limited interests of three thousand individuals composing the East India Company; and they are weighty enough to turn the balance! And this, in the free and enlightened country of Great Britain, and in the blaze of knowledge which distinguishes the 19th century! Out upon the use of such undeserved and delusive epithets! Let us show by our acts that we are as enlightened as we pretend, and then we may cry up the march of intellect and the meridian blaze of freedom and civilization. But we have yet much to do before this will be accomplished.

(18) Mr. Ross, is we believe a young Member of the House, and an expectant attendant on the Board of Control. He was therefore a very appropriate echoer of Mr. Huskisson's 'Fallacy of Delay.' The ministers and their adherents generally think that all motions except those made by themselves should be withdrawn, and matters left to the management of his Majesty's Government. There is nothing new, therefore, in Mr. Ross's suggestion.

(19) Mr. Smith's position is irrefragable. But what is one unanswerable argument or five hundred unanswered petitions, compared with the naked assertions and thread-bare fallacies of a Minister of state? Absolutely nothing!

(20) No reason had been ever attempted to be given for the delay, except that it was not the fittest time, and that it would be better to postpone the inquiry than go into it. And yet, miserable as such a subterfuge was, what must be thought of the intellect or the independence of that House, upon which it operates as a sufficient reason for its cheering the President of the Board of Trade, and supporting him in his opposition to the inquiry desired.

Gentleman had talked of the five millions sterling of revenue, which the country derived from the West India sugars; but why should not sugar pay the same revenue when brought from any other quarter? He did not feel it necessary to say any more at present, as it was probable that his hon. Friend would withdraw his motion. But he had heard the name of the Mauritius mentioned; and, with respect to that island, it was worthy of remark, that since we had got possession of it, the supplies of sugar from that quarter had increased seven-fold; and the reason of this, he was informed, was, that the sugar was raised by slaves newly imported; and his firm conviction now was, that the cultivation was or had been lately so carried on. When we took possession of it, the exportation of sugar was from two to three millions of pounds; in the last year it was no less than twenty-three or twenty-four millions of pounds. He believed that this was owing to a clandestine importation of slaves; and by allowing that importation we had done much more injury to our own islands, than would be done them by this equalisation of duty. The production of sugar in the East Indies would not be much advanced by such a measure all at once. The process would be slow, and the only way in which the sudden advance of the cultivation of sugar, in the Mauritius, could be accounted for, was by presuming that a great number of slaves had been clandestinely imported. At least he could not help thinking that the circumstance must have been owing to such a fraudulent importation. If his hon. Friend should think it proper to withdraw his motion, he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would follow up the views which he seemed disposed to adopt with as little delay as possible.

Mr. BERNAL recalled to the recollection of the hon. Member for Norwich (Mr. Smith), that he did not vote with the minority which opposed the exemption of the Mauritius from the protecting duty; and he rather thought that his hon. Friend evinced rather a prejudiced feeling against the West Indies. He denied that the West India slave population decreased in proportion to the increase of the cultivation of sugar; and he had expected more candour from his hon. Friend, than that which appeared in encouraging the clamour out of doors against the West India body. The interest of the West Indies was a subject not to be trifled with.

Sir ROBERT FARQUHAR contended that it was most unjust to run down the character of the Mauritius. He denied that the great increase of the cultivation of sugar in that quarter was owing to the importation of slaves; and still maintained, that since it had come into our possession, the slave trade there had been abolished. He had declared, in 1826, that the slave trade had been abolished at the Mauritius, and he now made the same declaration in 1827. No slave vessels had for many years come to the island, except one in 1820, which had been driven in, and destroyed by one of his Majesty's cruisers; and in this he was confirmed by Sir Lowrie Cole, who had stated, that not a single instance of the slave trade had occurred during his administration of the island.

Mr. W. SMITH explained.

Mr. BUXTON said, that he would prove that the slave trade had been carried on to a most enormous extent in the Mauritius, under the administration of the hon. Baronet; but he had not said, nor did he now say, that the slave trade prevailed in the Mauritius at the present moment. He had always excepted the administration of Sir L. Cole, because he did not as yet know whether, under his administration, it had existed or not.

Mr. BROUGHAM expressed his high satisfaction at the tone and manner in which this discussion had been generally conducted, and particularly at the way in which the right hon. Gentleman on the floor had displayed his own views and that of the Government, on the most important subject now under the consideration of the House. He was a warm friend to that description of inquiry proposed by the hon. Member for Bridgnorth—an inquiry which would have a strong tendency to give new life to our commerce and manufactures, and afford a most seasonable relief to our artisans and labourers.

He, therefore, would be the last man to tender his advice to the hon. Member to withdraw his motion, had it not been for the candid and liberal views expressed by the right hon. Gentleman on the floor, and the admirable temper which he had evinced when speaking on this topic. (21) He hoped, therefore, that, under the present circumstances, the hon. Member would feel himself justified in not pressing his proposition at this stage. If the hon. Member and the house should agree to that, he had nothing further to say on the subject at present, except a few words, for the purpose of noticing what appeared to him to be erroneous views, which he was desirous to mention, in order to prevent mistakes among the public.

He could not agree with an hon. Gentleman below, that the West Indies derived no benefit from the discriminating duties imposed on the East India sugars. If that proposition were sound, it would put an end to the argument at once; for if it were clear that the West Indies derived no benefit from this duty on East India sugars, that duty ought to be taken off at once, without any inquiry. The reason for inquiry was, on that hypothesis, completely done away; and, therefore, there could be no need for inquiry; since every thing which could be object of inquiry was attained by force of the admission. They were told that we ought not to force the East Indies to raise sugar. We did not force them to raise any thing; but only said, 'Withdraw your duty from their sugars, and let them raise whatever they like.' They could not be forced to raise any thing which they did not choose to raise; or, if there was any forcing in the case, the effect of the present system was, by heavy duties on the East India sugars, to force the West Indies to produce them. One hon. Gentleman admitted that the duties on East India sugars operated as a bounty on West India sugars; and, therefore, the force of production, if applied any where, was applied to the West, and not the East Indies. There was one circumstance to which he was particularly desirous to advert, and that was the fact, that the Mauritius sugars had been exempted from the protecting duties imposed on the East India sugars. His hon. Friend, the member for Norwich, seemed to admit that he had fallen into some mistake on that subject; and indeed he had not before been very accurately informed of the material facts; and what was still more extraordinary with him, he had not reasoned accurately even upon those facts with which he had been acquainted. But why these Mauritius sugar cultivators, should have been put on the footing of diminished duties with the West Indies, to which they did not belong, and exempted from the duties imposed on the East India sugar cultivators, with whom they had a near connection, it was utterly impossible to conceive. In one view the Mauritius had a greater resemblance to the West Indies than to the East Indies; for there was strong reason to believe that its sugars were the produce of slaves, and he was afraid that this might have been one reason why the cultivators of that island had been exempted from the East India duty. It appeared that the system had been to give bounty and protection to the masters of slaves, and to withhold it from the masters of free men. He hoped that they might live to see the dawn of a better day in the management of the colonies; and looking to what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman on the floor, it might

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(21) The liberality of Mr. Huskisson's views are easily maintained by a speech; but the movers for the committee wanted to see whether his *acts* corresponded with his *professions*. If Mr. Brougham thought his measures were as liberal as his view, he should have voted for the committee, for that must have ended in doing justice to these measures. But to assign the "admirable temper" maintained by a speaker, on the subject of all others the least likely to ruffle even the most irritable disposition, as a *reason* for recommending the motion for a committee to be withdrawn, is certainly a novelty in Parliamentary History; but we should have looked to Mr. Brougham, however, for something more like a reason than this.



be expected that that day was not very distant, and therefore he refrained from resorting, on the present occasion, to any harsh arguments. (22)

With respect to the East Indies, he could not help looking with eager anticipation, and very high expectation, to the result of a full and complete inquiry into the commerce and the capabilities of that country, and the improvement in our own trade and manufactures which must follow. He could not help exulting in the brilliant prospects which such an inquiry presented, and in his opinion must almost necessarily lead. He was convinced that, upon a full revision of the condition of our Asiatic territories, it would appear that we did not, at present, at all understand the extent to which the East India traffic might be carried on, and that the ultimate effects would be beyond every thing of which we had at present any conception. He would, perhaps, be permitted to mention one simple fact in illustration of what he meant: when he was lately at Lancaster, a commercial gentleman of that place showed him orders which he had received for a vast number of pieces of calico for the East India market, and he desired him to look at Johnson's Dictionary, and there he would find the word 'calico' mentioned as the name of a fine fabric imported from Calicut, in the East Indies. In India, at that time, they imported the raw material from us and from other quarters, and then made as much of the fabric as supplied themselves and exported largely to us. (23) But now the process was reversed, and we imported the cotton and raw material from them, and exported to them the same fabric, but more highly finished, and of a better quality. This was only a small sample of what might be made of this trade, if it were left perfectly free and unfettered. Looking at the matter in this point of view, he was convinced that the investigation would enable the Government to do its duty towards the countless millions of India, while the process would be attended with the double advantage of promoting the interests of the people of India, while it afforded the best relief to our population at home. (24) There had been something a little personal in what had been said respecting the Mauritius, perhaps too much so; but he could not forbear saying, that his opinion as to the fact was the same as it had been last session, and had been rather confirmed than altered by the sort of defence made by the party accused on the night when the subject was brought under discussion. He wished that the hon. Member to whom he alluded might be able to meet the charge when it should be regularly brought forward against him. There was at present no charge made against him individually. It would be quite time enough to make his defence when he should be accused. For himself, he had only to repeat, that he had heard nothing as yet that had the least tendency to make him alter his former opinion.

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(25) Then Mr. Brougham was in possession of harsh arguments, or as we may suppose them, forcible ones, by which, if Mr. Huskisson had made no liberal promises, he Mr. Brougham might have proved how unjust was the present system, and how important it was that it should be altered. To be sure, a gentleman who thinks 'good temper' in a speaker, a sufficient reason to prevent his pressing any inquiry into a bad system of which that good tempered speaker is at the head, may also, with equal reason, think fair promises a sufficient reason for not prosecuting further investigation. But, in our humble estimation, we should say that if he really could use those harsh arguments justly, and did not do so, his abstinence was far from being a virtue.

(26) There must be some error, we apprehend, in this notion of the Indians ever importing the raw cotton from us or from any other quarter, as the cotton tree and the application of its wool to the manufacture of clothing, is as old as the time of Herodotus, who mentions it among the peculiarities of India in his day.

(27) Then he should have therefore joined in recommending Mr. Whitmore to press his motion for the investigation; whereas, though believing it to promise these reciprocal advantages, he advises its being withdrawn! Really these legislative gentlemen are very incomprehensible.

Mr. W. HORTON urged that if the hon. Baronet, the late Governor of the Mauritius, had committed any indiscretion in attempting to defend himself, some allowance should be made for the feelings of irritation, natural to the situation in which he stood as an accused person, and especially when his case was mixed and confused with others. Certainly he (Mr. W. Horton) would say, that if one-half of that was true, which had reached him in his official capacity, not an instance would be found in the annals of this country of greater disgrace, not to his hon. friend (Sir R. Farquhar,) but to the other parties concerned in those transactions. (*Hear.*) He hoped, however, that this incidental discussion would not prejudice the case when it came on fairly for investigation.

Mr. W. WYNN, reverting to the question before the House, observed, that as British manufactures had superseded those of India, we were bound, in justice and sound policy, to extend the trade with that country as much as possible for the sake of the Natives. The attention due to the commerce of India, as well as to its arts and literature, had been much too long delayed; but measures had lately been taken with relation to those subjects, which would redeem them from the neglect they had experienced. Under all the circumstances, he hoped that his hon. Friend (Mr. W. Whitmore) would postpone his motion. (25)

Mr. W. WHITMORE, in reply, said that he yielded to the recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman, and would withdraw his motion, and leave the subject altogether in his hands. He felt confident the right hon. Gentleman would not postpone these inquiries for five years, till the expiration of the Charter of the East India Company. If, however, he was disappointed, he should feel bound again to call the attention of the House to this important question. (26)

The motion was then withdrawn.

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(25) Mr. Wynn's notions of justice and sound policy appear to consist in thinking it sufficient to *profess* that to be a duty, which he has not only avowedly neglected, but does nothing to fulfil, and much to hinder. Does he not know of the laws passed in India to restrain the freedom of publication? and has not he *defended* those laws, which authorize the Governor-General to proscribe any book he dislikes, and make the reading or even possessing it after such proscription a crime? How can *such* a man feel an interest in promoting the arts and *literature* of India. Moreover, does he not know of the existence of the proclamation before adverted to, for seizing the person of Englishmen guilty of the sin of trading ten miles from the metropolis, which he has yet taken no public step to disavow or annul? And shall *such* a man take credit to himself for meaning to restore the freedom of commerce with India? It is difficult to know which most to admire,—the effrontery of the speakers, or the credulity of the listeners in the great senate of this great nation. Each are evidently at the greatest imaginable height.

(26) What could induce Mr. Whitmore to withdraw his motion after such reasons for not entertaining it, it is difficult to divine. Perhaps a desire not to occupy by a division the time which would be lost by his defeat. Still, however, it would have been well to have stated this, rather than appear to have yielded to recommendations, which, unaccompanied with any better reasons, ought not to have had any weight whatever. We are glad, however, to see that he pledges himself again to bring forward this question, if his expectations are not fulfilled. But, after such an exhibition as the debate affords, we really must say that we begin to have less and less confidence in the power of good reasoning to move either the House of Commons or the Country, and more and more ground for apprehending that it is in the power of any man of tolerable ingenuity, clothed with official rank and power, to pass off upon both, the most delusive fallacies as undeniable truths, and to triumph, by the mere force of smooth phrases and harmonious periods, over the understandings of even well meaning and respectable men.

# **CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES, IN INDIA.**

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- Arabin, Lieut. 7th N. I., appointed to Pioneers, and ordered to join 7th, or Hill Company.—C. Nov. 7.
- Anderson, J. Ens., posted to 44th N. I., at Dacca.—C. Nov. 9.
- Andrews, J. R. B. Ens., posted to 18th N. I., at Bhurtpore.—Nov. 9.
- Apperley, H. Ens., to do duty with 28th N. I., at Barrackpore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Alston, J. S. Ens., to do duty with 40th N. I., at Dinapore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Abbot, F., Lieut. Eng., to assist Lieut. Warlow in executive duties of 7th, or Cawnpore Div. of Department of Public Works.—C. Nov. 10.
- Armstrong, Mr. H., Assist. to Mag. and Collector of Sarun.—C. Nov. 9.
- Bartlet, A. F., Lieut., 18th N. I., to be Adj. v. Layken, prom.—B. Oct. 27.
- Barnewell, R., Major, 26th N. I., on furl. to the Cape for health.—B. Nov. 3.
- Blackney, Lieut.-Col. rem. from 35th to 5th N. I.—C. Oct. 30.
- Broughton, T. D., Lieut.-Col. Com., rem. from 16th to 28th N. I.—C. Oct. 30.
- Barber, Off.-Assist.-Surg., to have charge of Station Hospital at Barrackpore.—C. Oct. 31.
- Brownlow, G. A., Cornet, 3d L. C., to be Lieut. v. Dibdin, deceased.—C. Nov. 4.
- Bertram, W., Capt. 16th N. I., to be Major.—C. Nov. 4.
- Broughton, E. R., Capt., 21st N. I., to be Major.—C. Nov. 4.
- Biddulph, T., Ens., posted to 45th N. I., at Barisal.—C. Nov. 9.
- Budd, G. R., Com., to do duty with 9th L. C., at Cawnpore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Beatson, T. F. B., Com., to do duty with 1st L. C., at Sultanpore (Benares)—C. Nov. 9.
- Bailey, C. D., Ens., to do duty with 25th N. I., at Barrackpore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Blackwood, W., Ens., to do duty with 50th N. I., at Allahabad.—C. Nov. 9.
- Brown, W., Lieut. 1st Extra N. I., to be Revenue Surveyor at Serampore.—C. Nov. 17.
- Baddeley, W. C. Lieut.-Col. 16th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—C. Oct. 30.
- Byres, P., Lieut.-Col.-Com. 28th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—C. Nov. 4.
- Boulderson, Mr. H. L., to be Secretary to Board of Revenue in Western Provinces.—C. Nov. 9.
- Barlow, Mr. R., appointed Magistrate and Collector of the Jungle Nichols.—C. Jan. 9.
- Clibborn, F., Lieut. 1st Gren. N. I., to be Adjutant v. Teasdale, transf.—B. Oct. 21.
- Cooper, J. C., Ens. removed from 3d to 49th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
- Campbell, N., Brev. Capt. and Lieut. N. I., to be Captain of a Company.—C. Nov. 4.
- Caddy, D. T., Ensign, 2d Extra N. I., to be Lieutenant v. Home, deceased.—C. Nov. 10.
- Crispin, G. C., Com., posted to 2d L. C., proceeding to Muttra.—C. Nov. 9.
- Cox, W., Ens., to do duty with 60th N. I., at Meerut.—C. Nov. 9.
- Cracroft, Mr. W., app. 3d Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Division of Benares.—C. Jan. 4.
- Dundas, T. G., Ensign, 4th Extra N. I., to be Lieut., v. Bradley, deceased.—C. Nov. 4.
- Davies, J., Captain, 3d Extra N. I., to be Fort Adjutant of Fort William.—C. Nov. 10.
- Dickson, Lieut.-Col., removed from 7th to 10th Regt. Lt. Cav.—C. Nov. 4.
- Dollard, Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 4th Battalion Artillery, at Dum Dum.—C. Nov. 6.
- Durant, G., Ensign, to do duty with 46th N. I., at Dinapore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Davidson, Assist.-Surgeon, to do duty with his Majesty's 47th Regiment.—C. Nov. 13.
- Dunsmure, Mr. J., to be Collector of Sukseswar.—C. Nov. 9.

- Dundas, Mr. W., app. Principal Assist. in the West. Div. of the Delhi Territory.—C. Dec. 29.
- Dawes, Mr. C., appointed 3d Judge of the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit for the Division of Dacca.—C. Jan. 4.
- Evans, R., Ens., posted to 21st N. I. at Bhurtpore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Evans, D. F., Ens., 16th N. I. on furlough to Ceylon for six months.—C. Nov. 2.
- Foster, R., Lieut. Eng., on furlough to Europe for health.—B. Oct. 5.
- Finch, Assist.-Surg. app. to 13th N. I. in Assam.—C. Oct. 28.
- Fordyce, J., 2d Lieut. Art. to be 1st Lieut., v. Wakefield, dec.—C. Nov. 10.
- Faithful, Lieut. 43d N. I. directed to return to Pioneer Corps.—C. Nov. 7.
- French, J., Ens., posted to 57th N. I. at Pertaubgurh (Oude).—C. Nov. 9.
- Fagan, L. C., Ens., to do duty with 7th N. I. at Berhampore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Frazer, G. J., Lieut., 1st L. C. to be an Assist.-Rev.-Serv. at Saharunpore.—C. Nov. 17.
- Funnell, Assist.-Surg. to do duty with 44th N. I.—C. Nov. 13.
- Frazer, Mr. H., to be Prin. Assist. in North Div. of Delhi Territory.—C. Nov. 9.
- Fisher, Rev. H. S., app. joint District Chaplain at Meerut.—C. Nov. 3.
- Flaser, Rev. W., app. District Chaplain at Bareilly.—C. Nov. 3.
- Floyer, Mr. A. C., app. Judge and Magistrate of Beerbhoom.—C. Jan. 4.
- Garnham, Lieut.-Col., rem. from 69th to 30th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
- Gordon, A. C., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with his Majesty's 47th reg.—C. Nov. 6.
- Grant, A., Lieut., 1st Europ. Reg. exchanged with Lieut. Nicolay, 36th N. I.—C. Nov. 9.
- Gordon, Jas., Com., posted to 3d L. C. proceeding to Keitah.—C. Nov. 9.
- Grimes, H. S., Ens., to do duty with 32d N. I. at Keitah.—C. Nov. 9.
- Graham, Assist.-Surg., to do duty at General Hospital.—C. Nov. 13.
- Gilass, W., Assist.-Surg., on furlough to Europe.—C. Nov. 10.
- Graham, G. T., 2d Lieut. reg. of Art. on furlough to Europe.—C. Nov. 10.
- Gorton, Mr. W., app. 2d Judge of the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit, for the Division of Benares.—C. Jan. 4.
- Hamerton, A., Ens., 15th N. I. to be Lieut. v. C. R. A. Jones, dec.—B. Oct. 27.
- Huthwaite, Lieut.-Col., rem. from 19th to 34th N. I.—C. Oct. 30th.
- Hall, L. N., Lieut., 16th N. I. to be Capt. of a Comp.—C. Nov. 4.
- Hill, H. H., Ens., 40th N. I. to be Lieut. v. Symes, dec.—C. Nov. 4.
- Hawkins, G. S., Lieut., 38th N. I. to be a Memb. of Arsenal Committee in Fort William.—C. Nov. 4.
- Hawkey, Lieut.-Col., rem. from 7th to 8th, reg. L. C.—C. Nov. 4.
- Holloway, G., Ens., posted to 69th N. I. at Barrackpore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Hollings, W. C., Ens., posted to 53d N. I. at Bareilly.—C. Nov. 9.
- Hill, G. M., Ens., to do duty with 2d Extra N. I. at Futteghur.—C. Nov. 9.
- Hamilton, J. J., Capt., 23d N. I. to be an Assist.-Adj.-Gen. v. Aplin, proceeded to Europe.—C. Nov. 17.
- Hodges, A., Lieut., 29th N. I. to be an Assist.-Rev.-Serv. at Saharunpore.—C. Nov. 17.
- Hunter, H., Lieut., 58th N. I. on furlough to Europe.—C. Nov. 10.
- Holyoake, H. M., Lieut., 6th Foot, on furlough to Europe.—C. Nov. 10.
- Heyland, Mr. A., Assist. to Mag. and Collector of Beerbhoom.—C. Nov. 9.
- Incell, T. W., Capt., 16th N. I. to act as Assist. Adj.-Gen. to Guicowar Sub Force, during absence of Capt. Leighton.—B. Oct. 19.
- Irving, Rev. J., app. District Chaplain at Futteghur.—C. Nov. 3.
- Jones, C. R. W., Lieut., 15th N. I., to be Adjutant v. Macma'lon, transf.—B. Oct. 23.
- Jeremie, P., Capt., Inv. Estab. to be an Assist. to Opium Agent in Belar.—C. Nov. 17.

- Leighton, Lieut.-Col. Com., app. to General Staff of Army, on allowance of a Maj.-Gen., and to relieve Lieut.-Col. Com. Hessian, in command of Surat Div. of Army.—B. Oct. 5.
- Leighton, Assist. Adj.-Gen., to act as Dep. Adj.-Gen. of Army.—B. Oct. 1.
- Levey, J. B., Lieut., Pion. Batt., to be Adj. v. Laing prom.—B. Oct. 23.
- Lucas, R. St. J., Ens., posted to 9th N. I. at Secrore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Lomer, Ens., to do duty with 67th N. I. proceeding to Dinapore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Laughton, Ass.-Surg., to perform med. duties of Civ. Stat. of Futtehpoore.—C. Nov. 17.
- Law, F., Mr., app. Sen. Judge of the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit for the Division of Dacca.—C. Jan. 4.
- Lowther, W., Mr., app. fourth Judge ditto of Benares.—C. Jan. 4.
- Mitchell, T., Lieut., 15th N. I., Interp. in Mahratta Language, to be Interp. also in Hindoostanee, and Quart.-Mast. v. Jones, app. Adj.—B. Oct. 23.
- Malcolmson, Act. Asst.-Surg. to have med. charge of H. C. cruiser *Nautilus*.—B. Nov. 3.
- Monke, H., Lieut., 39th N. I., to be Capt. of a Comp.—C. Nov. 4.
- Monro, E. A., Ens., 49th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Orr, dec.—C. Nov. 4.
- MacLeod, A., Assist.-Surg., app. to do duty with 2d Bat. Artillery at Dum Dum.—C. Nov. 6.
- Maitland, H. D., Ens., posted to 4th Extra N. I. at Allahabad.—C. Nov. 9.
- Massie, W. H., Ensign, posted to 39th N. I. proceeding to Guwarahra.—C. Nov. 9.
- Murray, H. J. O., Ens., posted to 44th N. I. at Dacca.—C. Nov. 9.
- Moyar, T. W., Ens., posted to 14th N. I. at Lucknow.—C. Nov. 9.
- Master, W., Cor. to do duty with 1st Lt. Com. at Sultanpore (Benares).—C. Nov. 9.
- Macnaughten, J. D. Corn., to do duty with 9th L. C. at Cawnpore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Mayow, J. H. W., Ens., to do duty with 14th N. I. at Lucknow.—C. Nov. 9.
- Mackay, G. J., Ens., to do duty with 42d N. I. at Cawnpore.—C. Nov. 9.
- Mackenzie, A., Ens., 11th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Fleming, dec.—C. Nov. 19.
- Mallock, S. Lieutenant, Eng. to be Surveyor to Sunderbund Commission.—C. Nov. 17.
- Mackenzie, Brevet Captain, H. M. Royal Regt., on furlough to Europe.—C. Oct. 30.
- Mansell, Mr. C. J., app. Assist. to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the West. Prov.—C. Dec. 29.
- Mitford, Mr. R., 2d Judge of the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit for the Division of Dacca.—C. Jan. 4.
- Nugent, En., from the 30th to 60th N. I.—C. Oct. 27.
- Nation, S., Lieut.-Col., to be Lieut.-Col. Com. of Inf. v. Haldanè, dec.—C. Nov. 4.
- Nunn, J., Ens., 21st N. I. to be Lieut. v. Ward, prom.—C. Nov. 4.
- Nicolay, F. G., Lieut., 30th N. I., exchanged with Lieut. Grant, 1st Europ. Regt.—C. Nov. 9.
- Oldfield, Mr. H. S., app. Magistrate of Gazeepore.—C. Nov. 23.
- Prescott, C., Lieut., 5th N. I., to Adj. v. Spencer, transf.—B. Oct. 23.
- Peera, J., Ens., 49th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Willie, dec.—C. Nov. 4.
- Percival, Veterinary-Surgeon, H. M. 11th Lt. Drag., on furlough to Europe.—C. Nov. 6.
- Parish, Rev. H., app. District Chaplain at Agra.—C. Nov. 3.
- Proctor, Rev. T., app. District Chaplain to Gar. of Fort William.—C. Nov. 3.
- Richards, Lieut.-Col. Com., posted to 51st N. I.—C. Oct. 30.
- Ramsay, Sir T., Lieut.-Col. Com. rem., from 28th to 16th N. I.—C. Oct. 30.
- Roe, H., Assist. Sur., to perform medical duties at Myn-es-sing.—C. Nov. 10.
- Richardson, R. E. T., Ens., posted to 62d N. I. at Benares.—C. Nov. 9.
- Rogers, H. M., Brev. Maj. 6th foot, to Europe on half-pay.—C. Nov. 10.
- Reader, Mr. J. T., to be Collector of Sehrampore.—C. Nov. 9.

- Reid, Mr. A., app. Registrar of the Zillah Court at Chittagong.—C. Nov. 23.  
 Ricketts, Mr. H., Joint Magistrate and dep. Collector of Balasore.—C. Jan. 4.  
 Smith, John, Lieut.-Col., posted to 19th N. I.—C. O. 1. 30.  
 Stewart, Br. Capt. and Lieut. 4th Extra N. I. to be Capt. of a Comp.—C. Nov. 4.  
 Sutherland, J., Ens., 56th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Nelson dec.—C. Nov. 10  
 Swettenham, Lieut.-Col., rem. from 8th to 9th Light Cav.—C. Nov. 4.  
 Stuart, J. L., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 68th to 67th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.  
 Spence, J. K., Ens., posted to 28th N. I. at Barrackpore.—C. Nov. 9.  
 Scott, G., Corn., to do duty with 1st L. C. at Sultanpore (Benares)—C. Nov. 9.  
 Steele, C., Ens., to do duty with 40th N. I. at Dinapore.—C. Nov. 9.  
 Scott, J. C., Ens., to do duty with 20th N. I. at Barrackpore.—C. Nov. 9.  
 Sleight, Brig., to inspect whole of Cav. regts. at head-quarters.—C. Nov. 14.  
 Stone, Capt., H. M. 13th Lt. Drag., on furlough to Europe.—C. Nov. 6.  
 Snell, Lieut.-Col., H. M. 41st Foot, on furlough to Europe.—C. Nov. 6.  
 Shaw, Mr. J., Registrar of Dinapore, and joint Magistrate, stationed at  
 Maldah.—C. Nov. 9.  
 Swettenham, Mr. H., to be Collector of Kagehaupoor.—C. Nov. 9,  
 Shaw, Mr. T. A., app. Judge of the Zillah of Chittagong.—C. Jan. 4.  
 Turner, Lieut.-Col. Com. 1st L. C., on furlough.—B. Oct. 30.  
 Tod, Jas., Lieut.-Col., posted to 51st N. I.—C. Oct. 30.  
 Tytler, G. F., Ens. 16th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Wyatt prom.—C. Nov. 4.  
 Tickell, R., Capt. Eng., to perform duties as superior Eng. in Dep. Pub.  
 Works, South West Provinces.—C. Nov. 10.  
 Thomson, Lieut.-Col., rem. from 10th to 7th reg. Lt. Cav.—C. Nov. 4.  
 Tickell, R. S., Ens., posted to 4th Extra N. I., at Allahabad.—C. Nov. 9.  
 Thomson, H. M., Brev. Major 6th Foot, to Europe on half-pay.—C. Nov. 10.  
 Thomson, Mr. G. F., Assist. to Magistrates and to Collector of Bareilly.—  
 C. Nov. 9.  
 Tucker, Rev. J. J., app. Chaplain at station of Patna.—C. Nov. 3.  
 Trevelyan, Mr. C. E., app. Assist. to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue  
 in the Western Provinces.—C. Dec. 20.  
 Turquand, Mr. W. J., appointed Judge and Magistrate of Dacca Jelalpore.—  
 C. Jan. 4.  
 Vibart, Mr. T. G., app. Judge and Magistrate of Jampur.—C. Jan. 4.  
 Worsley, Lieut. 6th Extra regt., to officiate as Aid-de-camp to Major-General  
 Dick.—C. Oct. 28.  
 Weston, F. A., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 5th to 35th N. I.—C. Oct. 30.  
 Ward, J., Maj., to be Lieut.-Col. of Int., v. Nation prom.—C. Nov. 4.  
 Wyatt, E., Maj., to be Lieut.-Col. of Int., v. J. C. Grant, dec.—C. Nov. 4  
 Wood, W. H., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 38th to 68th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.  
 Wemyss, W. B., Corn., posted to 9th L. C. at Cawnpore.—C. Nov. 9.  
 Wallace, J., Ens., posted to 3d. N. I. at Lucknow.—C. Nov. 9.  
 Whitelocke, G. F., Ens., posted 13th N. I. at Assam.—C. Nov. 9.  
 Williams, G. W., Ens., posted to 40th N. I. at Dinapore.—C. Nov. 9.  
 Wheler, T. T., Ens., posted to 56th N. I. at Visseerabad.—C. Nov. 9.  
 Walker, A., Assist. Surg., to have med. charge of 1st troop 1st Horse brig  
 of Art.—C. Nov. 11.  
 Woodhouse, Assist. Surg., to do duty with H. M. 49th re. t.—C. Nov. 13  
 Watson, J. E., Capt. 59th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—C. Nov. 17.  
 Walters, Mr. H., app. Judge and Magistrate of the City of Dacca.—C. Jan. 4.

#### BIRTHS.

- Aiken, Mrs., J. R., of a daughter, at Kidderpore, Nov. 3.  
 Arrowsmith, Mrs., the wife of Mr. Arrowsmith, of the Comp. Marine, of a  
 daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 13.  
 Agabeg, Esq., the lady of Lazar, of a son, at Calcutta, Jan. 5.  
 Bushworth, the lady of Lieut. Edw., of 2d European Regt. of a daughter, on  
 the river near Patna. Nov. 16.

- Burton, the lady of Lieut. W. P., 27th Regt. N. I., of a daughter, at Tranquebar, Nov. 5.
- Brown, Mrs. T., of a son and heir, at Calcutta, Dec. 31.
- Cassidy, the wife of Sub. Ass. Surgeon P., of a son, at Bancoot, Nov. 4.
- Clark, the lady of Capt. W., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 25.
- Clay, Esq., the lady of C. H., of a daughter, at Madras, Nov. 9.
- Campbell, the lady of Lieut. Col. H. M., 46th Regt. of a son, at Cannamore, Nov. 10.
- Cameron, the wife of Mr. W. D., of the H. C. Bengal Marine, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Dec. 10.
- Currie, Esq., the lady of F., of the Civil Service, of a son, at Azimgurh, Dec. 9.
- Cooper, the lady of Lieut. Col. H. E. G., of a daughter, at Hansi, Dec. 13.
- Creton, the lady of Capt., of H. M. 16th Lancers, of a son, at Meerut, Dec. 19.
- Davidson, Mrs., wife of Mr. A., of the Adj.-Gen.-Office, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 25.
- Denman, Esq., the lady of W., of a son, at Calcutta, Dec. 3.
- Davis, the lady of Capt. C. E., Garrison Staff at Singapore, of a daughter, at Singapore, Nov. 2.
- Durham, Esq., the lady of W., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Dec. 18.
- Dubar, the lady of Mr. W., of a son, at Sealadah, Jan. 8.
- Esperance, Mrs. C., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 31.
- Elliot, Esq., the lady of G., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Rutnagung, Nov. 16.
- Fendall, the lady of Major, of a daughter, at Allahabad, Nov. 11.
- Fraser, the lady of Capt., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 27.
- Gouldsburg, Esq., the lady of F., of the Civil Service, of a daughter, at Bankipore, Patna, Nov. 2.
- Græme, Esq., Member of Council, the lady of the Hon. H. L., of a son, at Madras, Nov. 1.
- Godby, the lady of Capt. C., 20th Regt., N. I., of a son, at Sultanpore, Nov. 19.
- Gray, Mrs. Jessey, the lady of Mr. W. J. Gray, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Dec. 3.
- Griffiths, the lady of Lieut. C., of a son, at Bareilly, Dec. 17.
- Herklots, Esq., the lady of J. D., of a daughter, at Chinsurat, Nov. 7.
- Hudson, Esq. the lady of G. W., of a son, at Caxially, Nov. 15.
- Holland, the lady of Capt., Sub.-Assist. Com-Gen., of a son, at Bhooj, Oct. 12.
- Hawtayne, the lady of the venerable Archdeacon, of a son and heir, at Bombay, Nov. 12.
- Horn, Mrs. P. S., of a son, at Entally, Jan. 2.
- Kirby, the lady of Lieut., 4th regt. N. I., of a daughter, at Secunderabad, Nov. 6.
- Law, the wife of Mr. John, architect, of a son, at Madras, Dec. 15.
- Law, Capt. Art., the lady of, of a son, at Bombay, Oct. 28.
- Lennox, H. C., 43d regt., the lady of Lieut., of a daughter, at Barrackpore, Nov. 12.
- Mackillop, Esq., the lady of G., of a son, at Calcutta, Nov. 1.
- Mackenzie, Mrs. M., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 6.
- Macleane, Esq., the lady of A. C., of a son, at Moorshedabad, Nov. 14.
- Masse, the lady of the Rev. T. W., of a son, at Bangalore, Oct. 9.
- Macleane, the lady of Lieut. Y. C., of a daughter, at Fort William, Dec. 4.
- Ogilvy, Esq., the lady of George, of a son, at Cambala, Nov. 29.
- Oakes, the lady of Capt. E., of the ship Isabella Robertson, of a daughter, at Macao, Nov. 19.

- Pennitz, the wife of Mr. J., of a son and heir, at Calcutta, Jan. 3.  
 Pattle, Esq., the lady of J., of a daughter, at Chowringhee, Jan. 14.  
 Proctor, the lady of the Rev. T., of a son, at Calcutta, Oct. 31.  
 Pennington, Esq., the lady of W. F., of a daughter, at Cuttack, Nov. 1.  
 Probyn, the lady of Capt. G., of the Hon. Company's ship *Minerva*, of a son,  
 May 13.  
 Phillips, Mrs. A., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 27.  
 Prat, Mrs. Sarah, the wife of Mr. W. Prat, of the Bengal Marine, of a son,  
 at Calcutta, Dec. 15.  
 Patton, Esq., the lady of J., of a daughter, at Dacca, Dec. 4.  
 Robison, the lady of Capt. H., of a son, at Elichpoor, Dec. 4.  
 Rozario, the wife of Mr. Constantine De, of a son, at Madras, Dec. 16.  
 Stevers, the lady of the Rev. T. N., of a daughter, at Dinapore, Dec. 25.  
 Souza, Mrs. P. A. De, of a son and heir, at Mahim, Bombay, Dec. 5.  
 Sutherland, Mrs. P., of a daughter, at the Free School, Calcutta, Jan. 14.  
 Stewart, Mrs., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 25.  
 Showers, the lady of Major, 4th Extra N. I., of a daughter, at Jaunpore,  
 Oct. 17.  
 Templar, Esq., the lady of J. W., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Patna,  
 Oct. 26.  
 Thompson, Esq., the lady of T., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 9.  
 Thompson, Esq., the lady of G. F., of a son, at Calcutta, Nov. 2.  
 Tritton, the lady of Lieut. J., of his Majesty's 11th Dragoons, of a son, at  
 Calcutta, Nov. 20.  
 Winter, Esq., the lady of R., barrister, of a son, at Calcutta, Nov. 7.  
 Welchman, Esq., M. D., the lady of C. W., of a daughter, at Tumlook,  
 Nov. 12.  
 Wood, Esq., the lady of G., of a son, at Calcutta, Nov. 19.  
 Woollen, Esq., the lady of W., of the Hon. Company's Civil Service, of a  
 daughter, at Purneah, Dec. 8.

#### MARRIAGES.

- Apear, Gregory, Esq., of Bombay, to Catchkathon, seventh daughter of  
 Johannes Sarkies, Esq., at Calcutta, Jan 6.  
 Burgess, Mr. R., of Calcutta, to Miss Rozario, of the same place, at Fort  
 William, Jan. 9.  
 Barber, Mr. James, Offic.-Ass.-Surg., Hon. Company's Service, to Mary,  
 daughter-in-law of Capt. Hutchinson, his Majesty's 87th regt. of Foot, at  
 Calcutta, Nov. 6.  
 Campbell, Mr. T., to Maria, eldest daughter of H. J. Fiellerup, Esq., late of  
 the Danish Company's Service, at Calcutta, Oct. 30.  
 Cruz, Mr. Philip D', to Miss A. C. Gordon, at Calcutta, Nov. 20.  
 Douglass, Capt. J. W., Political Department, Malwah, to Fanny, fourth  
 daughter of the late W. N. W. Hewett, Esq., formerly of the Bengal Civil  
 Service, at Ghazee-pore, Nov. 21.  
 Donnel, Capt. Hugh O', Brig.-Major in Assam, to Miss Jane Finch, at Dina-  
 pore, Dec. 1.  
 Dempster, John, Esq., M. D., his Majesty's 38th Regt., to Agnes, fourth  
 daughter of the late A. Colquhoun, Esq., at Calcutta, Dec. 12.  
 Fell, Capt. T. R., Major of Brig. at Dacca, to Miss M. A. Faithfull, second  
 daughter of Lieut.-Col. Faithfull, Bengal Estab., at Almora, June 26.  
 Farquharson, Charles, Esq., R. N., Commander of the private ship *Victory*,  
 son of the late W. Farquharson, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, to  
 Louisa, fifth daughter of the late J. H. Cassamajor, Esq., formerly a  
 Member of Council at Fort St. George, at Calcutta, Jan. 9.  
 Gomes, Mr. A., to Miss Eugenia De Rozario, at Calcutta. Nov. 24.



- Grindall, Mr. J., to Miss G. H. Swift, fourth daughter of the late Mr. Swift, a Merchant in the Upper Provinces, at Calcutta. Nov. 17.
- Hoff, Mr. J. C., to Miss M. E. Rodrigues, at Calcutta. Jan. 3.
- Hornett, Esq. G., to Miss Delia Turnbull, at Calcutta. Jan. 12.
- Jackson, Esq., M. D., Alex. Russell, Assist.-Marine-Surg., to Margaret, second daughter of C. Patterson, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, at Calcutta. Nov. 3.
- Lindesay, Esq. A. K., Assist.-Surg., 4th Extra Regt., to Miss Mary Kier, at Calcutta. Jan. 10.
- Moore, Capt. G., 50th Regt., to Miss T. Cattill, at Calcutta. Nov. 4.
- Macnaghten, E. C., eldest son of Sir F. W. Macnaghten, to Mary Anne, only daughter of E. Gwatkin, Esq., at St. James's. May 17, 1827.
- Morison, Capt. J., 2nd Regt., Madras Cavalry, to Maria Macdonald, eldest daughter of J. Elphinstone, Esq., late Member of Council at Calcutta, at Bombay. Nov. 15.
- Nash, Lieut. J. D., 33rd N. I., to Miss Ellen Umstor, at Calcutta. Dec. 5.
- Rodrigues, Mr. A., of the Gen.-Post-Office, to Mrs. Mary Anne Caspars. at Calcutta. Nov. 3.
- Ray, the Rev. E., to Miss Sarah Piffard, at Calcutta. Nov. 17.
- Randolph, Mr. H., to Miss Jessy Kiniard, daughter of Capt. P. Kiniard, at Chittagong. Nov. 27.
- Santos, Mr. J. D., to Miss Maria Miranda, at Calcutta. Nov. 6.
- Steer, Esq. W. H., to Miss Susanna E. Carder, at Noacolly. Nov. 1.
- Slaues, Mr. J. D'Monte, to Miss A. E. P. Jones, at Calcutta. Nov. 27.
- Smith, Mr. S., youngest son of the late Capt. M. F. Smith, of Islamabad, to Ann, only daughter of the late G. Clavering, Esq., at Calcutta. Nov. 28.
- Souza, Mr. D. De, to Mrs. H. Charles, of Peoree, at Calcutta. Nov. 27.
- Thorpe, Esq. G., to Miss Mary Richards Renissy, at Calcutta. Nov. 11.
- Terraman, J. A. Cossard De, to Matilda Maria, only daughter of E. Delpeiron, Esq., of Chandernagore, at Bignore. Nov. 15.
- Weston, Capt. J., N. I., Dep.-Judge-Adv.-Gen., Saugor Division, to Margaret, daughter of the late Rev. P. Nicolson, of Thurso, Caithness, at Jubulpore. Nov. 22.
- Warden, Mr. C., H. C. Marine, to Mrs. Carol, relict of the late Lieut. J. G. Carol, of his Majesty's 56th Regt., at Calcutta. Nov. 6.
- Warden, Esq. J., of the Civil Service, to Ellen Maria, eldest daughter of Maj.-Gen., Sir L. Smith, K. C. B., at Bombay. Dec. 14.
- Wynch, Paul Marriott, Esq., Hon. Company's Civil Service, to Sophia Martha Maling, daughter of Major Maling, at Calcutta, Dec. 30.

**DEATHS.**

- Allen, Miss Eliza, at Calcutta. Nov. 25.
- Abel, Clarke, Esq. M. D., Surgeon to the Gov.-Gen., at Cawnpore. Nov. 24.
- Bateman, Mr. J., at the Serampore Seminary. Nov. 16.
- Baxter, Master C., son of Mr. W. Baxter, of Hon.-Comp.-Marine. Nov. 29.
- Brown, Mr. John, Sub.-Conduct. of Ordnance, at Ballasore, Nov. 15.
- Cruz, Mr. Philip, S. D., of the Calcutta Baptist Mission Press, at Calcutta, Nov. 2.
- Cowslade, T. C., Capt., 43d N. I. on the river near Cawnpore, Nov. 9.
- Dale, Thomas, Lieut., 41st N. I., at Kamptee, near Nagpore, Dec. 16.
- Decluzeau, W., Capt., 6th N. I. at Kurnaul, Nov. 21.
- Drigberg, Charles, Capt., and Gertrude Elizabeth, his wife, on the same day at Hambantotte, Nov. 8.
- Exshaw, Mrs. Eliza, widow of the late Capt. Exshaw, at Calcutta, Dec. 2.
- Fairlie, Mr. Bartholomew, aged 75, at Calcutta, Jan. 2.
- Egan, Richard, only son of Col. of Bombay, at his uncle's residence in Baker Street. May. 23.

Gibson, Mr. George Thomas, at Calcutta, Dec. 5.  
 Hunter, Mrs., wife of John Hunter, Esq., Civil Service, at Ghazee-pore, Nov. 6.  
 Hodges, Joseph, Capt. of the Country Service, at Calcutta, Jan. 18.  
 Leighton, Mr. N. G., at Calcutta, Nov. 27.  
 Leys, John, Lieut.-Col., Com. 29th N. I. at Fattyghur, Dec. 19.  
 Mouat, Frederick, Capt., formerly Comm. of the Morning Star, at Calcutta, Nov. 2.  
 Meller, Mr. C., at Calcutta, Nov. 20.  
 Muffin, Clarinda, wife of Mr. John, at Calcutta, Nov. 22.  
 Myers, Mr. John, at Calcutta, Jan. 1.  
 Morison, A., Esq., of the Bengal Service, in the 69th year of his age, at his house at Gunnersbury-park, Ealing, May 22.  
 Napier, Mrs. Anna, wife of David Skene Napier, Esq., at Singapore, Nov. 3.  
 Nicholson, H., Maj., 15th N. I. at Chowringhee, Dec. 20.  
 Pereira, Mrs. Leonora, widow of the late Diago Percira, Esq., at Calcutta, Nov. 27.  
 Paterson, J. A., Esq., M. D., Assist.-Surg. Hon. Comp. Serv., at Calcutta, Jan. 10.  
 Rotton, Harriet, the wife of Lieut. J. S. of Art. at Cawnpore, Nov. 18.  
 Ritchey, Mr. John, of the Pension Estab., aged 110 years, at Calcutta, Dec. 2.  
 Rice, Jane Harriet, lady of A. D., Esq., at Calcutta, Jan. 4.  
 Ramsey, Ens., 2d Europ. reg. at Bhoj, Dec. 10.  
 Stevenson, Robert Charles, Capt., of his Majesty's 59th regt. at Calcutta Dec. 4.  
 Steven, Francis, at Calcutta, Dec. 7.  
 Simonie, Mademoiselle Eliz., at Chandernagore, Dec. 27.  
 Taylor, Whitney, Esq., Medical Storekeeper, at Cawnpore, Oct. 28.  
 Turkington, Mr. J. H., Off.-Assist.-Surg. at Calcutta, Dec. 7.  
 Thomas, W., Lieut.-Col., Com. 10th N. I. at Neemuteli, Nov. 20.  
 Ure, Mr. Robert, Free Merchant, son of John Ure, Esq., Comptroller of Government Customs, Leith, at Calcutta, Nov. 2.  
 Victory, Mr. Simplicio, at the Presidency, Nov. 21.  
 Williams, Mrs. Elizabeth, late Pensioner in the Hon. Comp. Marine Pension Estab. at Calcutta, Oct. 30th.  
 Woodhouse, the lady of Lieut.-Col., Com. 20th N. I. at Quilon, Nov. 5.

## SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

## ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date
1827.					1826.
May 1	Off Portano.	Carn Brea Cast.	Davey	Bengal	Dec. 26
May 3	Isle of Wight	Hope	Flint	Calcutta	Dec. 1
May 3	Off Plymouth	Ganges	Boullber	Calcutta	Dec. 4
May 3	Cowes	The Corsair.	Petrie	Manilla	Dec. 15
May 3	Lymington	Belle Alliance	Hunter	Bengal	Nov. 4
May 4	Isle of Wight	Euphrates	Scott	Calcutta	Oct. 9
					1827.
May 4	Off Brighton	Wm. Fairlie.	Blair	China	Jan. 1
May 5	Off Hastings	Britannia	Ferries	Mauritius	Jan. 18
May 5	Off the Lizard	Sam. Brown	Reid	Mauritius	Jan. 22
May 7	Downs	Hussaren	Gibson	Cape	Feb. 26

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date. 1826.
May 7	Cowes ..	Eliza ..	— ..	Batavia ..	Dec. 15
May 10	Off Dartmou.	George IV. ..	Barrows ..	China ..	Dec. 28
May 10	Off Weymou.	Maria ..	Hornblower	Bengal ..	Dec. 14
May 10	Off Weymou.	Exmouth ..	Owen ..	Singapore..	Dec. 24 1827.
May 10	Off Plymouth	Vasca de Gama	—	Mauritius ..	Feb. 1
May 11	Off Portsno.	Moffatt ..	Brown ..	China ..	Jan. 9
May 12	Off Liverpool	John Heyes	Worthington	Bengal ..	Jan. 16
May 12	Off Penzance	Ellen ..	Camper ..	Mauritius ..	Jan. 28
May 12	Off Weymou.	Bengal ..	Gale ..	Penang ..	Jan. 15 1826.
May 10	Off Kingsbr.	Runnymede	Kemp ..	Bombay ..	Nov. 6 1827.
May 16	At Liverpool	John Taylor	Pearce ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 18
May 16	Off Liverpool	Ganges ..	Milford ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 16 1826.
May 17	Off Weymou.	Malcolm ..	Eyles ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 17 1827.
May 21	Off Sandgate	Orwell ..	Fairer ..	China ..	Jan. 17
May 22	Off Portland	London ..	Southeby	China ..	Jan. 24
May 22	Off Portsno.	Prince Regent	Hosmer ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 27
May 22	At Cowes ..	Milo ..	Winslow ..	China ..	Jan. 27
May 22	Isle of Wight	Florentia ..	Aldham ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 16
May 22	Isle of Wight	Fairlie ..	Short ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 5 1826.
May 22	Off the Lizard	A. Robertson	Irving ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 24
May 23	Off Portsno.	Aurora ..	Earl ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 18 1827.
May 23	Off Portsno.	Claudine ..	Christie ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 5
May 23	Off Portsno.	Mary ..	Nicholas ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 22 1826.
May 23	Isle of Wight	Wm. Money	Jackson ..	Calcutta ..	Dec. 24 1827.
May 25	Off Weymou.	Prin. Amelia	Holloway	China ..	Feb. 4
May 25	At Cowes ..	Elizabeth ..	Cock ..	Mauritius ..	Feb. 7 1826.
May 25	Downs ..	Valleyfield..	Johnson ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 19
May 25	Off Shoreham	Britannia ..	Lamb ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 13
May 26	Downs ..	Hibernia ..	Gillies ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 20 1827.
May 26	Liverpool ..	Calcutta ..	Stroyan ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 12
May 26	Cowes ..	Union ..	Badge ..	Batavia ..	Jan. 1
May 28	Hull ..	Emma ..	North ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 10
May 28	Gravesend ..	Susannah ..	Clappison	Mauritius ..	Feb. 10

## ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1826.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Dec. 10	Batavia ..	Margaretha ..	Phillips ..	London
1827.				
Jan. 1	Bengal ..	Victory ..	Farquharson ..	London
Jan. 9	Calcutta ..	Bride ..	Brown ..	London
Jan. 14	Calcutta ..	Columbia ..	Kirkwood ..	Liverpool
Jan. 20	Calcutta ..	Fort William	Nash ..	London
Jan. 23	Calcutta ..	Royal George	Reynolds ..	London
Jan. 24	Calcutta ..	Mary Ann ..	O'Brien ..	London
Jan. 25	Batavia ..	William ..	Thomson ..	Liverpool
Feb. 3	China ..	Isabella ..	Leeds ..	Liverpool
Mar. 8	Cape ..	Narcissus ..	Watson ..	London
Mar. 9	Cape ..	Loretto ..	Thomson ..	Liverpool
Mar. 10	Cape ..	Patience ..	Hind ..	London
Mar. 19	Cape ..	Herefordshire	Whiteman	London

## DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1827.				
April 28	Deal	.. Eliza	.. Dixon	.. Bengal
May 7	Deal	.. Vebilia	.. Stephenson	.. Cape & Bombay
May 7	Deal	.. Morning Star	.. Gibbs	.. Maurit. & Beng.
May 7	Deal	.. Kingston	.. Bowen	.. Mad. & Bengal
May 9	Deal	.. Lady Macnaghten	Faith	.. Mad. & Bengal.
May 9	Deal	.. Mountaineer	.. Conney	.. Bombay
May 14	Deal	.. Grecian	.. Allen	.. Mad. & Bengal
May 16	Deal	.. William Parker	.. Brown	.. Cape
May 19	Deal	.. Valiant	.. Bragg	.. Mauritius
May 21	Deal	.. Katherine St. Forbes	Chapman	.. Bombay (Mad.)
May 24	Deal	.. Eliza	.. Sutton	.. Mad. & Bengal
May 24	Deal	.. Security	.. Ross	.. Cape, & Mad.

## GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

## PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *Palmyra*, from Bengal:—Mesdames Paton and Rowe; Col. Durant; Capts. Paton and Pimler; Lieuts. M'Murdo, Weare, Percival, and M'Lean.

By the *William Money*, from Bengal:—Capts. Howard, and Smith; Lieuts. Scott, Fordyce, Thomas, and Herbert; Drs. Stoddart, and Adams; Mr. and Mrs. Fraser; Mr. and Mrs. Brown; Messrs. Curtis, Jones, and Tulin; Mesdames Nation, Jones, Howard, and Dickson.

By the *Aurora*, from Bengal:—Capts. Baker, Stockwell, and Campbell.

By the *Malcolm*, from India:—Lieut. Col. Comm. W. Innes, C.B. his Lady and Daughter; Lieut. Col. Sergeant, 13th N. I.; Misses Renton, and Gilbert.

By the *Hope*, Flint, from India:—Cols. Deacon, C.B. and Glover; Capts. Gordon, Melsom, Ruddimann, and Street; Lieuts. Hewson, BevrIDGE, St. John, Shiel, and Milnes; Rev. T. J. Williamson, died on the passage; Mesdames Col. Elderton, and Cock; Misses Tennant, Oliver, G. Elderton, Melsom, and Blundell.

By the *La Belle Alliance*, from Bengal:—Col. Robertson and Lady; Lieut. Col. Agnew and Lady; Capts. Newport, and Lyons and Lady; D. Ramsay, Esq. Assist.-surg.; Mrs. Timbrell; Mrs. Hunter.

By the *William Fairlie*, Blair, from China:—Col. Agnew, C.R. and Lady; Dr. Livingston, and Lady and Daughter; D. S. Napier, Esq.; Lieut. Cols. Durant, Walker, and Hardy; Capts. Paton (died at Sea) and Pindar, Lieuts. M'Murdoch, and Covey; Messrs. Ritchie, Percival, and M'Lean; Mesdames Paton, Rowe, Marshall and Walker; Misses Rowe, Esther, Burton, Ellery, Walker, and Jelbert.

By the *Timandra*, from Bengal.—Capt. A. Grant, 52d N.I.

By the *Marchioness of Ely*, Mangles, from Bengal; Capt. Tomlinson, Lieuts. Neil, and Low; the Hon. T. Howard; Mesdames Ahnuty, Sandys, M'Farlan, and Fulsher; the Hon. Mrs. Lindsay; Mesdames Sands, and Stevenson; Misses M'Kenzie, Shakespear, Nisbet, Lindsays, Clarkson, Stevenson.

By the *Maira*, Hornblower, from India:—Lieut. Col. Smelt; Maj. Degraives; Capts. Gordon, Leslie, and Claridge; Lieuts. Doveton, and Bell; W. Dent, Esq.; J. L. Grant, Esq.; Mesdames Pakenham, Russel, Macquhue, Macqueen, Gordon, and Claridge; Misses Dent, Macquhues, Smelt, Smith, French, Haigh, Wilson, Ashton, and Spicer.

By the *Earl of Balcarra*, from China:—Lieut. Col. M'Innes, Bengal Civil Service.

By the *Castle Huntley*, from China:—Wm. Thurston, Esq.; Mr. May, and wife and daughter; Miss Solomon.

By the *Marquis of Camden*, from China:—Captain Mee and Mr. Stephen Whittiker.

By the *Royal George*, from Bombay:—Colonel Pierce; Majors Pedlar and Hobroisa; Capt. Nepean; Lieuts. Ramsbotham and O'Brien; Drs. Ogilby, Kennedy, and Webb; Mrs. Baker and Mrs. Seely; Misses Greeves and Roman, Master Romar; Lieut. Bolivar died at sea.

By the *Ganges*, from Bengal:—Lieuts. Forster, Macdonald, and Bushby; T. Stephenson, Esq.; Mr. Alexander and Mrs. Lovelace.

By the *Prince Regent*, from Bengal:—Lieut.-Colonels R. Hetzler and M. W. Browne; Captains Hall, Burney, and Charter; Lieut. Peacock; Mesdames Col. Gall, Swinton, Burney, Charter, Howard, Evans; Misses Swinton, Nicholson, Howard, Evans; Masters Allan, Gall, Ainslie, Forde, Hogg, Steward, Halhed, and Evans; Major-General the Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon.

By the *Fairlie*, Short, from Bengal:—Colonels Garnham, Heathcott, and Griffiths; Majors Rodban and Webb; Capt. Goat; Lieuts. Lihatch; Dr. Playfair; Mesdames Grantham, Short, and Goat; Misses Silk, Short, Griffiths, and Playfair.

By the *Aurora*, from Bengal:—Captains Baker, Stockwell, Western, and White; Dr. W. Glass; Messrs. Campbell, Mills, M'Gowan, Forbes, Anderson (and wife); Misses Bruce, Duncan, and Young.

By the *Florentia*, from Bengal:—Col. Blackney; Major Costley; Captain Horsburgh; Lieuts. Johnson and Symes; Mr. Oldham; Mesdames Costloy, Patty, Cox, King, and Bradley; Miss Bradley.

By the *Carn Brea Castle*, from Bengal:—Mrs. Heber, widow of the late Bishop of Calcutta; Mesdames Worrall, Mackenzie, and Petrie; Misses L. F. and A. M. Buller, (daughters of Sir A. Buller), Heber, Mackenzie, Clark, Paton, Catharine Worrall (died at sea); Hon. Sir A. Buller, Judge Supreme Court, Calcutta; Col. Comyn, 24th Regt. N. I.; Col. Byers, 20th Regt. N. I.; Capt. Roberdean, 4th regt. N. Cav.; Lieut. Pead, 4th regt. N. Cav.; E. P. Smith, Esq., C. S.; Wm. Petrie, Esq.; Wm. L. Grave, Esq.

By the *Anna Robertson*, from Bengal:—Mrs. Oakes; Misses Drummonds, Macleod, and Alders; Rev. Dr. Young; Majors Craigie and Alder; Captains Humphries, Ferries, and Deane; Lieut. H. Drummond; T. M. Smith, Esq.; Masters Drummonds, Oakes, and Alder.

By the *Minerva*, to India:—Mesdames Boileau, Roy, and Inglis; Misses E. Macleod, P. Macleod, C. Dalrymple, F. A. Dampier, E. Smith, V. Campbell, M. Sterling, Charlotte Sterling, C. Becher, L. Becher, H. J. Becher, M. Martin, and C. Anderson; C. Clarke, Esq., C. S.; Capt. A. Inglis, Lieut. A. R. Taylor, and J. C. Tudor, of the H. C. Service; Cornet French, H. M. 11th Lt. Dragoons; H. C. Ludlow, Esq., Assist. Surg.; Mr. J. R. Starko; Messrs. R. Younghusband, H. Maughan, W. B. Littlehales, A. E. Moore, W. Drew, J. Godfrey, A. Kennedy, K. J. White, M. J. White, D. T. Pollock, C. Rattray, and P. P. V. de Bruyn, cadets; Mr. W. Moran, free merchant; Mr. F. Rice, ditto; Mr. W. Fowler, free mariner, and Mr. J. Lauder, ditto.

#### NOTICE.

*The Article on Appeals from India is deferred till our next, under an expectation of obtaining various details that will greatly elucidate the question. Several other articles are also unavoidably postponed, but many of them at least will appear in the Number for July. It will be seen that our present Number is already sixty-two pages over the stipulated quantity, which is 600 pages for each Volume.*

# INDEX

## TO THE THIRTEENTH VOLUME.

### A

- Anthem Eurasian*, 17.  
*Africa*, Present state and future prospects of the Settlement at Port Elizabeth, in South, 67.  
*Agrippina* with the Ashes of Germanicus, The landing of, 166.  
*Admission* of Natives in India to sit on Juries, 123.  
*Appointments*, Promotions and Changes in India, Civil and Military, 204, 406, 648.  
*Appeals* from India, Lord Lansdown's Motion on, 219.  
*Abassah*, An Arabian Tale, Notice of, 239.  
*Arabian Nights'* Entertainments, Notice of, New, 287.  
*Affairs* of Messrs. William Palmer & Co., of Hyderabad, 333.  
*Arabian Tale*, Review of, Kamrath, An, 569.  
*Admission* of the Natives of India to sit on Juries, 508.

### B

- Burning* of Hindoo and European Women, 37.  
*Britannia*, Shipwreck of the, 108.  
*Bryce*, Dr. and the Indian 'John Bull,' 118.  
*Bombay Marine*, Debate at the East India House on the, 140.  
*Barrackpore*, Debate in the House of Commons on the Mutiny at, 177.  
*Braminical Work* on Religion, by a French Jesuit, Forgery of a, 235.  
*Bombay Marine*, Improvement of the, 338.  
*Burd's Reply*, The, 497.  
*Bombay*, On the Judges and Grand Jury at, 527.  
*Brazen Steeds* of St. Mark's, at Venice, 549.

### C

- Caffer Frontier*, No. III. 9.  
*Caffer Commando*, The, 39.  
*Cadets* for the Indian Army, On the Education of, 71.  
*Cape* of Good Hope, State of the, in 1825, By a Colonist, 97, 351.  
*The Hottentots*, 553. *Missionary Institutions*, 555.  
*Camera Obscura*, Early notice of the, 102.  
*Committee* in the House of Commons on Mr. Buckingham's Case; Opinions in India on the, 121.  
*Courts Martial* at Madras in May 1826, on Major J. H. Paterson, of H. M. 13th Light Dragoons; Lieutenant George Berwick; and Lieutenant-Colonel Boyse, of the same Regiment, 200.  
*Civil and Military Appointments*, Promotions, and Changes, in India, 204, 406, 648.  
*Criticism*, On Party, 211.  
*Continental Traveller*, Letters from a, 225.  
*'Cape Colonist'*, to Lord Bathurst, Letter from the, 331.  
*Critical Notices* from the Periodical Press of 'Travels in Mesopotamia,'  
*Comparative Morality* of the Laws of Communities, and those of Nations, 431.  
*Conquest* of Peru and Mexico by the Mongols, On the, 523.  
*Changes* in the Indian Army, Injurious, 536.  
*Comparison* of India with America. Taxation without Representation, 614.  
*Correspondence* between Mr. Monte D'Rozario, Proprietor of the 'Bengal Chronicle,' and George Swinton, Esq., acting Chief Secretary to the Government at Bengal, 587.

## D

*Dream, The*—A Fragment, 74.

*Debate at the East India House, on the Bombay Marine*, 146. *Patronage of the Court of Directors*, 163. *On the Press in India*, 164. *Relations of the English Government with Persia and Russia*, 176. *At the House of Commons on the Mutiny at Barrackpore*, 177.

*Debate at the India House, on the Burning of Hindoo Widows*, 390. *Vote of Thanks to Mr. Marjoribanks*, 395. *Vote of Thanks to Mr. Bosanquet*, 399. *Patronage of the Directors*, 400. *Attendance of the Directors*, 402. *Sale of Writerships, Cadetships, &c., India Debt*, 405.

*Debates in Parliament, on the Vote of Thanks to the Indian Army and Navy*, 621—624. *On the Trade with India*, 627.

*Dependence of Sheriffs on the pleasure of the Government at Bombay*, 329.

*Debates, System of Reporting*, 366.

*Dante, Review of Rosetti's New Interpretation of the Mysteries of*, 517.

*Debts of the Civil Servants in India, Abortive Scheme for paying off the*, 608.

## E

*Eurasian Anthem*, 17.

*Excursions on the Banks of the Nile*. No. II. *Visit to Boulak, the Port of Cairo*, 41. *Turkish Camp*, 43. *Processions of Marriage and Circumcision*, 44. *Citadel of Cairo*, 45. *Voyage to the Pyramids*, 47.—No. III. *Voyage from Cairo, to Gizah*, 253. *Ascent to the Summit, and examination of the Interior of the Great Pyramid*, 254. *Description of the Colossal Sphinx*, 259. *Return from the Pyramids to Cairo*, 260.—No. IV. *Baths of the East*, 461. *Isle of Rhoda*—*The Nilometer*, 462. *Relic of St. George—Cairo—Turkish Funeral*, 464. *Tombs of the Caliphs*, 465. *Caravan for Medina*, 466.

*Education of Cadets for the Indian Army, On the*, 71.

*Early Notice of the Camera Obscura, in a Letter to Lord Bacon*, 102.

*Eastern World*, Summary of the latest Intelligence connected with the—*Bengal*—*Lord Amherst and the Indian Press*, 112, 113. *Doctor Bryce and the Indian 'John Bull'*, 118. *Opinions in India on the late Committee of the House of Commons*, 120. *Progress of the Governor-General in his Tour*, 122. *Admission of Natives to sit on Juries in India*, 123. *Estimation of Dr. Gilchrist's Merits*, 126. *Economy in High Places*, 127. *Miscellaneous News*, 128. *Bombay*, 129. *Decaying state of Salsette*, 130. *Necessity of Commissioners being sent to India*, 130. *Illness of the Mahratta Chieftain, Scindia*, 131. *Singapore, ib.* *Java*, 135. *New Governor-General and new Directors*, 130. *The House List*, 137. *Debates on Indian Affairs, ib.* *Burning of Widows*, 140.—*Accounts from Rangoon*, 347. *Treaty of Commerce and Friendship between the British and the Siamese*, 349. *Register of Occurrences at Madras, from March to September 1826*, 352. *Destruction of Human Beings, by Tigers, in the Nizam's Dominions*, 355. *Strictures on the Indian Newspapers, with a Specimen of their Style and Contents*, 357. *Accounts from the Eastern Seas*, 360. *New Governor-General of India, New East India Directors*, 363. *New Bishops for India, and new Candidates for the Direction*, 365. *System of Reporting Debates*, 366.—*Postscript: General News*, 610.

*Elementary Oriental Tuition*, 343.

*Eve of Salamis, the*, 433.

*Eastern Manners, Illustrations of*, 559.

## F

*Frontier, The Caffè*—No. III. 9.

*Furenell* (from a Manuscript of the late Bishop Heber), 103.

*Forging of a Brahminical Work on Religion, by a French Jesuit*, 225.

*Fates of Palmyra, The*—Part I. 485.

## G

*Grindlay's, Captain, Indian Scenery. Part III. Notice of*, 104, 543.

*Güchrisl's, Dr., Speech, Notes on*, 141.

*'Go, Fancy, tread the Shore,' Stanzas*, 234.

# TO THE THIRTEENTH VOLUME.

*Governor Elphinstone*, the late Governor Adam, and the Indian 'John Bull,' 307.  
*Greece*, in the Spring of 1827, communicated by Mons. de Sismondi, 433.  
*Gilekrist*, Dr., from one of his Pupils in India, Letter to, 548.  
*Greig's*, Mr., Newspaper at the Cape of Good Hope, Suppression of, 594.

## H

*Homer*, On the Personal Existence of, 1.  
*Hindoo* and European Women, Burning of, 37.  
*Heroes Served*, from 'Popular Servian Poetry,' 238.  
*Historical Sketch* of the Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, No. XII., 294.  
*Historical Sketch* of the Trade with India before the Age of Mohammed. From the German of Johann Gottfried Eichorn, 437.

## I

*India*, Want of Officers in the Company's Army, and State of the King's Regiments in, 40.  
*India*, Reasons for Reducing the Military Force in, 65.  
*Indian Scenery*, Part III. Notice of Captain Grindlay's, 104, 543.  
*Intelligence* connected with the Eastern World; Summary of, 112. (See Eastern World.)  
*Indian* 'John Bull,' Dr. Bryce and the, 118.  
*Indian Day*, the, Sonnets, by H. M. Parker, Esq., 217.  
*India*, Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the British Power in, No. XII. 294. Journey of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, to the Upper Provinces, in the summer of 1781. Proceedings against the Rajah of Benares, 295. Conduct of Hastings on this occasion condemned by the Court of Directors. Treaties with Mahdajee Scindia, and the Mahratta Government of Poonah, 297. Arrangement with the Nuwau of Oude, 298. Oppressive and cruel Conduct towards the Begums—Mother and Grandmother of the Nuwau, 299. Various despotic Acts of the Governor-General, 301.  
*Illustrations* of Sacred History, 305.  
*Improvement* of the Bombay Marine, 338.  
*Indian Army*, injurious Changes in the, 536.  
*Indian Stamp Act*, proposed, 615.  
*Illustrations* of Eastern Manners, 539.  
*India*, the Press in, threatened Suppression of the 'Bengal Chronicle,' 584.  
*India House*, alleged Sale of Patronage at the, 592.

## J

*Judges* and Grand Jury at Bombay, on the, 527.  
*Juries*, Admission of the Natives of India to sit on, 598. Report of the Public Meeting at Madras, 601. Abstract of the Regulations made by the Supreme Court under Mr. Wynn's New Jury Act, 607.

## K

*Knox's Spirit of Despotism*—Origin of Nobility, 341.  
*Karmath*, an Arabian Tale, Review of, 557.

## L

*Licensing System*, on the. No. I. Public Houses, 19.—No. II. Theatres, Plays, and Public Gardens, 253.  
*Laws* of Quarantine, fundamental Errors and pernicious Consequences of the, No. II. 51.—No. III. 309.—No. IV. 437.  
*Lines*, occasioned by reading 'The Bride of Abydos,' 66.  
*Landing* of Agrippina with the Ashes of Germanicus, 105.  
*Lord Lansdown's Motion* on Appeals from India, 219.  
*Letters* from a Continental Traveller. Venice, 225. The Carnival. The 'Crocianto' of Meyerbeer, 227. Customs observed in Italy on the production of a new Opera, 229. Rossini's 'Semiramide.' Popular Italian Composers, 231. Florence. Bologna, 232—233. Milan, 532. Paris, 535.



*Lines*, occasioned by reading 'The Giaour,' 246.

*Letter* from Athens, addressed to a Friend in England, 271.

*Law of Libel* in England and in India, No. XI. 261. Trial of Henry Redhead, alias Henry York, for a conspiracy at York, July 23, 1795. Prosecution of Thomas Williams by the Society for the suppression of Vice, for publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason,' 261. Trial of Peter Finnerty, Editor of 'The Press' Newspaper, in 1797, for a seditious Libel, 263. Trial of John Vint, George Ross, and John Parry, Printer, Publisher and Proprietor of the 'Courier' Newspaper, in 1799, for a Libel on Paul, Emperor of Russia, 264. Prosecution and conviction of Mr. Johnson, Mr. Jordan and Mr. Cuthell, for publishing the Rev. Gilbert Wakefield's 'Reply to the Bishop of Llandaff's Address to the Nation,' 266. Extracts from Mr. Wakefield's Defence, 267.—No. XII. Trial of Jean Peltier, Editor of the 'Ambigu' Newspaper, in the Year 1803, for a Libel on Napoleon Buonaparte, 469. Trial of William Cobbett in 1804, for Libels on the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Redesdale, Mr. Justice Osborne, Mr. Plunkett, and Mr. Marsden, contained in Letters, signed 'Juverna,' and written by the Hon. Robert Johnson, 493.

*Letter* from the 'Cape Colonist' to Earl Bathurst, No. III. 331.

*Laws* of Communities and those of Nations, Comparative Morality of the, 451.

*Letter* to Dr. Gilchrist from one of his Pupils in India, 548.

*Letter* of a retired Surgeon—Medical Service in India, 576.

## M

*Missionary*. The Good—Sonnet, 48.

*Military Force* in India, Reasons for reducing the, 65.

*Mutiny* at Barrackpore, Debate in the House of Commons on the, 177.

*Moreau's Work* on the Royal and Commercial Navy of England, 247.

Increase of the Navigation between Great Britain and Asia, from 1820 to 1825.—Statement showing the extraordinary progress of the British Royal Navy from 1652 to 1827, 248. Comparative Statement of the total number of the British Forces in the East Indies, from the Year 1794 to 1813.—Statement showing the distribution of the Naval Force in the East Indies, in February 1827, 249. Navigation between Great Britain and Asia from 1787 to 1826, List of the Ships of War built at Bombay, 250.

*Mohammedan Song*, from 'Servian Popular Poetry,' 306.

*Mariner's Grave*, the, 459.

*Mysteries* of Dante, Review of Rosetti's New Interpretation of the, 517.

*Mexico* and Peru, by the Monguls, on the Conquest of, 523.

*Medical Service* of India, 576.

*Memorial* of the East India Association, to the Right Honourable the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council for the Affairs of Trade, 617.

## N

*Nobility* of the Skin, on the. Chap. I. On Prejudices in General. Origin of that which concerns the Colour of Africans and their Descendants, 29. Chap. II. Effects resulting from the Prejudice in favour of the Nobility of the Skin, 34. Chap. III. Observations upon those Countries and Classes of Persons among whom the Prejudice of the Nobility of the Skin is most rooted, 327. Chap. IV. The Prejudice concerning the pre-eminence of the White Colour in opposition to Reason and Religion, 511.

*Nile*. Excursions on the Banks of the, (No. II.) 41. (No. III.) 253. (No. IV.) 461.

*Notes* on Dr. Gilchrist's Speech, 141.

*Natives* of India to sit on Juries, admission of, 123, 598.

*New Arabian Nights'* Entertainments, Notice of, 287.

*New Publications*, Notices of, 369. 'Bibliotheca Sussexiana.' 'The Draught of Immortality,' and other Poems, by Henry Meredith Parker, Esq. Mr. Thomson's Work on 'Southern Africa.' 'Popular Servian Poetry.' 'Adventures of Naufragus.' 'Journey from India to England.' 'Antiquities

of Dacca.' 'Deliciæ Sylvarum.' 'Travels in Mesopotamia,' with some Criticisms on the Work from the Periodical Press, 372.

## O

*Opinions* in India on the late Committee in the House of Commons on Mr. Buckingham's Case, 121.

*Origin of Nobility*—Knox's 'Spirit of Despotism,' 341.

*Oriental Tuition*, Elementary, 343.

## P

*Poetry*—Eurasian Anthem, 17. The Vision of Fancy, 28. The Caffer Commando, 39. Sonnet—The Good Missionary, 48. Fire-Flies *versus* Stars, 54. Lines, occasioned by reading the 'Bride of Abydos,' 66. The Dream—A Fragment, 74. Stanzas—'Ah, why that Cold Averted Eye,' 96. Farewell, (from a manuscript of the late Bishop Heber,) 103. The Landing of Agrippina with the Ashes of Germanicus, 165. The Indian Day, Sonnets, by H. M. Parker, Esq., 217. Unfading Beauty, 222. 'Go, Fancy, tread the Shore,' 234. Heroes Served, from 'Popular Servian Poetry,' 235. Lines, occasioned by reading 'The Giaour,' 246. The Rhine, written at Nonnenwerth, by H. M. Parker, 152. To a Nameless Brook, 270. Poetic Epistle from Athens, addressed to a Friend in England, 271. On the Ruins of Babylon, by H. M. Parker, 265. Sonnet, on visiting the Moravian Settlement at Enon, South Africa, 293. Song—The Lady-Well Tree, 304. Mohammedan Song; from Servian Popular Poetry, 306. Spring—a Sonnet, 308. The Ring, from Servian Popular Poetry, 344. —The Eve of Salamis, 433. The Mariner's Grave, 452. The Fates of Palmyra, Part I. 485. The Bard's Reply, 498. Sonnet—To a Daughter on the completion of her Fourteenth Year, 516. To my own Verses, 522. Stanzas written on board the *Asia*, off Madeira, June 7, 1826, 531. War-Song of Mahanga, the Caffer Prophet, 541. Verses by Charles Lamb, on a Picture by Meyer, 545.

*Persia*, Review of Sketches of, 77.

*Patronage* of the East India Court of Directors, 163. Patronage at the India House, Alleged Sale of, 592.

*Press* in India, Debate on the, 164. The Threatened Suppression of the Bengal Chronicle, 584. Correspondence between Mr. Monte D'Rozario, proprietor of the 'Bengal Chronicle,' and George Swinton, Esq., Acting Chief Secretary to Government, 587.

*Persia* and Russia, Relations of the English Government with, 176.

*Personal Existence* of Homer, on the, 1.

*Party Criticism*, on, 211.

*Palmer* and Co., at Hyderabad, Affairs of Messrs., 333.

*Peru* and Mexico, by the Monguls, on the Conquest of, 523.

## Q

*Quarantine*, Fundamental errors and pernicious consequences of the Laws, No. II. 51. Summary of the principal Propositions, relating to the cause of Epidemic Diseases, contained in Dr. Maclean's Book upon that Subject; and of the questions of Policy which arise from them, 52. Correspondence between the Privy Council and the College of Physicians on Dr. Maclean's work, 61.—No. III. Correspondence of Lord Grenville with Dr. Maclean on the same, 309. Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the contagion of the Plague, 314. Solemn Remonstrance and Protest to the Board of Trade, by Dr. Maclean, 316. Result of the Doctor's Inquiries and observations on the Fever at Barcelona in 1821, 318. Report of the Parliamentary Committee in 1824, on the Subject of the Quarantine Laws, 321.—No. IV. 467. Petition of Dr. Maclean to the House of Lords, 469. Correspondence between the Doctor and Sir Henry Hallford, 473. Concluding facts and observations, 492.

## R

*Review* of Sketches in Persia, from the Journal of a Traveller in the East, Captain Grindlay's Indian Scenery, 104. Abassah, an Arabian Tale, 1. New Arabian Nights' Entertainments, 267. Zenana; or, a Nuwaub's Oriental Herald, Vol. 13.

*Leisure Hours*, 409. Rosetti's New Interpretation of the Mysteries of Dante, 5W. *Karnath*, an Arabian Tale, 537.

*Royal and Commercial Navy of England*, Moreau on the, 247.

*Rhine*, The, Stanzas written at Nonnenwerth, by H. M. Parker, 152.

*Rubus* of Babylon, On the, by H. M. Parker, 285.

*Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, No. XII., 204.

*Ring*, The, from 'Servian Popular Poetry,' 344.

## S

*System*, On the Licensing. No. I. Public Houses, 19. No. II. Theatres, Plays, and Public Gardens, 288.

*Skin*, On the Nobility of the, Chap. I. On Prejudices in General. Origin of that which concerns the Colour of Africans and their Descendants, 29. Chap. II. Effects resulting from the prejudice in favour of the Nobility of the Skin, 84.

*Settlement* at Port Elizabeth, in South Africa, Present state and future prospect of the, 67.

*Sketches* of Persia, from the Journal of a Traveller in the East, Review of, 77. *Stanzas*, 'Oh, why that cold averted Eye,' 96.

*State* of the Cape of Good Hope in 1925. By a Colonist, 551.

*Shipwreck* of the Britannia, 108.

*Summary* of the latest Intelligence connected with the Eastern World, 112, 346, 619. (See Eastern World.)

*Sonnet*, On visiting the Moravian Missionary Settlement at Enon, South Africa, 293.

*Song*, The Lady-Well Tree, 304.

*Sacred History*, Illustrations of, 305.

*Spring*, A Sonnet, 308.

*Sheriffs*, their dependence on the Government at Bombay, 329.

*System* of reporting Debates, 366.

*Sismondi*, Mons. de, On the State of Greece in the Spring of 1827, 423.

*Sonnet*, To a Daughter, on the completion of her fourteenth year, 516.

*Stanzas*, Written on board the Asia, off Madeira, June 28, 1826, 581.

*Steeds* of St. Mark's, at Venice, 549.

*Scriptural* Imitations and Theological Forgeries, 582.

*Sale* of Patronage at the India House, Alleged, 592.

*Scheme* for paying off the Debts of the Civil Servants in India, 608. Extract of a Letter from the Hon. Court of Directors in the Public Department dated 17th May, 1826, 610.

*Suppression* of Mr. Greig's Newspaper at the Cape of Good Hope, 594.

## T

*Theoretical and Practical view of the Law of Libel in England and India*, (No. XI.) 201. (No. XII.) 499.

*Table*, showing the latest authenticated state of the Population, Revenue Public Debt, and proportion of Burthen, of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Prussia, France, United States and England, 282.

*Trade* with India before the Age of Mohammed; from the German Elchhorn, Historical Sketch of the, 437.

*Theological* Forgeries and Scriptural Imitations, 582.

*Taxation* without Representation—Comparison of India with America, 610.

## U

*Unfading Beauty*,—Stanzas, 224.

## V

*Vision* of Fancy, the, 28.

*Verses* by Mr. Charles Lamb, on a picture by Meyer, 545.

## W

*Want* of Officers in the Company's Army, and state of the King's Regiments in India, 49.

*War Song* of Makanna, the Caffre Prophet, before the Attack on Graham's Town in 1819, 541.

## Z

*Zenana*, or, a Nuwaub's Leisure Hours: Review of the, 409.





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393

